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Proceedings of the
ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE

THIRTY-FIRST SESSION

UNIVERSITY OF RAJASTHAN, JAIPUR

OCTOBER 1982

ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE
BHANDARKAR ORIENTAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE
POONA 411004 (India)
1984

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PREFACE

Owing to the rapidly growing number of papers being presented at a session of the All-India Oriental Conference (which, by and large, is a welcome sign) as also owing to the paucity of funds, it is becoming increasingly difficult to include in the *Proceedings* all the papers which one would like to include. Another difficulty in this connection is that, after the session, the Presidents of many Sections do not submit reports (which they are expected to submit) embodying their recommendations as to which of the papers presented in their Sections specially deserve to be published in the *Proceedings*. Nevertheless, it will be seen that the present volume of the *Proceedings* contains over 100 pages more than the preceding one.

I should like to take this opportunity to draw the attention of the members of the All-India Oriental Conference to another serious matter. It was with a view to making a beginning towards rendering the Conference truly oriental in character that, a few years ago, the Sections relating to South-East Asian Studies and West Asian Studies were added to the Conference. But the response of scholars to this innovation has been not at all encouraging. It is further observed that interest in such older Sections as those relating to Iranian Studies, Arabic and Persian, and Islamic Studies has been definitely dwindling. I hope that the centres of oriental learning and research in India will awake to this appalling state of things and take early steps to improve it.

The credit for making it possible for me to bring out this volume in time for the 32nd session of the All-India Oriental Conference largely belongs to my colleagues and coworkers at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. To them, and more particularly to Dr. P. D. Navathe and Shri V. L. Manjul, I offer my best thanks.

Bhandarkar Oriental
Research Institute,
Poona, 411 004
December 28, 1984

R. N. Dandekar

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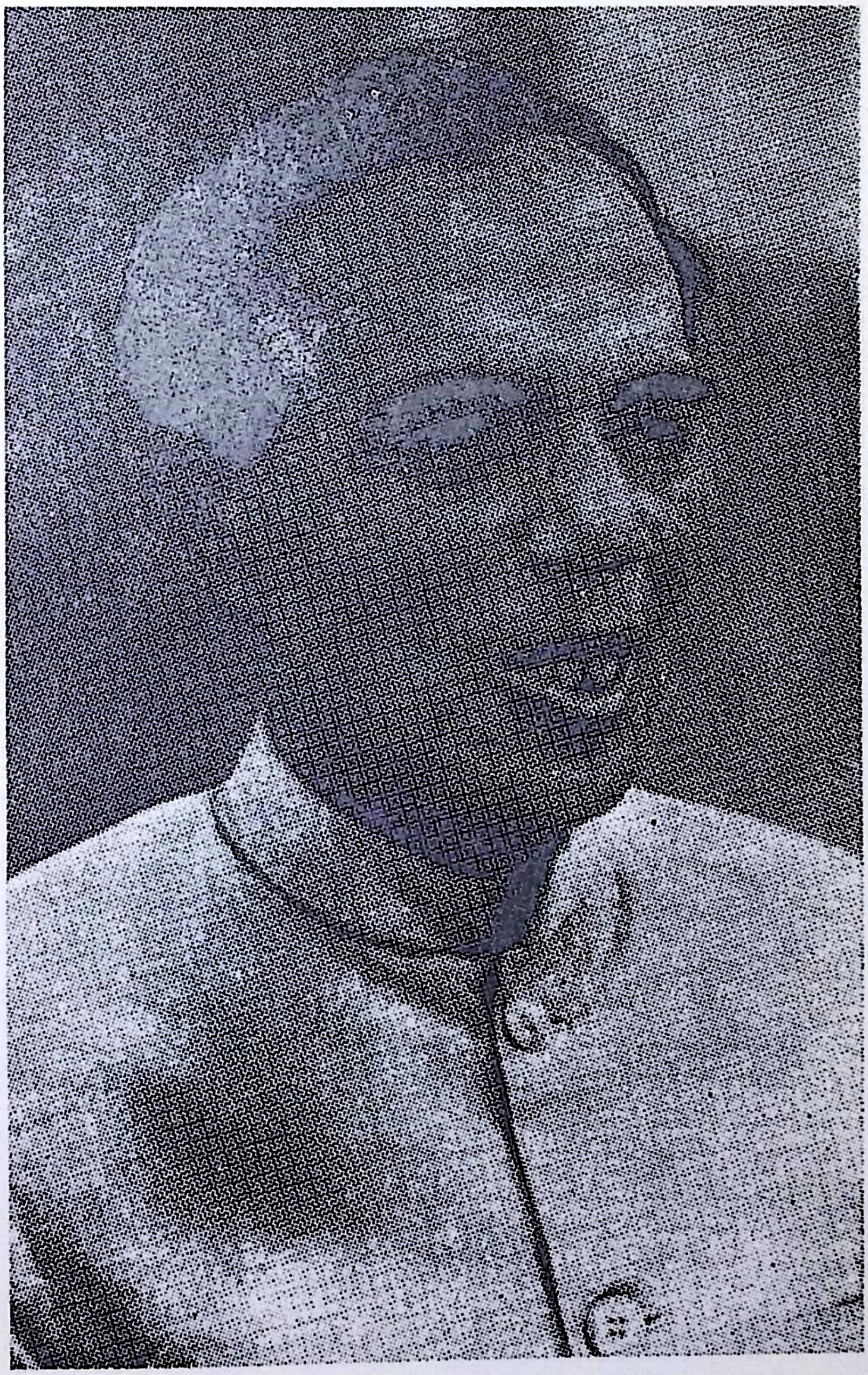

Professor GAURINATH SASTRI

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General President's Address

By

GAURINATH SASTRI

Beloved delegates,

Lct me welcome you to this historic pink city of Rajsthan on the XXXI accasion of the session of All India Oriental Conference. It will be in the fitness of things to recall to-day the necessity and utility of a conference of this kind which the pioneer organisers felt that they could hardly be emphasised. It was resolved by the Executive Board of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute that a conference of Orientalists of India, Burma and Ceylon should be organised. It was also felt desirable that, if possible, the first conference should be held in the month of May, 1919. In a conference of Orientalists summoned at Simla by Sir Harcourt Butler in July 1911 Dr. Vogel had laid down before the scholar assembled a plan for holding a conference of Orientalists in India. The first oriental conference, however, met on the 5th of November, 1919 at Poona in a pandal erected specially in front of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.

The papers sent by the scholars on that occasion numbered about 120 and they dealt with all the different branches of oriental learning, such as History, Inscription Reading, Philosophy-Philology Vedic and Prakritic, Neumismatics and several other subjects. The Universities of Culcutta, Bombay Punjab, Allahabad and Mysore and the Council of Post-Graduate Teaching at Calcutta sent a score of delegates. About 50 delegates came from different learned associations and institutions. Delegates came from different parts of India, from such distant places as Kashmir and Ceylon. As the numbers of papers was large for one session the idea of holding sectional meetings was mooted. Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar was selected as the first President of the Conference but it was unfortunate that he could not read his address due to failing health. It is known to the academic world that Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's stature as an eminent indologist was beyond question. Professor A. C. Woolner by proposing his name as the President of the first Oriental Conference observed that a better choice could not have been contemplated. Eminent educationalists like Sir Ashutosha Mukerjee, Pt. Madan Mohan Malaviya, Sir John Marshal and other distinguished savants who could not participate in the deliberations of the Conference wished for its success.

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In his address Sir R. G. Bhandarkar made certain important observations among which he expressed his desire that efforts should be made by our scholars to see that in the interpretation of Vedas there should not be the monopoly of the European scholars and that we Indians should take an important role in building up a line of approach which would enable us to understand and interpret the deeper meaning of this important branch of Indo-European literature.

According to Professor Weber the literature of India, i. e., the Vedic, passes generally for the most ancient literature of which we possess written record and justly so. This fact may not be disputed by the Egyptian Monumental records and Papyrus Rolls or even by the Assyrian literature which has been brought to light. While the Vedic literature remains as the earliest written record it is very significant that the only available running commentary of this literature in its entirety came from the pen of that versatile Vedic scholar, Sāyaṇācārya, who lived in the latter half of the 15th century. The commentary takes note of each and every word of the hymns and it mentions also their association with and application to particular sacrifices. It also discusses the etymology of difficult expressions and settles their accents whenever required. Without casting any reflection on the quality of the interpretations of Sāyaṇa about whose master-mindedness there could hardly be any doubt in our mind, this fact cannot be overlooked that thousands of years intervened between the composition of the Vedic texts and the writing of the commentary. The tradition was undoubtedly handed down to posterity but when the commentator himself is found to hesitate about the exact meaning of a particular word or passage we are led to presume that the tradition did not come down to him in its pristine form.

But, when European scholars grew intersted in the study of the Vedic lore but found that the dialect in which it was composed was very much different from classical Sanskrit with which they were familiar and that the thoughts contained therein were far remote from those with which they were acquainted, they had no other alternative but to fall back upon this commentary and remain satisfied with what the commentator tried to make out. It may be observed in passing that Professor H. H. Wilson brought out his complete translation of Ṛgveda in 1850 in which he followed Sāyaṇa faithfully. Once this translation was presented before the academic world scholars found an opportunity of focussing their attention on the oriental texts and in course of their study they could discover that where the text appeard to be of a dubious character Sāyaṇa appeared to have offered alternative explanation. Professor Roth, therefore, started a new line of interpretation of the Vedic text as he did not feel satisfied with what was till then belived to be the

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traditional interpretation. He was hardly convinced that Sāyaṇa was acquainted with the 'real spirit' in which the Vedas were composed thousands of years ago.

In this context it may be mentioned that an earlier Indian scholar, Yāska, who has explained a good number of Vedic verses, states that there are some important discrepancies that prevailed among older exponents and that quite a number of schools of interpretation flourished before him. In fact, he mentions no fewer than seventeen predecessors whose interpretations are found conflicting with one another. Even admitting that Yāska is much nearer to Vedas than Sāyaṇa and is consequently more fortunate with all the appliances at his command to get at the tradition and interpret the texts more precisely, it remains to be said that the need for the discovery of a more convenient method of interpretation was seriously felt. I was therefore, a great day for European scholars when Professor Roth in collaboration with Böhtlingk brought out the memorable Sanskrit dictionary in which the meaning of single words was noticed. This, it must be remembered, should be regarded as the very foundation of the scientific interpretation. But while we cannot underestimate the value of the scientific spirit in which Professor Roth attempted to interpret Vedic texts, we can hardly excuse him when he declared that a qualified European was better able to arrive at the true meaning of the Ṛgveda than a Brāhmaṇa interpreter.

It should not be forgotten at any cost that the Vedic literature is the utterance of a band of people gifted with rare intuitive insight. It is not, therefore, commendable to divorce the traditional interpretation as fettered by theological bias. As for the comparative method of which the learned Professor is so very eloquent, all that could be said is that the method has its intrinsic merits as well as unpardonable shortcomings. It has to be admitted that the interpretation of the Vedic texts refecting the culture of the ancient Indian people should be attempted with the assistance of the Purāṇas and the Itihāsas which are believed to have unfolded the deeper meaning of the Vedic texts. It is true that a comparative study is expected to throw light on the difficult and abstruse passages that baffle our power of understanding, but one has to be careful enough to examine critically the context of the relevant points which are to be utilized for the purpose of comparision, otherwise, the conclusions deduced from such comparision are bound to be unproductive.

What we mean is this : The different cultures with which Vedic culture is compared by European scholars are all alien and later than the latter. Under the circumstances it is not likely that a comparative study

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will help us determining the correct interpretation of any difficult Vedic text. We all believe that Indian culture has a ruuning history of its own since earliest times and it is only required of us to understand the underlying spirit of the same from a study of the literature of our country from ancient times through the ages, i. e., the Vedas, the Purāṇas and the Itihāsas. For those scholars who are yet to be acquainted with spirit of our culture, it would be futile on their part to try to understand and evaluate Vedic culture with the help of the comparative method only It must be remembered, however, that from what has been said above one should not presume that we are disowning the value of the comparative method in general, as this method has its own merits which can hardly be questioned.

In this context it needs to be mentioned that there are confiicting views among scholars on the nature and spirit of the Vedas in general and the Ṛgveda in particular. Accordingly, it is only natural that the character of interpretation may varry. Professor Roth thinks that the Ṛgveda possesses a monotheism, vague and primitive. Bergaigne holds that the hymns of the Ṛgveda are all allegorical. Sāyaṇa adopts the naturalistic interpretation of Vedic gods. He is sometimes found to interpret the hymns in the spirit of the later Brahminic religion. Śrī Aravinda, the Yogin of Pondichery, believes that the Vedas are replete with hints at secret doctrines and mystic philosophy. In his opinion the gods of the hymns are symbolic of psychological functions. Śrī Dayānanda Sarasvatī, the savant and founder of Āryasamāja, did not believe that the Vedic texts have any reference to sacrifices. We, on our part, may be permitted to point out that of the two parts of the Vedic literature, the Brāhmaṇa portion is regarded as the explanatory text of the earlier one, namely, the Mantra portion. Of course, neither the Brāhmaṇas nor the Āraṇyakas, not even the Upaniṣads can be described as offering a running commentary of the Mantra texts. All that can be said in this context is that we should remember that the Brāhmaṇas and the Upaniṣads form an integral part of the Mantra literature and the same spirit flows through all of them. The later works are a continuation and development of the hymns and it can hardly be denied that traces of thoughts of the Upaniṣads are found in the hymns of the Veda and the thoughts of the Brāhmaṇas. European scholars endeavoured to get at the meaning of the Mantras independently of the rest of the Vedic literature and also the subsequent literature of the Purāṇas, the Mahābhārata and similar works which according to Indian tradition profess to explain the inplicit meaning of the Mantra literature. It should be remembered that in the Mantra literature thought is couched in a form of expression that often baffles our ordinary power of understanding the same.

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In this context it is worthy noting what Yāska observed : The Veda is a revelation to the illumined minds and the latter in their turn transmitted their revelation to those persons who had not yet been blessed with it. It it clear from this that the Mantras possess some deeper meaning which does not appear to the intellect of the ordinary student. It is quite understandable that the sacerdotal people were convinced that the ultimate good would come to them as a result of the performance of rituals to which they were dedicated As such, they had little interest and energy to investigate whether there was any deeper import underlying the Mantras. With the discovery of the Vedic literature European scholars endeavoured to find out the meanings of the Mantra texts with the help of the science of comparative philology and independently of traditional interpretations. It was a laudable attempt indeed, but it is a fact that they did not find themselves equal to the task.

The meaning of the Vedic text docs not lie on the surface; and as such the traditional view that it has to be discovered with the help of the later Indian literature, the Mahābhārata, the Purāṇas, the voluminous literature on Yoga and Tantra, may have to be accepted without hesitation. A perennial stream of spiritual thinking and speculation has been flowing on through the ages since the dawn of Indian culture and if we are to reach the sources we must have the courage and patience to row back upstream. Indian culture is based on a realization of identity of matter and spirit, of unconscious matter with the consciousness of the spirit. In fact, the cream af Indianism rests on this realization. It is for us to trace the current to its source and satisfy ourselves. The later texts of the Upaniṣads, Yoga-Tantras and Purāṇas are replete with expositions of this central theme and they indicate the way to be followed in the quest of the realization that blessed the ancient seers of Mantras, who by dint of their astute asceticism, steadfast celibacy, unbounded straight-forwardness, never-failing attention, strong self-control and translucent habits became worthy of it.

It needs to be pointed out that the Mantras appeared before the seers as if in a dream and they had not to wait for the selection of expressions to transmit their realizations through a verbal form. The medium through which their realizations expressed themselves followed them in their wake as a matter of course. There was no human effort; and, as such, the expressions are believed to be unimpeachable and free from defects and inaccuracies. It is intuition (*bodhi*) and not intellect (*buddhi*) that is the basis of the divine realization. Divine realization is not an intellectual phenomenon, but an illumining intuition. It is, therefore, that what was intuitively felt can be fully understood by those who are themselves blessed with the light of intuition. However powerful may be the intellect, the truth can hardly be perceived with

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its aid. Intuitive illumination and expression coming in its wake are identical. Even when that illumining knowledge called *Pratibhā* or *Paśyantī* assumes grosser and grosser forms of *Madhyamā* and *Vaikharī*, these latter forms also partake of the character of the original and are infallible too. Looked at from this angle of vision the Ṛgvedic text, viz., *Yāvad brahma viṣṭhitam tāvatī Vāk* can be satisfactorily explained.

Under the circumstances it is only possible for the enlightened people to understand and appreciate the meaning of the revealed literature of Mantras with torch of intuitive knowledge. It is now understood why persons gifted with rare intellectual powers alone have been groping in the dark and failing to grasp the purport of hymns to their complete satisfaction. Certainly the hymns are difficult — difficult for those who do not possess intuitive knowledge. The hymns are expressions of light (*jyotiḥ*) for those whom *Vāk* has chosen to be her intimate and beloved ones. The language of gods is the language of light, of illumining intuition. In this sense Mantra literature, and for the matter of that, the entire Veda is spiritual revelation. The spontaneous vibration following in the wake of that wonderful experience must be free from all errors.

The question that arises in this context is this: How are we to reach that state of spiritual realization? And what again would be the nature of spiritual exercise that takes us to that height? Veda or knowledge par excellence is the expansion of individual consciousness. To understand this expansion one should observe the strictest celibacy in life. Unless the medium or locus is surified it is not possible to receive and hold the expanded consciousness. Mere intellect unaided by intuition is not competent to unravel the mystery of Mantras. We cannot but admire the untiring efforts of European scholars in the field who have not spared themselves in any way in explaining the text of the Veda, but, the mechanical devices of the intellect have not succeeded in achieving the much coveted objective. It is intuition that is the fountain-source of the revealed literature of the Veda–unless that is harnessed to unfold the meaning of the Veda, it is hardly possible to get at the secret. Unless the inward eye is opened and the vastness of intuition is brought into play, it is futile to expect that the meaning of the hymns will be brought home to our understanding.

What is required for a proper evaluation of Veda is the fusion of intuition with intellect. And, this fusion also needs to be reinforced. The light of intuition coupled with efficiency of judgement springing from a first hand acquaintance with historical evolution is the desirable requisite for a proper interpretation of the Vedic lore. It should be noted, therefore, that the language of Mantras should not be held responsible for our inability

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to fix their meaning. With the emergence of the flash of intuition (*bodhi*) and the consequent ascent of our individual conscionsness to a higher plane of expanded consciousness, the import of Vedic text will be clearly understood.

In his *Anukramaṇikā* to ṚV, Kātyāyana says that the Sun is the only one deity in the eyes of the Vedic seer. As such, an attainment of mystic participation with the Sun is his life's ambition. It is needless to point out that Vedic sacrifices in most cases have their basis in meditation on this participation with the solar god. In one of the hymns of the Vājasaneya-saṁhitā, " He who is that *Puruṣa* - He is myself, " an eagerness for such participation has found a most wonderful expression. The same note of participation rings in all those texts of Upaniṣads too, which speak of the identity of the individual soul with the Absolute. Of course, there is one important point of difference between the two cases. Thus, while in Upaniṣads attention is focussed on identities internal, the Saṁhitā texts fix their gaze on objects external. Technically while one is a case of inward absorption, the other is one of outward vision.

Let us explain the point in some detail. A Semitic god is consciousness only-it is something beyond matter. But, with the Vedic seer God engulfs both matter and consciousness. This means that the Vedic seer does not find any contradiction between matter and consciousness. He believes that one may be both : of matter and beyond matter, immanent in the universe and transcending the universe. It is for this reason that there is something more in the Vedic conception of God and his creation of the world than what is contained in the Semitic thinking. According to the latter conception, God is the creator of the world, but, he creates it from outside - he does not enter into the objects he creates. But, the Vedic God himself becomes the world, and he is still there and not exhausted in the process of evolution. It is described in the *Puruṣa*-hymn of RV that He envelopes this world on all sides and yet extends beyond. To this the European scholars have given the name of pantheism. It may be noted in passing that the doctrine of Vedic godhood is not pantheism only, but. something in addition. God has become all-but, He is still there - He is not lost in the process of evolution. So, He may be looked upon as the very foundation of the world — He is immanent in creation; yet, He may not ultimately be so conceived for He transcends it as well.

Here arises a most striking issue. If God be all, how is it that he can be perceived by the internal sense only and not by the external senses also ? The brightest object that is perceived every morning on the eastern horizon with the ocular sense is an expression of His - in fact, the Sun is God. And

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the meridian Sun shining dazzlingly in the blue firmament high above, is His most powerful expression. He has become the Sun and for us the Sun is the soul of all, movable and immovable. When we see the Sun, we see Him. The Sun is not a lifeless physical body. The Sun is a spiritual identity. He is Viṣṇu who covers the whole world with His three stepts. The Sun is *Puruṣa* and *Puruṣa* is Himself. Similarly, whatever we see with our eyes is He — we see the great (*Brahman*) in every object --we feel His pulse everywhere, This earth, this air, this sky, all are His expressions, All are great because He is so and all of them are He Himself. They are also illumining consciousness because He is such, The earth, the atmosphere and the heaven are all gods, all luminous consciousness. And we see them with our naked eyes. This is the Vedic conception of spiritual perception. This should not, therefore, be confounded with what the European scholars understand by animism, though it needs to be mentioned that mystic participation implied by animism has found its clearest and most sublime expression in the Vedic conception of spiritual perception noticed above.

Why should not the Sun be conceived as a physical body only - a lifeless material object? The answer is that it is not so because it arouses our understanding in a manner enabling us to achieve participation with him. Modern science looks upon this world as a play of the supersensual power - what is called the world is only an expression of this power, What is power or *śakti* outwardly is life or *prāṇa* inwardly. Becoming and growth are direct proofs of that power. And, may we suggest that the phenomenon of our becoming great is only a spiritual expression of that power. It is through the medium of something external that power assumes a spiritual character - that external something may be called matter.

But, judged from the point of view just explained we think that there is no justification whatsoever for distinguishing between matter and spirit. We may call both by the name of *Aditi*, the mother of all gods, the one Great Power. All gods are born of this Great Power. Of them the Sun is as much visible to the external sense as to the internal one. What is, therefore, light outside is consciousness whthin. But, our internal conscionsenes shines only when it is awakened by the light outside which is the Sun. So, we all pray that our internal consciousness may become great and illumining, and, we worship the Sun with that end in view. This, the Sun, is the spiritual mirror that reflects the resplendent expansion of individual consciousness. It is this Sun from which we feel the pulse of life-we are awakened to an illumining consciousness. The Sun, therefore, is uot any physical object that gives us heat; he inspires our consciousness. *Śakti* when it manifests itself as heat is matter; but, when it expresses itself as life and consciousness, it is spirit. The

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Sun is the centre of the universe. If the individual soul can be indentified with this centre, he may become the lord of the universe. Now, the questioni remains : how is this identity to be achieved ? One is to discover one's individual consciousness that lies hidden whthin, in the physical or phenomenal Sun and expand the same till one becomes aware of a participation with Supreme Consciousness, This is the central theme of the Vedic doctrine of Spiritual Perception.

Let us now deal with Vedic symbolism arising in the context of this doctrine. One must not be dogmatic in one's assertion that the purport of Vedic hymans is only *Niḥśreyasa,* the unquestionable ultimate good. Obviously some hymns aim also at *Preyas*, material prosperity. But, it can never be maintained that all hymns describe the temporal good and not *Niḥśreyas*, the ultimate good. Truth to speak, the language of the Veda is difficult; and, this is so because Vedic seers sought to convey some deeper meaning through this medium. Underlying the meaning at the surface there is some ultimate meaning which is intended. Everyone is not competent to understand the deeper implication with a kind of tentative meaning as he has not the passport to enter into the realm of this secret knowledge. The question of fitness has been raised and discussed in detail in later Sanskrit literature, particularly in works on Yoga, Tantra and different branches of philosophy. It is, therefore, that an intelligent persons does not rest satified with word-for-word paraphrase of the texts of the hymns. He tries to explore the hidden truth (*tattvārtha*) with the light of the Upaniṣads, Yoga, Tantra and the Mahābhārata.

We may propose to understand this point in some detail. There are three plances of knowledge : phenomenal, psychical and spiritual. We open our eyes and we see the light. This perception of the light is phenomenal (*ādhibhautika*). The perception is followed by a clarity and freshness of the mind that enables us to feel as though the light outside, that is, the phenomenal light, lights a light within. This second light, is psychical (*ādhyātmika*). There is a correspondence between those two lights, *ādhibhauiika* (phenomenal) and *ādhyātmika* (psychical). When an emphasis is laid on the second light of knowledge (*ādhyātmika*) that arises out of sense-object-contact and turns the mind inward, our consciousness is inspired, reinforced and expanded. This means that on this occasion there appears a pervading consciousness, a third lighi which is called god and this is spiritual knowledge (*ādhidaivika*), the knowledge of god. The phenomenal light without is perceived giving rise to the psychical light within and with the mind absorbed therein a third light is felt in which the other two lights are comprehended and collected. Contact with nature and natural phenomena inspires a poet and when this psychic

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consciousncss is transcended and raised to spiritual consciousness he becomes identified with god. So, a Vedic seer is called *kavi* and the god whom he visualises and with whom he becomes indentified is also called *kavi*. The entire Vedic literature of hymns is the verbal embodiment of such poetic consciousness.

Here one notices that the psychical has been uplifted to the plane of the spiritual and this has been achieved through the language of the phenomenal. One sees the sun rise in the morning sky. This is. therefore, a most wonderful conscious expression of the divine light : Ho is looking on us. But the eyes with which he is looking are the eyes of Mitra, of Varuṇa, of the Fire or Consciousness burning within. And, those eyes are not looking on us alone. Gradually they are looking on every object in the three worlds of the earth, air and heaven. The moment one realises this, the heart is satiated and one declares that the Sun is the soul of all. Thus, in the beginning we see the phenomenal; next comes the psychical, and, finally, the spiritual. Is this animism? Evidently it is not so. At least we are not acquainted with this kind of naturalism.

This idea has penetrated into the Upaniṣads where it has found a most comprehensive expression. The *Ātman* can be seen through these eyes, heard through these ears touched with this breath, felt with this mind and expressed through this tongue. Our senses are, therefore, the door-keepers at the gate opening out the vista of spiritual experiences. The monism of Vedānta takes its root here. We find in many places in the Upaniṣads that the phenomenal symbol has been explained in a two-fold manner-this is psychical (*idam ādhyātmikam*) and this is spiritual (*idam ādhidaivikam*). What does this mean ? What is there in the phenomenal world outside is there within. And, it is spiritual as well. What is apprehended as an external reality can also be known as a piece of knowledge through intuition.

Before I conclude, I must record my gratitude to all those scholars of my country and abroad who have been inspired by my work 'The Philosophy of Word and Meaning' published from Calcutta in 1959 and have taken interest in the study of the perennial problem of word and meaning from different angles of vision, I tried to rediscover and reconstruct an abstruse system of thought which fell into desuetude even in the land of its birth long long ago and I am happy to see that the text of Bhartṛhari has been studied, interpreted and translated in the different corners of the globe during the past years. Quite a number of seminars on Bhartṛhari and his philosophy have also been arranged and scholars have participated in those deliberations. Today I propose to end with a new topic in this field to which I have devoted my attention in recent years.

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Bhoṭṭoji Dikṣita in his Śabdakaustubha said : 'In his quest of a cowrie the grammarian--bhilosopher has verily discovered a priceless gem.' The nature of the Supreme Reality, according to Bhartṛhari was disscussed by me in the opening chapter of my work. According to Bhartṛhari the Ultimate Reality, which transcends all descriptions, is indicated by the correlative pronouns *Yat* and *Tat*, is in the nature of word (*śabda-tattva*). To be strictly precise, Bhartṛhari has not used the word, *Śabdabrahman*, to refer to the Ultimate Reality, though he has often been described by later-day scholars as *Śabdabrahmavādin* and his philosophy has been mentioned as *Sabdabrahmavādin.* According to Bhartṛhari the Indescribable One, i. e., the Ultlmate Reality, is a principle which is both beginningless and endless, which is *Brahman, Śabda* and *Akṣara*, Now, the Ṛgveda describes *Brahman room* conterminus with *Vāk*, the two forming, as it were, an inseparable couple, or, to be more precise, *Brahman* is identified with *Vāk*, i.e., *Śabda.*

This Vedic tradition, namely, the identity of *Braman* with *Vāk*, has found its most eloquent expression in opening stanza of the *Brahmakāṇḍa* of the Vākyapadīya. Accosding to him the Supreme One is *Brahman* and *Vāk.* There is a hymn in the Ṛgveda addressed to *Vāk* where the goddess is described as one endowed with great powers. The identification of *Brahman* with *Vāk* is intended to suggest that the Ultimate Reality is power. Freedom to act is only natural to Eternal Verbum. This *Vāk* as *Śakti* or the Surpreme Power is none other than *Kālaśakti* described as *svātantrya* which forms very essence of the Ultimate Principle and is identical with it. The Supreme Power (*Śabda* or *Vāk*) is as real as the Powerful (*Brahman*). The Supreme Power and other Powers (*Kāla*) in the philosophy of Bhartṛhari have no independent being apart from the Absolute Word and each member of the plurality partakes of the charaeter of the Word as the powers are inherent in and identical with the Absolute.

Bhartṛhari has described this Ultimate Reality as the great Word-Bull (*Śabda-vṛṣabha*) with which the individual soul should seek mystical participation. For this mystical participation he uses the word *Sāyujya.* The individual soul also is an expression of the Eternal Verbum and the summum bonum of human life is to reach the state of the mystical participation with the Absolute. It is, therefore, very clear that *Śabda* in Bhartṛhari's philosophy is *Brahman* or *Caitanya* or Consciousness. So, when some Śruti texts describe the Ultimate Reality as a *Śabda* the meaning of *śabda* in that expression is word gross or subtle. The Absolute Word transcends all immanent forms of expression-gross or subtle. In Bhartṛhari's philosophy Word is Absolute Consciousness. One who is blessed wtth the vision of this consciousness is

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privileged to attain both the highest *preyas* and *śreyas*, i. e., both *Abhyudaya* and *Niḥśreyasa.*

The means for the realization of the Supreme Reality, as Bhartṛhari opines, is to be found in the Vedas in which the image of the highest self is reflected. The study of the Vedas is a necessary medium for the atainment of the Highest Realization. The study of the Vedas, however, is to be prosecuted on the line of what he describes as *Śabdayoga*, a spiritual exercise. It is an inward movement of vital breath from the state of *Vaikharī* through *Madhyamā* culmiuating in *Paśyantī* — the evershining One. The evershining One is *Śabda-caitanya* -- Word-consciousness. For the grammarian-philosopher *Apavarga* or *Mokṣa* is to be reached through *Śabda-Yoga* and for him nothing exists beyond that. The *Śabda-Yoga* is based on the principle of withdrawal of *Krama* or sequence in a graduated order. Sequence has to be understood as the work of nescience and this is possible only when the spiritual aspirant takes to *Śabda-Yoga* and sets himself on a journey that takes him within. There is a sequence in *Vaikharī,* there is sequence in *Madhyamā* too, but when one reaches *Paśyantī* he transcends the plane of sequence.

In conclussion, let us state the process of meditation and its culmination in the vision of the Truth and final reunion with it so poetically described in that famous stanza of the Ṛgveda ; *Maho devo martyān āvīvesa.* The spiritual aspirant reaches the Essence of Speech--the pure luminous Enternal Verbum, which lies beyond the vital plane (*prāṇavṛttim atikrānte*) by withdrawing his mind from external nature (*ātmānaṁ saṁhṛya*) and fixing it up on his eternal nature (*ātmani*). This entails the dissolution of temporal sequence of thought-activity (*krama-saṁhara-yogena*). The purification of the Verbum results from this and the aspirant enters into it having severed all his ties with the material objective plane. This leads him to the attainment of the internal light and he becomes identical with the undying and undecaying Spirit, the Word-Absolute. Evidently such a conception of the individual self as being merged with the Word-Soul, of the unification of the individual consciousness with the Supreme Consciousness is capable of one interpretation viz., the individual has essential identity with the Absolute beyond which and besides which nothing exists.

And, surely this is monism *in excelsis.*

Le me conclude this address of mine with a request to this august assembly that the erudite scholars present here will deliberate on the various academic subjects in their respective fields of study and set up a pattern of symposium which will be of lasting value to posterity. We are aware of unrest

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in almost all the corners of the globe in present times. Men with experience in the domain of politics and social sciences and different branches of technology are leaving no stone unturned to maintain peace and discipline among the common people. And, I presume that scholars who have dedicated their lives to education in various branches of oriental studies will have to justify their honesticity and earnestness by such useful contributions that will bring humanity to one universal brotherhood.

BHAVATU VIŚVAM EKANĪḌAM

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VEDIC SECTION

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By

J. P. SINHA

ॐ स्तुता मया वरदा वेदमाता
प्र चोदयन्तां पावमानी द्विजानाम् ।
आयुः प्राणं प्रजां पशुं कीर्तिं
द्रविणं ब्रह्मवर्चसम् ।
मह्यं दत्त्वा व्रजत ब्रह्मलोकम्

Atharvaveda, 19.71.1

Learned Friends,

It is my most pleasant duty to express my gratiude to the members of the Executive Committee of the XXX Session of the All India Oriental Conference held at Shantiniketan for the honour they bestowed upon me by electing me as the President of the Vedic Section at this XXXI Session of the Conference being helt in the pink city of Jaipur. I am fully conscious of my shortcomings but I am equally confident that, with the blessings, affection and cooperation of all the members of this august assembly, I shall be able to shoulder the responsibility of conducting the business of this Section to the best of my ability. Looking back at the glorious record of the past Presidents of this Section I become more and more nervous. However, I begin with offering an obeisance to all of them–

इदं नम ऋषिभ्यः पूर्वजेभ्यः पूर्वेभ्यः पथिकृद्भ्यः ।

ṚV. X. 14.15

Before I proceed further I bow to the sacred memory of Dr. T. G. Mainkar, former Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Bombay and Dr. Suryakanta, who had presided over this Section about three decades ago at the XVI Session of the Conference which was incidentally hosted by my alma mater, University of Lucknow. In the sad and sudden demise of the Dr,

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Suryakanta a doyen in the Vedic field has been snatched away by the cruel hands of death. Let us pray with the seer of the *Ṛgveda* :

सं गच्छस्व पितृभिः सं यमेनेष्टापूर्तेन परमे व्योमन् ।
हित्वायावद्यं पुनरस्तमेहि सं गच्छस्व तन्वा सुवर्चाः[1] ॥

May their souls rest in peace !

We have assembled here to partcipate in the deliberations on various aspects of the Vedic studies. Eminent scholars will read their scholarly papers and will provide sumptuous food for our thought. I am sure every scholar present here will try to give the best in him and the deliberations will be quite lively and interesting, without in any way, giving an occasion for bitterness, Inquisitiveness. rather than fault-finding should be the keynote of the discussions. It is in keeping with such scholarly discussions held in a congenial atmosphere that thc seer of the well known *Jñānasūkta* of the *Ṛgveda* says that as the flour of the parched gram is purified in a sieve, in the same manner the learned utter their word after purifying it in their minds. In such an atmosphere the friends appreciate their mutual friendship and the good fortune is placed upon their words ;

सक्तुमिव तितउना पुनन्तो यत्र धीरा मनसा वाचमक्रत ।
अत्रा सखायः सख्यानि जानते भद्रैषां लक्ष्मीर्निहिताधि वाचि ॥[2]

On my part I can assure you with all the modesty at my command that I have great regards and respects for each and every member of this assembly. In fact it is a *tīrtha* to me on account of a large number of scholars present here :

यदध्यासितमर्हद्भिस्तद्धि तीर्थं प्रचक्षते ।[3]

I deem is a rare privilege to have the opportunity of listening to almost all the scholars, unless, of course, they themselves choose not to oblige me.

I begin with salutations to all of you, the Vcdic scholars, who have come from every nook and corner of the country. You are just like divinities to me, endowed as you are with Vedic knowledge. I cannot dare ignore you lest I may incur yonr displeasure. When I say so, I should not, in any way, be mistaken of appeasing or cajoling you. I am only following the seasoned advice of the Vedic seer who lays down that :

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1 *RV* X. 14 8
2 *Ibid.* X. 71.2
3 *Kumārasambhava*, VI. 56

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यावतीर्वै देवतास्ताः सर्वा वेदविदि ब्राह्मणे वसन्ति तस्माद्
ब्राह्मणेभ्यो वेदविद्भ्यो दिवे दिवे नमस्कुर्यान्नाश्लीलं कीर्तयेदेता एव देवताः प्रीणाति ।

Much water has flowed down the Ganges since we met last at Shantiniketan and the Vedas have been studied, analysed and interpreted by scholars in India and abroad in their own way. Notable work has been done in the field of Vedic Studies. Researches by scholars have brought new facts; problems have been raised and their solutions sought. Here I venture to present a resume of the important work done in the Vedic field. Any attempt to compare it with the Vedic Bibliographies by the late Prof. Renou and Prof. R. N. Dandekar will be unjust and uncharitable to me. An illassorted resume, that mine is, cannot reach anywhere near the methodical, systematic and scholarly works of these two great savants. A survey like mine is bound to be incomplete and I may be guilty of unpardonable omissions. Besides, you should not expect it to be more than a bibliography, a fact which cannot be helped. You have to take it as an introductions and not as an evaluation.

(This is followed by a fairly detailed list of Research Centres, Books, Articles, Ph. D. Theses, and Projects pertaining to Vedic studies).

AIOC – 3

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IRANIAN SECTION

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By

FARIBOURZ NARIMAN

Fellow Delegates & Friends,

I am grateful to the Members of the Executive Committee of the All-India Oriental Conference and am more than appreciative and thankful for the honour they have done me by electing me to preside over the Iranian Section of this Session. The distinction is more valuable because my revered teachers, Ervad Dr. Jamshed Unvala and Dastur Dr. Hormazdyar Mirza have occupied this chair in the past. My sincere thanks are due to Dastur Dr. Mirza who added to the many obligations I owe to him by proposing my name. Being mindful of the fact that eminent scholars like Jivanji Modi, Dinshah Kapadio, Sohrab Bulsara and Jehangir Tavadin have also adorned this chair in the past, I am conscious of my limitations, but, I sure, the co-operation of my friends and the blessings of my teacher, Dasturji Mirza, who is present in this hall, would enable me to fulfil the task entrusted to me.

Ever since I attended the nineteenth session of the All-India Oriental Conference which was held in New Delhi in December 1957, I have not missed a single session till today. I think 25 years of active association with any organisation, – the silver jubilee of one's association with an organisation as some would prefer to call it – entitles one to make a few observations by way of reminiscences. The very first session which I attended in 1957 provided me an opportunity to come in touch with savants like Prof. A. S. Altekar and Dr. S. K. Belvalkar. At that time I was rather struck to see both of them doing *sāṣṭāṅga namaskāra* to Prof. Dinshah Kapadia and to hear Dr. Belāvalkar addressing the latter as *māze guru* (in Marathi). It pains me to contrast this exemplary and typically oriental approach with the arrogant and insolent attitude towards the teacher adopted by some of our contemporaries who like to revel in parading their erudition. It need hardly be added that a reverential approach towards our *ustad* or *guru* does not in effect rule out possibilities of scholarly discussions; on the contrary, such discussions are, more often than not, an important feature of the teacher-pupil relationship, with theproviso that the altercations are carried on in a dignified manner

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During the next eleven sessions --- 20th to 30th -- of the conference, the Iranian Section was merged with the Vedic on two occasions (at Gauhati and Dharwar). It may be recalled that in 1959, Hanns--Peter Schimidt then a budding German scholar, had submitted a paper in our section and, after about two decades, another German scholar (Helmut Humbach) submitted a paper in our section in the Pune Session. During this long period, I had the good fortune of coming in contact with renowned scholars like Professors Mirashi, Agarwala, Devasthali, Esteller, Mehendale. Raghavan, Upadhyaya and others. I have benefited considerably from discussions on questions of mutual interest with these scholars belonging to different parts of our sub-continent as well as by meeting and hearing the indefatigable General Secretary, Prof. R. N. Dandekar, whom I have met at some sessions of the International Congresses too and whose unstinted guidance has gone a long way towards the success of the All--India Oriental Conference. Prof. Dandekar has often advised young scholars attending the conference to desist from taking it easy as soon as the work of their particular section is over and to make it a point to attend other section or sections and thus avail of the opportunity to widen their horizons. If those among us for whom this may be the first, second or third session of the conference, could arrange to follow this golden advice, I am sure, it would work out to their advantage. Sometimes even a casual hint given in the research paper of colleague working in a field close to our own may help solve a problem which we may have failed to solve for years, and in any case, we have nothing to lose by coming in contact with researchers in different disciplines.

It is indeed a pleasure to be in Rajasthan's capital -- the 'pink city' as it is called -- for this session. Over and above the architectural beauty of some of the buildings in this city, the Amber Fort, etc. we are at once reminded of the regal races whose names have been recorded in the poems of Chand, Kumarpal Charitra and others. Without entering into the question of the alleged Iranian extraction of some of the Rana's of Rajasthan, it would be interesting to note what James Tod had to say in this connection. Tod says : "That there existed a marked affinity in religious rites between the Rana's family and the Guebres, or ancient Persians, is evident. With both, the chief object of adoration was the sun; each bore the image of the orb on their banners. The chief day in the seven was dedicated to the sun ; to it is sacred the chief gate of the city, the principal bastion of every fortress. But though the faith of Islam has driven away the fairy inhabitants from the fountains of Mithras, that of Sūrya has still its devotees at Chitor, as at Valabhi ; and could we trace with accuracy their creeds to a distant age, we might discover them to be of one family, worshipping the sun at the fountain

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of Oxus and Jaxartes."[1] Again, the same author was so struck by certain qualities of the Rajputs, qualities which can be favourably compared with those of the Iranians, that in his dedication of the second volume of his work to "His Majesty William the Fourth" we read; "that Your Majesty's throne may ever be surrounded by chiefs who will act up to the principles of fealty maintained at all hazards by the Rajput, is the heartfelt aspiration of Sire, Your Majesty's Devoted subject and sarvant, James Tod."[2] When we speak about the qualities of the great Rajputs, it wonld be opportune to say a word about Rajput women and their noteworthy ideal of Sati. All of us who have studied history during our school days remember what we were taught in this connection viz., the banning of the practice of Sati by Akbar, but how many of us are aware of the following remarkable example of Sati which took place during the reign of the same emperor and which is recorded in a poem by Muhammed Riza Nau'i ? A girl, probably belonging to one of the royal races refferred to above, whose betrothed was killed on the very day of marriage, is the topic of the moving poem. The poet is simply amazed 'that after the death of men, the woman shows forth her marvellous passion.' He does not wonder at the wickedness of men, but at the generosity of women; how different from the modern critic who can see no motive but self-interest behind a social phenomenon that passes his comprehension ! Efforts to comfort the girl failed and she expressed her fervent desire to be burnt on the pyre of her lord. When Akar was informed of this, he called the girl before him and offered wealth and protection, but she rejected all his persuasion as well as the counsel of the Brāhmaṇas, and would neither speak nor hear of anything but the Fire. Akbar was forced, though reluctantly to give his consent to the sacrifice, but sent with her his son Prince Daniyal who continued to dissuade her. Even from amidst the flames she replied to his remonstrances, 'Do not annoy, do not annoy, do not annoy'. 'Ah,' exclaims the poet ;

> "Let those whose hearts are ablaze with the Fire of
> Love learn courage from this pure may !
> Teach me, O God, the Way of Love, and enflame my
> heart with this maiden's Fire,"
> "Do Thou, O God, exalt the head of that rare hidden
> virgin, whose puriry exceeded that of the Houris,

1. *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan or the Central and Western Rajput States of India* by Lieut. Col. James Tod, Edited with an Introduction and Notes by William Crooke, (Oxford University Press 1920), vol. I, 271-272.
2. *Ibid.*, Dedication of the Second Volume.

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Do Thou endear her to the first kissing of King,
and graciously accept her sacrifice.''[3]

I think we would be failing in our duty if we fail to pay our homage to this remarkable phenomenon and to the great Satis of yore.

The general convention, observed by sectional presidents is (1) to pay homage to our colleagues who may have passed away during the period of two years preceding the session and (2) to undertake a survey of the progress of Iranian Studies. Since to the best of my knowledge not a single colleague of ours has passed away during the last two years, I deem myself fortunate in that I can straightway follow the second part of the convention, namely a brief survey of the progress of Iranian Studies.

Since we met last at Santiniketan in 1980, the situation in Iran according to the reports which reach us from time to time, has been the same. Under the circumstances, the scholarly activity over there, particularly in Tehran and Shiraz, has remained at a standstill. However, Iranists in different parts of the world have published the fruits of their researches during this period. Some of these publications are noted below.

Ancient Persia : *The Art of an Empire* Edited by Denise Schmandt-Besserat, (Undena, 1980). This is the fourth volume of the Invited Lectures on the Middle East at the University of Texas at Austin. Besides an introduction by the editor, this volume contains papers delivered by seven scholars.

1. Margaret Cool Root, *The Persepolis Perplex* : *Some Prospects Borne of Retrospect* (with four illustrations). Root presents the vision of Persipolis as it evolved through the ages. She identifies, in recent scholarship, several consecutive trends of interest in the study of the Persepolis reliefs : the evaluation of the Greek influence; the analysis of the content of the representations; and last, the metaphorical interpretation of the reliefs with an attempt to decipher the self-perception of the Achaemenians. Among various examples of eclectic art, Root singles out the textiles which "might have been the one truly Persian art."

2. Ann Farkas, *Is there anything Persian in Persian Art*? The authoress rightly maintains that a tradition of large-scale art is lacking among the Persian tribes, as is demonstrated by the absence of artistic remains prior to the 4th century B. C. It is suggested that the Persians may have excelled in crafts such as rugs or felt hanging, which may explain the

3. Quoted by Ananda Coomaraswamy in his *Status of Indian Women* in *The Dance of Shiva* (New York 1957).

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strong concern for symmetry and the hieratic animal motifs in their art compositions.

3. Oscar White Muscarella, *Excavated and Unexcavated Achaemenid Art* (with 18 illustrations). After documenting variour types of unexcavated Achaemenian artifacts, the author discusses their reliability for scholarly research. Herzfeld's claim regarding the gold and silver tablets supposed to have been found at Hamadan (*Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, 1930, 115ff), surprisingly accepted by Kent (1950, 107, 111, 113) is seriously questioned by the author.

4. Agnes Spycket, *Women in Persian Art* (with 12 illustrations). This short paper tries to show that although women are not to be seen in Achaemenian reliefs at Persepolis and Susa, some ivory fragments from Susa together with a figurine from Aleppo, etc. indicates that women " are not completely absent in Achaemenid art. "

5. Sidney M. Goldstein, *Pre-Persian and Persian Glass : Some Observations on Objects in the Corning Museum of Glass* (with 14 illustrations). The author describes the complex process of pre-blown glass technology used to manufacture several types of Achaemenian vessels such as phials, beakers and kohl tubes. The author draws our attention to the " unity of style and distinct character of Achaemenid cut glass. "

6. E. D. Francis. *Greeks and Persians : The Art of Hazard and Triumph.* The author analyses the complex relations between Greeks and Persians in the 5th century B. C. and discusses not only the direct encounters between Achaemenid Persia and Greece but the Greek response in art and literature in those encounters.

7. S. M. Alexander, *The Influence of Achaemenian Persia on the Jewellery of ihe Migrations Period in Europe.* Tracing of the origins of migrations inlaid jewellery is the theme of this paper. After examining both the literary evidence (Greek and Roman authors) and works of art (Achaemenian jewellery excavated at Susa, Pasargade, etc.), the author attempts to refute the widely-accepted theory, " namely that the style in general, and the cloisonné technique with garnet inlay in particular, owes its European manifestations to an origin in Achaemenian Persia. "

Some Religious Problems Facing the Parsi Community, by H. K. Mirza (Bombay, 1980). According to the author, there are five main problems facing the Parsi community : (1) Dwindling Parsi Population, (2) Inter-communal marriages, (3) Conversion of non-Zoroastrians, (4) Problem of the Priest Class and (5) Disposal of dead bodies – a chapter is devoted to each of these. While dealing with the second problem, the author

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reiterates what he has mentioned elsewhere: "Inter-communal marriages are against the Zoroastrian religion." The author is perfectly justified in criticising the "remedy" for dwindling population, often suggested by "highly westernised" Parsi scholars and laymen, namely conversion. The author declares: "The remedy is even worse and more dangerous than the disease." Mirza calls attention to the "Apathy and Antipathy to Higher Scriptural Studies" prevailing in certain quarters and which, in effect, has meant (a) withdrawal of certain facilities which were formerly given to scholars, (b) diverting with legal sanction the Madressa funds for running a commerce college and (c) miserable pay-scales of our Madressa teachers. Another important point discussed by the author is a dangerous trend in the world of scholarship like the "growing tendency to lift readymade translations and to make change therein to suit one's purpose, and to pass them off as 'translations' with a show of scriptural authority!" In view of the above, the author concludes that the future of the community is bleak. The two appendices add to the value of the work. The first deals with the remuneration for performing religious ceremonies in earlier centuries and the second throws considerable light on Avesta *daXma-*, *uzdāna* and Pahlavi *azān.*

Zoroastrianism and the Parsis by John R. Hinnells (London, 1981). This small book, primarily intended for beginners, presents some of the important doctrinal, historical, ritual, social and moral aspects of Zoroastrianism, "Perhaps no other religion," says the author in his introduction, "has influenced so many people in so many continents over so many centuries." While giving reasons for studying Zoroastrianism, the author observes: Any religion which teaches that fasting, celibacy and teetotalism are sins, has a natural interest! At a deeper level, perhaps no religion has struggled with the problem of evil so seriously." A number of photographs and diagramatic illustrations are given to assist the reader. The book is divided into four chapters. The first deals with the prophet, Zoroastrian Iran, Islamic Iran and Parsi Zoroastrians in India. A brief account of the main myths are to be found in the second chapter which also gives some information about the problem of Good and Evil, Man's role and destiny, ethics and women in Zoroastrian society. The daily prayers, the turning points in life, ancient customs and living faith, conversion and intermarriage, festivals, priests and temples are the topics covered in the third chapter. How this ancient religion fares in the modern world is the theme of the last chapter. There are three appendices: the first gives the names of days (roz), month (māh), etc. of the Zoroastrian calender; the second deals with the *gāhambār* festivals and their association with amǝsa spǝntas, etc. and details of Zoroastrian holy

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days and their corresponding dates in the Gregorian calendar, the five *gāhs*, etc.

Parsim : The religion of Zoroaster by Sven S. Hartman (Leiden, 1970) This is a concise work in the Iconography of Religion Series (Section XIV; Iran, Fascicule Four) of the Institute of Iconography, State University of Groningen. The contents are divided into Bibliography, Introduction and explanations of plates. The Introduction includes some observations on pre-gāθic religion in Iran, the gāθās, the younger Avesta, the Drōn ceremony, the Yasna ceremony, the Visprat ceremony and the Vendidād ceremony, the religion of the Achaemenids, the Pahlavi writings (*Bundahišna, Vičitakīhā i Zatspram, Dātastān i denīk, Epistles of Manuščihr, Riwāyat accompanying the Dātastān i denīk, Menok i Xrat, Artāy Virāz Nāmak, Dənkart, Bahman Yašt, Ayātkār i Zāmāspīk, Čītak handarz i poryotkēšān* or *pandnāmak i Zatuxst, Šāyast ne šāyast*, and *Skand gumānīk vicār*), the period after the Pahlavi literature, etc. The introduction also contains some information regarding the Zoroastrians of India their religious practices, the Iranšāh Fire, the priests of Sanjan and Navsari, Akbar's attempt "to unite Islam, Hinduism and Parsism" into *Dīn-i Ilahī* (The Divine Religion) or *Tauhid-i Ilahī* (The Divine Monotheism), *Ta'rih-i Ilahī* (new calendar introduced by Akbar in which the months and the days carried the Zoroastrian names), the three sects (Qadimis, Shahanshahis and Faṣlis), etc. The explanations of plates and the plates themselves (forty-eight in all) throw considerable light, particularly for the non-Parsi reader, on subjects like the interior of fire temples, towers of silence, sacred white bulls, barašnumgāhs, the navjote ceremony, the inner and other litergical ceremonies, etc.

The wisdom of the Sasanian Sages (Dēnkard VI by Aturpāt-i Ēmētān) translated by Shaul Shaked (Colorado 1979). This work bears No. 34 of the Persian Heritage Series edited by Ehsan Yarsharter. The author has followed a different method from that adopted by Bahram Fravashi for his doctoral thesis on the same subjeet. Before coming to the work proper, Yarsharter's hint in the preface is worth noting : "If the arrangement of the *Dēnkard* and the treatment of topics appear to a modern reader somewhat unsystematic and unbalanced, or even at times confused or arbitrary, it is partly because he or she is dealing with a religious and cultural tradition whose norms and premises are not readily grasped by outsiders." Sanjana, the first editor of the text, had adopted a certain system of numbering the paragraphs and the author has done well to retain this. In the introduction, the author has drawn attention to certain characteristics of the text like, for example, well defined divisions and small groups of sayings which belong together and which can be noticed to exist inside a particular division. A tentative list of small coherent

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units inside certain divisions is also given. In Intro. III, the author has given a succinct account of certain themes covered by the text, *dānāgīh* (knowledge) *frazānagīh* (sagacity) and *mardābagīh* (manliness) are some of the examples. The question whether the idea of *paymān* is originally Iranian or an Iranian development of an Aristotelian influence is discussed on pp. xl--xli. Intersting comments on the relationship of fate (*baxt, brēh, brihēnišn, zamān*) and action (*kunišn*) is to be found on pp. xli--xliv. Shaked has taken care to give references to the text of *Dēnkard* published by Peshotan and Darab Sanjana (*DkS*) as well as by Madan (*DkM*). For transcription the author has used the system advocated by Mackenzie and preferred by scholars of the school of F, C. Andreas, though " with some modificatlon in favour of conservatism." Considerable space (pp. 223–308) has been devoted to commentary. Glossary and index of Pahlavi words (pp. 311–374), Index of words in other languages (pp. 375–376) and Index of Pahlavi passages quoted (pp. 377–78) would prove to be helpful to all those working in this field.

Acta Iranica, Quatrième Série, Volume I, Répertoires Volume I, *Bio-Bibliographies De 134 Savants* (Leiden 1979). A useful volume in that it places before us the bio-data of a number of Iranists belonging to different parts of the world and working in the field of archaeology, art and architecture, comparative religion, epigraphy, history, numismatics, philosophy, rituls etc. The names of some of the savants included in the list are as follows : Ugo Bianchi, Mary Boyce, George Cameron, Henry Corbin, Mark Dresden, Jacques Duchesne-Guillemin, Richard Frye, Roman Ghirshman, John Hinnells, Helmut Humbach, Kaikhusroo Jamasp-Asa, Manek Kanga, Jamshid Katrak, Otaker Klīma, Firoze Kotwal, Georg Morgenstierne, Faribourz Nariman, Seyyed Hossein Nasr, David Stronach, Ahmed Tafazzoli, Paul Thieme, Geo Widengren and Stig Wikander.

Erbadistān ud Nirangistān : Facsimile edition of the manuscript TD Edited by Firoze M. Kotwal & James W. Boyd (Harvard University Press 1980). This work is the third volume of the Harvard Iranian Series and it is dedicated to the pious memory of Ērbad Tahmurasp Dinshahji Anklesaria (1842-1993 A. C.). In the 21st Session of the A. I. O. C. Ervad Manek Kanga, while considering the issue of 'needs and requirements' in his persidential address, had observed as follows : " For the proper understanding of rituals, a new edition of the Nirangistān Text should be printed and should be transcribed and translated into English with critical notes on all the words occurring therein."[4] The work under reference partly fulfils our need as expressed by Kanga 21 years ago ; we hope the remaining part-transcription

4. *Proceeding and Transactions of the A. I. O. C.* 21st Session, Poona, 1964, 105.

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and translation with critical notes – which is to be published in the same series, would be out in the near future, as mentioned by Richard Frye in the foreward. In 1894 Darab Sanjana had published a facsimile edition (*HJ*) of an *MS.* of Ērbadīstān ud Nirangistān which was copied by Jāmāsp Āsā in 1727 A. C.–incidentally, this *MS.*, formerly owed by Hośang Jāmāsp of Pune, is not traceable at present. The present work contains a facsimile edition of another *MS* (*TD*) of the text which was obtained by Erbad T. D. Anklesaria in 1876 A. C. and from which *D46* (*MS* of Erachji S. Meherjirana, 1882 A. C., in The K. R. Cama Oriental Institute Library, Bombay), *F21* (*MS* of Erachji S. Meherjirana, 1882 A. C., in the First Dastur Meherji Rana Library, Navsari) and the copy owned by E. W. West (Volume IX of West's *Notebooks* in the library of RAS, London) were copied later on. This Pahlavi *MS.*, dealing with priestly and ritual codes, contains many passages in Avestan with commentaries. As the editors have noted in the introduction, though a number of scholars have worked from collations of *TD* and *HJ*, the precise relation of these two to each other is difficult to establish: the former is without a colophone and the latter's lineage is not agreed upon; perhaps both may belong to a common source. A concordance of these MSs. (pp. 10–12) would prove to be of immense help to those working on this subject in the future.

Zoroastrianism : An Ethnic Perspective by Khojeste P. Mistree (Bombay 1982). As the author says (p. xi) ; " This book is written in an attempt to satiate the demand for religioos knowledge amongst those on the path of a Zoroastrian re-awakening," and as he goes on to add, he has "taken due care in attempting to present a balanced overall perspective from a traditional and textual point of view." This elegantly brought out work contains a number of illustrations (in sepia), diagrams and tabular presentations of the *amešа spəntas* and the important yazatas. The work is divided into 21 chapters. The general introduction deals with the meaning of prophet, revelation, religion, etc. Issues like historical background (Indo-European genealogy). geographical background, oral tradition, the pantheon of Indo-Iranian worship, etc. are briefly covered in the first chapter. The next five chapters touch the life of Zaraθustra, the legends of Zaraθustra, Zaraθustra's message: the Gāθās, the aməša spəntas and the yazatas respectively. The 7th Chapter is on Zoroastrian metaphysics wherein ' metaphysics' has not been adequately explained. Metaphysics (better 'metaphysic') or *le métaphysique* in French is, as Guénon remarks, " essentially super-rational ; it must be that, or else not be at all." Further, as the same savant adds, " ... in the absence of metaphysic, any other knowledge, of whatever order it may be, is literally lacking in principle ... ",[5] whereas the explanation of the author makes it appear that

5. René Guénon, *East and West*, Translated by William Massy (London 1941) 56.

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metaphysics is just one of the branches of "philosophical sciences". The creation story is narrated in the eighth chapter, the nature of man in the ninth and the traditional funeral ceremcny in the tenth. 'The ritual spiral, a link with Divinity' is the theme of Ch.12—on the whole, this important topic is admirably treated in a few pages. Jashan, Navjote and wedding ceremonies are dealt with in the next three chapters. In Ch. 16 various aspects of the nature of prayer are treated followed by tranlations and commentaries of nine basic prayers in Ch. 17 and some information on the Sacred Fires in Ch. 18. In the next chapter, some historical points regarding the arrival of Parsis in India are given. Information on calendars is to be found in the penultimate chapter. The last chapter is devoted to languages - Old Persian, Avesta, Pahlavi and persian - and the the extant texts in the same. A map of the Near East, a bibliography of books cited in the work and an index add to the overall value of the work.

Aogemadaēcā : *A Zoroastrian Liturgy* by Kaikhusroo M. Jamasp-Asa (Wien 1982). This work is based on the author's doctoral thesis prepared 17 years ago. In 1878 Wilhelm Geiger published his *Aogemadaēcā. Ein Parsentractat in Pazend, Alibaktrisch und Sanskrit*, but this was based only on three pazand MSs. (M66, M67 & K62) found in the libraries of Europe. The Avestan quotations in this text was translated into French by Harlez. West, Bartholomae and others threw further light on certain aspects of the text. Meherjibhai Madan edited the Pazand text and published it in 1891 along with a Gujarati translation. In his *Zend-Avesta*, vol. III (1893), James Darmesteter re-edited the Av- quotations of the text using Phl. version of J58 and Jb, both practically unknown till that time. In 1925, Bamanji Dhabhar contributed a little more on the subject in an article *The Pahlavi text of Aogemadaecha* in *Indo-Iranian Studies in Honour of Shams-ul-Ullama Dastur Darab Dastur Peshotan Sanjana*. Jamasp-Asa in his introductory remarks has given a list of 18 MSs. (10 of Paz. stem plus 8 of Phl, stem); however, two MSs. of each stem (Jjm, U & J58, Jb) were found inaccesible. That these are two lines of the Paz. and Phi. MSs. is well illustrated by the meticulously presented stemma (p, 17). The author has given a lucid translation of the Phl., Paz, and Skr. versions. The material condensed in the footnotes merits special attention. there are three appendixes : the first containing Paz-text of M66, the second gives the old Gujarati version in R and K and the third is devoted to facsimile of the text as in Cod. Iran. 42. The index of Avestan words and select glossary of Phl. words would go a long way to help students and savants alike. The author's suggestion that Aogemadaēcā was formerly an *āfrīn* used by mobeds in the concluding part of *āfringān* or *jaśn* ceremonies is questioned by Koṭwal in his review (*Jam-e-Jamshed*, 12-7-1982), Koṭwal would

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rather think that the text " is a didactic composition by some learned, capable, anonymous priest of India, written with a view to emphasise the inevitability of death and eternal value of righteousness, through scriptural evidence." However, as Kotwal also states ; " A prudent and scientific blending of the study of lingusitics with indigenous Zoroastrian traditions is the sole golden rule to bring out solid, scholarly works on our religion, and the present work ... is the result of following that criterion."

Que sais-je ? Le Zoroastriasme by Paul Du Breuil (Presses Universitaires De France 1982). A concise work in pocket edition meant for beginners In nine chapters, subjects like the origin of proto-Iranians, Zaraθustra, Zoroastrian literature (AV..Phl., Paz. etc.), Medo-Persian empire, the Sasanians, Islam in Mazdian Iran, Parsis in India are covered. A summarised bibliography adds to the value of this well documented work.

Die Aməša Spəntas in Avesta by Johanna Narten (Wiesbaden, 1982). As mentioned in the prefatory observations this work contains a detailed enquiry into the number, order and function of the *aməša spəṇtas.* The authoress attempts to accomplish the task by examining the various implications of relevant statements found in Yasna, Yasna Haptaŋhāiti, Yasts, Vidēvdād, Niyāišns, Sirozā, gāhs, Nirangistān, Aogemadaēcā, cuneiform inscriptions of Darius (Behistun), etc. The enquiry about the nature, etc. of the Seven Immortals begins with *yōi hapta hamō. manaŋho* (Yt. 13.83 = Yt. 19.16) which is followed in the next chapter on *Ahura Mazdā and Other Aməša Spəṇtas* wherein the significant statement of Yt. 19.18, namely *āo hąm dāmanąm .. dātarasca marəxštarasca θβarəxštarsca aiBiiaxštarasca nipātarasca nišharətarasca* is cited and discussed. Side by side, the character and function of Miθra is also discussed with reference to certain appellations of the yazata in Yt. 10. In the chapter on *The Aməša Spəṇtas as a Group, vispašcā aməṣa spəṇtə yazamaide* (Y. 42.6) and *aməṣa spəṇta vispe huuarə hazaoša* (Yt. 10.51 Yt. 13.92 and S. 24) are discussed. Considerable space has been allotted to the chapter on *The Ahuras.* Here *mazdāscā ahurāŋho* (Y. 30.9, 31.4) and their different interpretations (including that of Insler, Gāthās : " the Wise One and the other lords ") are scrutinised. This is followed by an examination of references to *spəṇta-aməṣa* in yasna haptaŋhāiti in the next chapter which, in turn, is followed by a small chapter on *spəṇta-aməṣa* and *aməṣa-spəṇta.* The question of ' association and identification ' is also examined with reference to certain statements in the Younger Avesta. At the end, separate chapters are devoted to *aṣ̌a- vahišta-and fire, spəṇtā-āramaiti-* and earth, *Xsaθra-vairiia-* and mental, *hauruuatāt-, amərətatāt-* and water, plants. This fascinating study in general contains three indexes : the first, of texts cited in the work, the second being a word-index and the third a general Index,

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A Guide to the Zoroastrian Religion : A nineteenth century catechism with modern commentary translated and edited by Firoze M. Kotwal and James W. Boyd (California, 1982). This work, unique in many respects, is dedicated to the pious memory of Dastur Erachji Sohrabji Dastur Meherji-rana (1826-1900) whose *Rehbar-e Din-e Jarthushti* (A Guide to the Zoroastrian Religion in Gujarati), was published in 1869 and which forms the basis of the work under reference. Boyd in his introduction mentions that the book is twofold in nature : the first being the translation of Dastur Meherjirana's work and the second the commentary to the catechism by Dastur Kotwal. Many alarming developments have taken place among the followers of Zaraθustra since the Guide was written more than 11 decades ago. One such development being tendentious representation, neither in conformity with the spirit of Zoroastrian doctrine nor the Iranian tradition, witnessed since the beginning of the present century. This came about thanks to those Parsis who " began to give theosophical interpretations to Zoroastrianism." Many other works on Zoroastrianism deal with the doctrinal aspects in theory, but this work enlightens the reader regarding the living faith against the background of traditional perspective. Like the ninth century Pahlavi books, a question and answer format is made use of in the text, with Kotwal's commentary to Erachji's text in italics. In certain cases, Erachji's reply plus Kotwal's comments give an excellent idea of the compexity of the problem concerned. The differences and disagreements between Erachji and Kotwal are few and the grounds for the same are either historical philological or the authenticity of the sources consulted. The following may be regarded as an example of such differences. In Ch. 13, the first question is : The Zoroastrians, when some death occurs in the family, do not eat flesh What is the reason ? Erachji's reply : " According to our religion eating flesh seems to be improper and Zoroastrians do not eat flesh for three days after death. Cf. the Pahlavi commentary of chapter 8 of the *Vendidad*, and also other religious books which say that for three days one should not eat flesh." Kotwal comments : " Religious books prohibit eating flesh for three days after some-one's death. But it is not accurate to say that in general eating flesh is improper." After giving reasons for the three-day restriction Kotwal adds : " Erachji's reply in MS. F93 differs considerably from the one above which appears in his published work. On pp, 117-118 of the MS. Erachji adds a comment to the above reply. He cites the Avestan quote, *Vendidad* 8.22, which states that after disposing of the corpse in the *dakhma* Zoroastian may get wine and meat. Erachji then honestly says that it does not appear from this reference that one should abstain from meat and wine for three days after the corspse is placed in the *dakhma*." From this it appears that Erachji, like some Parsis of his time as well as ours, was inclined towards

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vegetarianism and, therefore, his published reply makes it appear as if Zoroastrianism forbids us to eat flesh. On the other hand, Kotwal's comments testify that textual evidence does not warrant such a stance, and hence his rejection of the said *ism* which is alien to the spirit of Zoroastrianism and the habits and customs of the majority of Parsi priests and laymen of yesterday and today. This is further attested by a question regarding sacrifice of birds and goats in the ninth chapter. With 32 interesting and illuminating chapters a glossary, two appendices (the first describes most of the texts Erachji refers to in his catechism and the second gives information regarding *gāhs* and the Zoroastrian calendar) and an index, this work would prove to be a useful compendium.

The History of Zaroastrianism, vol. two, by Mary Boyce (London, 1982). This volume, which is divided into 1ɔ chapters, is devoted to the Achaemenian dynasty. Ch. 1 deals with the background of the achaemenids, the date of Zaraθustra, the subjection of the western Medes by Assyria, Persians in Anshan, Medss, Scythians and the downfall of Assyria, the Median Empire and conacts with Zoroastrian lands, etc. The religion of the Medes and Persians before the advent of Zoroaster is the theme of the second chapter. Where in the symbol of Egyptian origin, namely the winged disk is discussed together with the *barϑsman* in Achaemanian and Sasanian art. In the next chapter the authoress narrates the developments in the seventh century B. C. This is followed by chapters on Cyrus, Cambyses, Bardiya and Gaumata the Magian as well as one on Darius the Great. Ch. 8 throws light on finds of religious interest at Persepolis. The Elamite tablets excavated at Persepolis in the 1930s, Elamite words like *da-u-š a-um* (Old Per. equivalent of Av. *zaoθra* 'libation, oblation, offering'), *tamīš yam* (a rendering of *dauš iyam* 'what serves for satisfaction, propitiatory offering'), etc. and some theomorphic name like Artapata 'Protected by Arta', Artazusta 'Beloved of Arta', Damidata 'Created (or Given) by the Creator', etc., religious scenes on Persepolis seal impressions, the pestles and mortars from the treasury, etc, are discussed in this chapter. The ninth chapter is devoted to contacts and influences in Ionia in the Median and early Achaemenian periods. The last six chapters cover the reigas of kings from Xerxes to Darius III. A select bibilography and an index make this work an indispensable aid to the study of the Achaemenid era. It is hoped that future volumes of this painstaking survey would soon see the light of the day.

Articles published in Memorial Volumes, Journals, etc.

Golden Jubilee Volume – Vaidika Saṁśodhana Maṇḍala, edited byT. N. Dharmadhikari (Poona, 1982).

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H. W, Bailey's *Veda and Iranian,*

Mrs N. M. Dhadphale's *Apropos Yasna Ha* 60.11,

N. D. Minochehr-Homji's *The Concept of Soma in Avesta* (*Haoma*): *With Some Parallels from Ṛgveda.*

Helmut Humbach's *The Contribution af Vedology to Zoroastrian Studies,*

Kaikhusroo M. Jamasp-Asa's *Mind and Destiny in Ancient Aryan Philosophy,*

M. F. Kanga's *Dātistān Ī Dēnīk - Pursisn XIX & XX - A Critical Study,*

F. B. J. Kuiper's *Three Approaches to the Study of Mitra,*

M. A. Mehendale's *Some Remarks on Mihir Yaśt* (*Yaśt* X)

H. K. Mirza's *Double Case Termination in Avesta and the Vedas.*

Hanns-Peter Schmidt's *The Avestan Root* (*s*) *Van*; *Homonymy or Polysemy*?

The World's Religions, Eight consulting editors, Lion Handbook, Lion Publishing, England - Australia 1982. This work is an introduction and guide to the world's religions. It covers the religions of Egypt, Greece, Rome, the Norse gods, etc. Articles with colour pictures give information on the history, scriptures, worship, beliefs and practices of various faiths. It conains three articles by John Hinnells : (1) The Cosmic Battle : Zoroastrianism, (2) Mithraism : Cult of the Bull and (3) Courage and Faith : the Parsis.

Studia Iranica, Tome 8 –1979 -- fascicule 2 (Leiden).

Ch. M. Kieffer's *Etudes Parāči.*

G. Lazard's *Glossaire Māsuil.*

H. Mahamedi's *On the Verbal System in Three Iranian Dialects of Fārs.*

Persica, No. IX (Louvain, 1980).

Hanns-Peter Schmidt's *The Senmurw Of Birds and Dogs and Bats.*

M. Witzel's *Early Eastern Iran and the Atharvaveda.*

Gerard Wallis' *Jüdische Bürger in Babylonien während der Achämeniden Zeit.*

Īranica Antiqua, Volume XV -- In Memoriam Roman Ghirshman (1) (Gent, 1980).

L. Vanden-Berghe's *Roman Ghirshman* (1895–1979)

R. De Macquenem's *Les fouilleurs de Suse.*

P. Amiet's *Antiquités de serpentine.*

M. H. Pottier's *Un cachet en argent de Bactraine.*

E. Poroda's *A Lapis Lazuli Figurine from Hierakonpolis in Egypt.*

W. Kleiss' *Zur Entwicklung der achaemenidischen Palastarchitektur.*

T. Cuyler Young's *480/479 B. C. – A Persian Perspective,*

J. Wolski's *L'Arménie dans la politique sur l'interprétation reliefs sassanides*

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B. Goldman & A. M. G. Little's *The Beginning of Sasanian Painting and Dura-Europos.*

Ph. Gignoux's *Sceaux chretiens d'epoque sasanide,*

J. A. O. S. Volume 100 / No. 4 / Oct.-Dec. 1980.

Douglas Q. Adams' *Toward a History of PIE N-Stems in Tocharian*

J. A. O. S. Volume 101/No. 3/July-Sept. 1981.

Stephanie W. Jamison's *A Vedic-Avestan Correspondence ; RV ánadant : Gāthic nadeṇt.*

Indo-Iranian Journal, Volume 22 (1980), Brief Communications.

M. A. Mehendale's *On Yasna IX.* 26 (Paper read in the Iranian section of the 28th A. I. O. C.).

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R. S. Beeks' *The Subjunctive Endings of Indo-Iranian.*

Francois Cornillot's *L'origine du nom des Scythes.*

Indo-Iranian Journal, Volume 23 No. 4, October 1981.

Erling Ravnaes' *The Development of ə/Interconsonantal Laryngeal in Iranian*

R. S. P. Beeks' *The Neuter Plural and the Vocalization of the Laryngeals in Avestan,*

Indo-Iranian Journal, Volume 24 No. 1, January 1982.

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Manfred Mayrhofer's *Altpersische Taumani " Kräfte ".*

Journal of the C. R. Cama Oriental Institute, No. 48 (Bombay, 1980)

Government Fellowship Lectures (series of four lectures) delivered by Paul J. du Breuil : (1) *Zarathushtra and the Transfiguration of the World.*

(2) *Zoroastrian Concepts and Philosophy of Law.*

(3) *The Religion of the Achaemenids and the Gaumata Revolt*

(4) *Zoroastrian Influence on Judaism, Hellenism and the Origins of Christianity.*

(5) *Neo-Zoroastrian Philosophy and Spirituality.*

F. R. Allchain's *Archaeological and Language Historical evidence for the movement of Indo-Aryan speaking peoples into India and Pakistan.*

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H. E. Edulgee's *The date of Zoroaster.*

Hanns-Peter Schmidt's *The Simurgh in Sassanian art and literature.*

Walter Leifer's *K. R. Cama and German Scholars.*

Hormazdyar K. Mirza and Kaikhusroo M. Jamasp Asa's *Alleged three wives of Zarathushtra.*

M. F. Kanga's *Datistan i Denik — Pursishns XXI and XXII.*

Jamshid C. Katrak's *Mitro-Awan Kaikhusrov, his Avesta and Pahlavi Manuscripts and their Colophons with date-equations.*

Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, No. 49 (Bombay, 1980). This number contains the Government Fellowship Lectures delivered by S. N. Gajendragadkar under the aegis of the Institute in 1974. Lecture I – Indo-Europeans – The Predecessor, Lecture II – Indo-Iranian – Introduction : Phonology, Lecture III – Indo-Iranian – Grammar, Lecture IV – Indo-Iranian – Literature, Life, Ethos.

Navabhāraṭa (October 1980). This number contains M. A. Mehendale's होम यश्त (यस्न १० व ११ चे मराठी भाषांतर), The author had already published his translation of Yasna IX in *Navabhārata* (March 1977); thus with the Marathi translation of Yasna X and XI, 1–10. a reader is able to get the entire Hom Yašt in Marathi. A remarkable point raised by Mehendale is regarding *jaininạm* occurring in X. 17 Mehendale observes (fn 9) : वर १५ व्या मंत्रात उल्लेखिलेल्या लुच्च्या स्त्रियांच्या दृढ पाशांत ? पहलवी भाषांतर करणाऱ्याला कांहीसे तसे अभिप्रेत दिसते. परंतु त्यांची झरथुस्त्र स्तुति करतो हे कसे ? ह्यानंतर लगेंच सोमरस रजतपात्रातून हिरण्यपात्रांत सोडण्याचा उल्लेख आहे ह्यावरुन ऋग्वेदात जसे सोन्याच्या संबंधात अंगुलीना 'स्वसारः' किंवा 'योषणः' म्हटलेले असते तसे इथे अंगुलीना 'जन्या' म्हटले असेल का ? The suggestion is worth considering.

Navabhārata (July 1981) containing M. A. Mehendale's मित्र (वेदः) आंणि मिथ्र (अवेस्ता) (in Marathi).

The Orient — A Cultural Journal, Volume IX & X (Bombay, 1980–81). Ed, by Vishwanath Pandey, This number is devoted to Zoroastrianism and it contains the following articles ;

M. F. Kanga's *Avesta – The Sacred Scriptures of the Zoroastrians*

H. E. Eduljee's *The Date of Zoroaster*

N. D. Minocher-Homji's *The Pattern of Life in the Holy Gathas*

H. K. Mirza's *Zoroastirian Path of Life*

Faribourz Nariman's *Some Symbolic Aspects of Fire Accordiug to the Iranian & Vedic Traditions*

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K. M. Jamasp-Asa's *Fire in Zoroastrianism*

Adi F. Doctor's *Significance of Winged Human Figure and Winged Bull on Parsee Places of Worship*

Parvez M. Bajan's *Significance of the White Hair of Varasia (Albino) from the viewpoint of Zoroastrianism*

New Projects

The Zoroastrian community Development Institute, Bombay, has decided to bring out *Encyclopedia Zoroastriana* containing explanations and information on subjects pertaining to the Zoroastrian religion, culture and history. M. F. Kanga has been working on the project and Faribourz Nariman has been requested to help expedite the completion of the work. The work would contain approximately one thousand entries and it is expected to be out by the end of next year.

Fire Temples in India & Iran. Gerd Gropp of the University of Hamburg, Faribourz Nariman and Firoze Kotwal are working on this project which was started way back In 1969 but had to be kept in abeyance for quite some time. This work is intended to be a comparative study of a number of fire temples in India and Iran. It would furnish useful information on various aspects of planning, architectural details and performance of rituals in fire temples of different grades.

Our Needs

Though much has been accomplished during the last hundred years or so, a lot more remains to be done in the fascinating field of Iranian Studies. In a word, the field is far from exhausted.

However, the diminishing number of scholars indicates that the future is rather bleak. The difficulties encountered by young aspirants who take to this field are many. Perhaps the most important one is the non-availability of many important works (including those on grammar and dictionaries like Kavasji Kanga's *Avesta Dictionary* which was published 82 years ago and is now out of print). I suggest that the trustees of the Parsi Punchayet, Bomby may invite suggestions in this regard from veteran scholars and decide to do the needful at the earliest.

Suggestions for Young Aspirants

Zeal and over enthusiasm which often go with youth might lead young aspirants to draw conclusions which, at a later date, they may have a chance to regret. Hence it would be in their interest if they decide to adopt the right type of critical approach. In this connection I cannot do better than to quote what Ramkrishna Bhandarkar had mentioned about 62 years ago. " A critical

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scholar," says Bhandkar, " should consider his function to be just like that of a judge in a law-court, a judge who 'estimates' the value of any information as 'evidence'. In fact a crtical scholer has to find out his witnesses, cross-examine them and finally judge them." And he adds, " But even there human weakness operates, and renders a number of appeals necessary, so that one judge differs from another, and so does one critical scholar from another." [6]

Again, it is possible that some young aspirants might be inclined to overlook the community of discourse while longing to see that their translations of scriptural texts " make for easy reading," fully knowing that while trying to achieve this fllimsy goal they have to somehow justify a number of textual emendations on grounds other than purely grammatical or mertical. It is absolutely necessary that such aspirants are wary and heed to the following beautiful words of Coomaraswamy : " Community, or universe of discourse : Skr *saṁdhāya-saṁbhāṣā*, *sāhitya or saṁgha*, all etymologically cognate with syn-thesis. The nature of a universe of dissourse is well illustrated by a gloss cited by Meister Eckhart (Evans ed., II, 65) : 'No one can understand or teach the Pauline writings unless he be of the same mind in which Paul spoke and wrote, or William Laws's 'Would you know the truths of Jacob Behmen you must stand where he stood.' This has an important bearing on the problem of translation, for which a knowledge of grammar alone, however scholarly. is an inadequate qualification. Real translation is only possible when the translator has himself already experienced (*erlebt*) something of that which his author is communicating." [7]

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6. *Proceedings and Transactions of the First Oriental Conference* 1920, 17
7. Ananda Coomaraswamy, *Does " Socrates Is Old " Imply That " Socrates Is " ?* in *Coomaraswamy – 2*, Selected Papers : Metaphysics Edited by Roger Lipsey (Princeton, 1977) fn 6.

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ARABIC AND PERSIAN SECTION

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

BY

ABDUL ALI

Mr, President, Distinguished Delegates and Friends,

I am extremely thankful to the authorities of the All-India Oriental Conference for having elected me as President of the Arabic & Persian Section of thc 31st Session of the Conference that is being held at this historic city of Jaipur. While accepting the heavy responsibility of this high office, I am fully conscious of my limitations and shortcomings, and it is only with yonr help and cooperation that I hope to prove worthy of the confidence you have reposed in me.

At the very outset I would like to make a brief assessment of the part played by Arabic and Persian language in the advancement of human knowledge and learning as well as of their contributions to the cultural heritage of India.

It is a well-known fact that with the rise of Islam the Arabs became united and emerged as a powerful nation. And within a century after their rise they became the masters of a vast empire which extended from the shore of the Atlantic Ocean to the confines of China, an empire greater than that of Rome at its zenith.

It was not only an empire which the Arabs built but also a culture. Inspired by the Verses of the Quran and Traditions of Prophet Muhammad and filled with the spirit of scientific enquiry, they travelled far and wide in search of knowledge, and contributed a great deal to human thought and progress. Arabic soon became the language of natural sciences, medicine and philosophy. And between the beginning of the eighth and the middle of the thirteenth centuries the Arabic-speaking peoples were the main bearers of the torch of culture and civilization throughout the world, while Arabic translations were the instrument whereby the ancient sciences and intellectual legacies of Greece, Iran and India were preserved, supplemented and transmitted to the West, which made possible the renaissance Western Europe. This was the golden period of Arab history. It was also the period of Persian ascendancy and cosmopolitan culture. Baghdad, the wonderful Abbasid

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capital, was built on Persian soil, while Persian nobles filled the highest offices of state at the Abbasid court.

Here it should be remembered that had the Arabs done nothing apart from saving and preserving the ancient sciences of the then civilized world, even then they would deserve the appreciation of the twentieth century scholars for this reason alone, for preservation and transmission of knowledge from the standpoint of the history of culture, is no less important than making original contributions. Otherwise, as P. K. Hitti has put it " Had the researches of Aristotle, Galen and Ptolemy been lost to posterity, the world would have been as poor as if they had never been produced."

In short, it can be rightly said that history does not know any other nation which has contributed so much in a comparatively brief span of time as did the Arabs and Arabic-speaking peoples. The famous Muslim capitals like Cairo, Damascus, Baghdad and Cordova etc., became the chief centres of spreading education and conducting scientfic researches. An idea of their contribution to human thought and progress can be easily gained from the fact that when misfortunes befell the Muslim world in general and the Arabs of Spain, France and Italy in particular. the most precious booty treasured by the Europeans was a large number of valuable Arabic books and manuscripts. Prof. Umar al-Dasuqi has mentioned in his book titled *Fil-Adab-il-Hadith* that the Europeans collected more than 2,50,000 rare Arabic books and manuscripts, and decorated their libraries with them. For example, the libraries of Berlin, Paris, London, Leipzig, Leiden, Oxford and Madrid etc. are still very famous for having a large numbor of rare Arabic books and manuscripts on different branches of learning cultivated by the Arabic-speaking peoples.

The Arabs made valuable contributions, especially in historical, geographical, philosophical, mathematical and medical studies. Although here it is not possible to enter into details of their achievements in these fields, a passing reference to a few outstanding scholars who wrote in Arabic may appropriately be made in this connection. For example, Ibn Khaldun, the greatest historical thinker of Islam, is admired in the West as founder of the modern sciences of sociology and historiography. And as R. A. Nicholson has obsered, " His intellectual descendants ere the great medieval and modern historians of Europe - Machiavelli and Vico and Gibbon." In the realm of geography the names of Ibn Khurdadhbih, Ibn Hawqal, Yaqut, al-Bakri and al-Idrisi are very famous. The great mathematician, al--Khwarizmi, wrote the oldest work on algebra with over eight hundred examples known as Hisab-ul-Jabr w-al-Muqabalah (the calculation of integration and equation). It is remarkable to note that the Latin version of this book was used until the

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sixteenth century as the main mathematical text-book by western scholars. Of the original writers on medicine Ibn Zakariya al-Razi, the author of al-Hawi, an encyclopaedia on medicine; Ibn Sina, the author of the Canon of Medicines; and Abul Qasim al-Zahrawi, the greatest Arab surgeon of medieval times, are very famous. Upto the sixteenth century the works of these authors constituted the basis of the lectures on medicine in European universities. Similarly, the Arab contributions to the development of philosophical studies can be judged from the fact that Muslim philosophy continued to be taught in the universities of Europe upto the middle of the seventeenth century, and that Aristotle was understood in the West only through the commentaries of Ibn Rushd for long time, Besides, they achieved considerable distinction in Chemistry, Minerology, Botany, Fine Arts and Music etc. Their contributions to these fields of knowledge form the connecting link between the Graeco-Roman classical age and the modern civilization. In view of this fact they can justifiably be called as harbingers of the modern scientfic age. An idea of the importace of Arabic as depository of scientfic knowledge can be derived from what Becker, a German scientist used to say: "The contribution of the Arabs to science is so important that if I knew I have still 20 years to live and that I could get an abundant supply of Arabic books on science, I would learn Arabic even at this advanced stage of my life." Their contribution to modern civilization is further acknowledged by Briffault in his *Making of Humanity* in the following words : " What we call science arose in Europe as a result of a new spirit of enquiry, of new methods of investigation, of the method of experiment, observation, measurement. of the development of mathematics in a form unknown to the Greeks. That spirit and those methods were introduced into the European world by the Arabs."

Similarly, the contribution of Persian language to the advancement of human knowledge and civilazation can hardly be overestimated. It is common knowledge that after the destruction of the Abbasid Caliphate at the hands of the Mongols Arabic began to lose rapidly the proud status of being the lingua franca of the Muslim world, and was gradually replaced by local languages, especially Persian and Turkish. The Persians had already, even before the collapse of the Abbasid Caliphate, begun the experiment of producing scientific works in their language. For instance, Ibn Sina wrote his Danish Nama-e-Alai in Persian, although his major works were written Arabic.

Again, Persian was not confined to Iran alone. It spread with the Muslim conquests to India also where Arabic enjoyed at best a religious importance only. The Saljuqs, although racially Turks, were patrons of Persian language, literature and culture. Under them Persian lourished both in

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Persia and Anatolia as the language of culture and literature. The Ottoman Turks who supplanted the Saljuqs as the dominant power in West Asia also patronised Persian language and literature so much that cultured men vied with one another in writing Persian poetry. Sultan Salim I of Turky, for instance, wrote Persian poetry and had a Persian Diwan to his credit. We also know that Persian conlinued to be compulsory subject of study in Turky till the replacement of the Arabic script by the Latin in 1928 under Mustafa Kamal. Thus Persian replaced Arabic in most of the Muslim lands as the language of both culture and religion.

Now coming to the contribution of Arabic and Persian to the cultural heritage of India, I would like to emphasize that both these languages have played such an important role in preserving and enriehing the Indian culture that a correct appreciation of the history and cultural heritage of this country is not possible without the aid of Indo-Arab and Indo-Persian literatures.

Perhaps, the most significant contribution of Arabic to the cultural heritage of India lies in the fact that it was mostly through this language that the ancient intellectual legacy of this country was preserved, enriched and made known to the outside world. The names of al-Fazari, al-Kindi, al-Khwarizmi and al-Biruni etc, are well-known in history for bringing about a lively intellectual interchange between what the Indians and the Arabs possessed in different branches of knowledge and learning. In the field of mathematics and astronomy the Arabs first translated into Arabic Siddhānta, a treatise on astronomy in Sanskrit, as a result of which a systematic study of the stars was undertaken by them. They also discovered and learned from this book the use of Indian numerals, which when introduced in Europe, brought about a revolution in the science of calculation.

It may also be claimed that the Arabs not only preserved and transmitted the Indian legacy, but also enriched it with fresh contributions of their own, as they did not come to India empty-handed. They brought with them a greet deal of wisdom and skill which they had acquired from the Greeks. For instance, the influence of the Arabs on Indian astronomy may be assessed from the fact that the Indian astronomers took from them a number of technical terms, their methods of calculation of the latitudes and longitudes and in horoscopy a whole branch called *Tajik*.

While discussing the cultural give-and-take between India and the Arab world, we must not fail to pay our special attention to the above-mentioned Abu Rayhan al-Biruni, a renowned Arabist of Persian origin who stayed in India for several years, and acquainted himself with the language, philosophy and sciences of this country. He has given a very authentic account of the sciences, antiquities and customs of India in his famous book called

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Tarikh-ul-Hind. The celebrated German Orientalist E. Sachau has commented on the importance of this book by saying that the books written about India before al-Biruni are nothing but babies' toys in comparison with his book containing scienific researches.

Likewise, the contribution of Persian to the cultural heritage of India is all the more important. It has been the court-language of this sub-continent for about eight centuries, and it is deeply rootrd in the life and composite culture of our country.

The close relation between the Persian and Indian cultures is too well-known to be recounted. Both the people of Persia and the Aryans of India are descendants of the same stock. There is so much affinity between the language of the Avesta and Sanskrit that oriental scholars of the old Iranian languoge find knowledge of Sanskrit of great help in their understanding of the Avesta.

Here it also may be recalled that when Babur came to India, he brought with him a Central Asian culture which was thoroughly persianized owing to the fact that the Mughals were closely associated with that country. Babur himself, being well-grounded in Persian language and culture, composed poetry in Persian. Besides, the cultural patterns of Islam too came to India through Persian channels. This process provided ample opportunities for Persian language and literature to lay their indelible marks on Indian language and culture.

One great debt which India owes to Arabic and Persian is the faet that it was mainly through those languages that the ancient wisdom literature of this country was preserved and made known to the West. For example, the animal fables of Sanskrit origin, known as the fables of Bidpai were translated into Arabic by Ibn-ul-Muqaffa from Pahlavi under the title *Kalilah wa Dimnah.* What gives the Arabic versian special significance is the fact that it became the basis of all existing translatioos into various European and Asian language.

Again, as has been rightly described by Prof. S. A. H. Abidi in his presidential address delivered at the fourth session of the All-India Persian Teachers Conference, it was through Persian translation of the Upanishads by Dara Shukoh under the title Sirr-i-Akbar that the European orientalists became acquainted with and took keen interest in the study of our Vedic and Post-Vedic Sanskrit literature.

Another important aspect of the Indo-Arab and Indo-Persian literary, cultural and intellectual interchange is to be found in the rich cultivation of Arabic and Persian studies in India. There is no denying the fact that the

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growth of Islam in this country marks the emergence of a new epoch in the history of its cultural evolution. Education which so far had been confined to the privileged few was now made open to all. And the study of Arabic and Persian naturally occupied an important position in the educational curriculum of this country. As a result, it gave birth to a large number of Arabic and Persian scholars, who not only carried on the traditions of Arabic and Persian learning in this country, but also enriched the Indo-Arab and Indo-Persian literature with valuable contributions of their own which cannot be ignored while making an assessment of the literary achievements of Indian authors. They wrote volumes of Arabic and Persian books on both secular and religious subjects. Of the notable Arabic writers mention may be made of the following of whom our country shall always remain proud in the midst of the Arab countries of the world :

Imam Hasan bin Muhammad is author of *al-Ubab-ul-Dhakhir*, *Majma-ul-Bahrayn* and *Kitab-ul-Addad*. on philology, and Mashariq-ul Anwar on Hadith ; Sheikh Ali bin Hishamuddin of Burhanpur, author of *Kanz-ul-Ummal;* Allamah Mahmud of Jawnpur, author of *al-Faraid fi Ulum-il-Balaghah*; Muhibbullah al-Bihari, author of *Musallam-ul-Thabut* on principles of Jurisprudence; Sayyid Murtada al-Bilgrami, author of *Taj-ul-Arus fi Sharh-il-Qamus*; Nawab Siddiq Hasan Khan of Bhopal, author of 222 books in Arabic, Persian and Urdu; and Sheikh Abdul Hayy of Lucknow, author of 110 books including 86 books in Arabic on various subjects of Arabic and Islamic studies.

In the realm of Persien Amir Khusrau, Abul Fayd Faydi, Dara Shukoh, Asadullah Khan Ghalib and Allamah Muhammad Iqbal, to quote only a few names out of a legion, are very famous, It is a matter of pride for our country that the Indian style of Persian known to fame as *Sabk-e-Hindi* was duly recognised and appreciated in the Persian-speaking world.

Bul it is a matter of great pity that the works of the above and other eminent Indian authors in these languages, though quite popular abroad, have not received sufficient attention of our scholars. So Arabic and Persian works produced in our country seem to be a neglected area of research. It is now high time that scholars pursuing Arabic and Persian researches should udertake, without further loss of time, a systematic and comprehensive study of these authors and their works, so that their contributions may be critically assessed and their achievements appreciated.

Besides, a good number of Arabic and Persian books and munuscripts bearing on Indian history, geography and culture await the attention of our scholars. Research and investigation in this field are not only likely to be

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immensely rewarding, but also they will help to present a correct picture of history and culture. Such books should also be translated into major Indian languages for the benefit of our fellow brothers who are not acquainted with Arabic and Persian.

In his presidential address titled *Indian and the Arab World through the Ages* delivered at the 38th session of the Indian History Codgress, Prof. M. S. Khan, while emphasising the need for making a detailed, critical and well-documented study of the history of the Indo-Arab relations, has made a survey and evaluation of the work already done on the subject which I need not repeat here. But I shall simply point out by way of illustration that Arabic literature bearing on Indian history contains a very good image of our legacy and country. Arab travellers right from merchant Sulayman of the ninth century to Ibn Battutah of the fourteenth display the admiration, love and affeetion of the Arabs for this country and its people.

While talking of the traditions of Arabic and Persian studies as carried on in our country in the past, I cannot remain without referrieg to unsatisfactory conditions of teaching and learning in these subjects at present, It ts no longer a secret that our modern Colleges and universities have failed to provide, barring a few exceptions, the type of scholars who can hand down the true Arabie and Persian learning. In case of Arabic, for instance, the standards of learning at the Indian universities have so much deteriotated in recent years that most of our M. A, and Doctorate degrees holders are not able to read, write and speak even simple Arabic, leave apart their ability to be well-grounded in the subject. Indeed it is sad to note that our universities have not been able to produce the expertise needed by our nation for international communication in this language. But now we cannot afford to permit this state of affairs to continue for a long time. It is, therefore, high time for us that we should reorient and restructure our courses so as to make university-education in these subjects more fruitfulj and more in tune with our national interests.

A word of praise must be expressed here for some of our traditional Madrasahs and Seminaries imparting instruction in Arabic, specially Nadwat-ul-Ulama at Lucknow, whose products become comparatively better skilled in the use of this language. The Department of Arabic at the Central Institute of English aud Foreign Languages, Hyderabad, also deserve our appreciation for making satisfactory progress in this particular direction under the headship of Prof. Abdul Halim Nadwi. It is worthy of mention in this context that recently an All-India Arabic Seminar was held under the auspices of the CIEFL on "THE PROBLEMS OF TEACHING ARAABIC IN INDIA WITH SPECIAL FOCUS ON SYLLABUS, AIMS AND METHODS, which

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was inaugurated by Sayyid Abul Hasan Ali al-Nadwi, Rector of Nadwat-ul-Ulama, Lucknow. One important feature of this Seminar was that its proceedings were conducted in Arabic and also that majority of the delegates presented their papers in the same language. Such seminars should be frequently held in both Arabic and Persian as they provide forums for discussing problems connected with studies and researches in these subjects.

I shall make a few more suggestions for our general guidance. First, preparation of general descriptive catalogue of the various Arabic and Persian manuscripts which are lying scattered all over the world is urgently needed. Non-availability of such catalogues not only renders the work of research tedious and difficult, but also keeps the research scholars in the dark about some of the available source materials in their respective fields of studies. It is, therefore, suggested that publication of a general descriptive catalogue should be undertaken by scholars on a prioriŋy basis. Obviously, this work cannot be done except through cooperation and coordination of research centres all over the world. Completion of this work is sure to give great impetus to research and the consequent enhancement of knowledge.

Publication of unpublished texts and manuscripts in these languages is yet another important work which requires our immediate attention. As estimated by Arab scholars and experts, there are about one million manuscripts in Arabic alone. Perhaps, this is the largest number of manuseripts which any single language can claim to its credit. Out of this vast number about 9 lakh manuscripts still await analysis and publication. This is a matter of considerable urgency, otherwise some of these valuable materials might soon perish for want of proper care and custody. If these along with the numerous Persian Manuscripts are published, they are bound to throw flood-light on the hitherto unknown aspects of the legacies of Arabic and Persian.

Similarly, publication of systematic and regular research bulletins giving information regarding the various research works being carried on at research centres all over the world will solve a great academic purpose. This will avoid much of duplication in research as well as wastage of precious iutellectual energy which might otherwise be applied to explore and analyse other untouched sources of knowledge. It is worthy of mention in this context that the regular publication of the periodic Journal AL-LISAN-UL-ARABI by the Bureau of Coordination of Arabization at Rabat, Morocco, under the directorship of Prof. Abdelaziz Benabdellah, has been greatly satisfying the needs of our research scholars. It enlightens them not only on researches on Arabic linguistic sciences, but also on the various aspects of research being carried on in the field of Arabic studies in geueral.

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Last but not the least, introduction of inter-disciplinary courses in Arabic, Persian, Pali, Prakrit and other Indian languages on the basis of applied linguistics at some selected universities is also highly desirable and imperative. This will not only facilitate Indologieal studies on scientific lines, but also promote our national integration and communal harmony by pinpointing the various cultural cross--currents that constitute the composite culture of India. It is gratifying to note that the School of Comparative Language and Culture at Bhopal University in Madhya Pradesh has already started offering such courses under the guidance of Dr. Hiralal Shukla, whose Word Atlas of Baghelkhand running into 2000 pages has been hailed in the academic world as a most pioneering work in the field of Indian linguistics. It is hoped that the various courses introduced by this School will not end up as mere repetitions of traditional courses, but rather it will set a good model for other centres of Indologieal studies to follow.

Finally, I thank you once again for the honour you have done me and patient hearing you have so kindly accorded to me.

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PALI AND BUDDHISM SECTION

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By

KARUNESH SHUKLA

सर्वदृष्टिप्रहाणाय यः सद्धर्ममदेशयत् ।
अनुकम्पामुपादाय तं नमस्यामि गौतमम् ॥
बोधिसत्त्वं नमस्कृत्य आप्तशास्त्रगुरूंस्तथा ।
प्रणम्य पूर्वसूरींश्च कल्याणमित्रकांक्षया ॥
गुरुकृपालब्धवर्णो विद्वद्वर्गमुपागतः ।
सोऽहं करुणेशशर्मा शुक्लवंशसमुद्भवः ॥
विश्वविश्रुतपीठेऽस्मिन् प्राच्यविद्याधिवेशने ।
श्रद्धया पुष्करक्षेत्रे वक्ष्ये सौगतपर्षदि ॥

FELLOW DELEGATES AND FRIENDS,

I am beholden to the authorities of the All-India Oriental Conference for the honour they have done to an anxious student of Buddhtsm by choosing me to chair the Pali and Buddhism section of their thirty-first session. One's inadequacy is enhanced when one knows that this chair was adorned in the past by savants like Sylvaṇ Levi, G. P. Malalasekara, P. V. Bapat, V. V. Gokhale and Ananta Lal Thakur. I crave the indulgence and blessings of pūrvasūris and kalyāṇamitras to humbly discharge my duties.

For me the sessions of the All-India Oriental Conference have been a tīrtha, where one has met the leading lights of one's chosen field of studentship like Profs. Bapat, Gokhale, Thakur, P. L. Vaidya, N. Aiyaswami Shastri, Shanti Bhikshu Shastri, Prahlad Pradhan, Ram Suresh Tripathi, D. D. Malavania, N. Tatia and others who inspired one with their unflinching search for truth and unimpeachable standards of scholarship. The solicitude they showed to a novice in the field, their blessings and encouraging gestures have inspired me all along.

Friends, we are deeply griveved to miss amongst us some of our senior colleagues and predecessors whom we had met at the previous session at Shantiniketan. In the death of Profs. Ludwik Sternbach, Prahlad Pradhan and Ram Suresh Tripathi, we have lost scholars whose work in the field of Buddhist Studies would continue to be remembered and emulated,

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II

BUDDHISM IS A MATRIX of systems and sub-systems, incorporating myths, rituals, ethics, metaphysics, and soteriology. It is studied in various branches, such as Pali, Sanskrit Buddhism, Tibetology, Sino-Japanese as well as South and East Asian Studies. The central place in these studies is occupied by the interpretation of the teachings of the Venerable Tathāgata represented in the extant Pali Tripiṭakas. The Buddha flourished in an age of great intellectual ferment during which several thinkers and schools called Samaṇas propounded viewpoints of niyativāda, akriyāvāda etc. and contributed to heresy (natthi-vāda). The Buddha neither contributed to their heretic views nor did he subscribe to the Vedic ritualism.

The Upaniṣads also declared the yajñas to be of evanescent and ephemeral character. Buddha's viewpoint in this regard seems similar to that of the Upaniṣads, but he did not subscribe to the view that the world emanates from the eternal Brahman. Majjhimā paṭipadā and paṭiccasamuppāda as the doctrine of dependent origination explain the efficacy of cause and effect and also analyse the human personality in its various aspects. He did not preach the existence of God or of any other eternal entity, nor did he rely on Vedic or any other scripture. He simply showed a way to the cessation of suffering and realisation of Nibbāṇa and taught only that which was conducive to this, the rest he did not.

The Buddha himself was concerned with the realisation of Nibbāṇa blowing out of the flames of wordly afflictions and attachment. He provided the world with the solution to the problems of life and their theoritico-practical understanding. The Upaniṣads preceded him and it was but natural for him to have dealt with almost the same problems in a different tenor and setting.

The relation of Upaniṣads and early Buddhism has been variously interpreted, but we do not see any reason to side with any of the extremist views, e. g. (a) that the Buddha propounded his doctrines in the light of Upaniṣadic ātmavāda; or, (b) that he totally confuted the Upaniṣadic view-point and negated the enduring conscious psyche.

The following gāthās from the oldest portions of the Tripiṭaka indicate that the true purport of the Buddha's anatta-teaching was non-egoity :

Paripakko vayo mayham*parittaṁ mama jīvitam /
Pohāya vo gamissāmi kataṁ me saraṇam attano //
(Mahāpariniibbāṇa Sutta, Dīghanikāya)

Anattani attamāniñca passa lokaṁ sadevakam /
Niviṭṭhaṁ nāmarūpasmiṃ idaṃ saccaṃti maññati //

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Taṁ hi tassa musā hoti mosadhammaṁ hi ittaram /
Amosadhammaṁ nibbāṇaṁ tad ariyā saccato vidū //
(Suttanipāta, Khuddaka Nikāya, I, Dvayatānupassana Sutta)

Otherwise, there was no question of either assuming the existence of atta or negating it (natthi attā kuto nir attā vā).

The same viewpoint bscomes explicit when he refers to dhammatā as santa, paṇīta, duddassa, duranubodha and paṇḍitavedanīya. The Bhārahārasutta and its Sanskrit version as quoted in the Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkārabhāṣya of Ārya Asaṅga and the Nyāyavārttikaṃ, as also the oftreferred to dictum in the sayings of the Buddha (which refers to the five Khandhas as na so me attā) the Saptaśatikā Prajñāpāramitā and the Mahāyāna sūtrālaṅkāra confirm this. Wheather the nairātmya doctrine refers to the negation of the enduring consciousness or to non-egoity may be decided in the light of the above and other scriptural statements.

Two problems to which I would like to draw the attention of Buddhist scholars are the original home of the tantras, the identification of the famous Oddiyāna, and the concept of Sandhā Bhāṣā or Twilight language.

The first of these has attracted the attention of scholars for several decades but a final verdict on this point remains to be given. As regards the Sandhā Bhāṣa of the Buddhist Tantras, some fresh light on this point has been shed in recent times.

In the light of the following verse of Candrakīrti's Pradīpoddyotana :

Viśiṣṭarucisattvānāṁ dharmatattvaprakāśanam /
Viruddhālāpayogena yat tat saṁdhāya bhāṣitam //

And the Sandhābhāsāṭīkā of Nāgārjuna, it has been concluded that the Sandhā Bhāsā delineates the ambiguity in Tantric terms in the way the twilight reflects the ambiguity between light and darkness.

The conception of Tantrn has also to be clarified in view of the definition found in the Guhya Samāja Tantra, *Prabandhaṁ tantram ākhyātam* and the Tibetan tradition as reproduced by Guenther who remarks that Tantra is continuity *par excellence.*

A few remarks on the identification of Śubhagupta also would not be out of place here. The late Mm. Pandita Vidhusekhara Bhattacharya reconstructed the Iśvarabhaṅga Kārikās and ascribed them to one Kalyāṇarakṣita. But we find no references to Kalyāṇarakṣita in the extant Buddhist Sanskrit literature. Instead, we find the views of one Bhadanta Śubhagupta referred to in the Tattvasangraha of Śāntarakṣita and the Pañjikā

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of Kamalaśīla. Some of these verses relate to the refutation of the Paramāṇukāraṇavāda. The Īśvarabhaṅga Kārikās refute the causality of Īśvara and denounce existence of God. It is presumed that the rendering of the name Kalyāṇarakṣita may be a mistake for Śubhagupta, as the Tibetan equivalent of the two renderings would be the same. Kalyāṇa and Śubha and Rakṣita and Gupta essentially have the same connotations. Hence this mistake may have occurred in natural courrse. We should take Śubhagupta as the author of the Īśvarabhaṅga Kārikās and other tracts supposed to have been composed by Kalyānarakṣita. Further elucidation in the matter by a scrutiny of Tibetan works will enable us to ascertain the identity and authorship of Śubhagupta.

III

Friends, Pali is the basis of Buddhist studies in modern times. One question that keeps recurring is whether the Buddha gave his sermons in Pali or some other language. The extant form of the Pali canon was shaped around 100 A. D. The text of the Abhidhammapiṭaka was determined in the second Mahāsaṅgīti. Frauwallner contended with an amount of certainty that before Aśoka, a great work Skandhaka was produced, which divided and arranged enormous material concerning monastic rules according to a well conceived plan. It is also a well known fact that the original teachings of the Buddha were delivered in the local vernaculars, mostly in the Māgadhī, which is represented by modern Magahi spoken around Bodhagaya These teachings were translated by the disciples of the Buddha into their own local dialects. The cullavagga (V. 43) also bears testimony to this, which accounts for this kind of preservation of the Buddha's teachings. Edgerton terms this language as the Middle Indic Language. It has been argued by Lueders that the Pali, Sanskrit and other Scriptures including the Mahāvastu, were renderings or redactions from an original source. This is evidenced by the fact that all the eighteen nikāyas in the Buddhist tradition had their own set of scriptures, dharmapadas vinayas and abhidharmas, with slight textual differences which suggest that these texts were redactions or renderings from a common original source.

It may also be pointed out that the present Pali canonical texts are nearest to the Buddhas' sayings. Their authenticity, antiquity and contribution to the Buddhist tradition can neither be questioned nor ignored. Still, the various strata in the final shaping of these texts should be taken into account.

It is also to be remarked that in the beginning, the dvādaśāṅga buddhavacanas were analysed and illustrated Later on a ninefold division of the same and following that the mātrikas were introduced for enumerating or

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summarising the doctrines. These have an imprint on the present shape of Abhidharma and the Prajñāpāramitās.

Pali studies attracted the attention of scholars in the west in the second half of the last century and the Pali Texts Society has been doing commendable work since then. In India, through the efforts of D. Kosambi, P. V. Bapat, Bhikkhu Jagadish Kashyap, Acharya Buddharakkhita and others Pali studies gained momentum in Calcutta, Poona, Varanasi, Nalanda, Bangalore and other places. In Calcutta, under the guidance of N. Dutta and A. C. Benerjee Pali studies have been given a definite direction which is being followed by their able successors. Poona has been a centre of Pali studies for the last seventy years. Aeharya Buddharakkhita and his able disciple Bhikku Kheminda are putting in great efforts for the propagation of Pali through modern techniques under the banner of the Mahabodhi Society, Bangalore, and its branches in various parts of the country. The Nalanda Pali Institute (Navanālanda Mahāvihāra), after bringing out the Pali Tripiṭaka in the Nāgarī characters, has been continuing its work of publishing Pali aṭṭhakathās. Recently the department of Pali of the Sampurnanand Sanskrit Vishvavidyalaya, Varanasi, has brought out the Visuddhimaggo with the aṭṭhakathā (ṭippaṇī). Recently, a separate department of Pali has been eslablished at the Benaras Hindu University with Dr. N. H. Samtani as its incharge and the University of Gorakhpur also is taking steps for introducing Pali at the Post-graduate level.

IV

In the tradition of our country, philosophic knowledge has not been merely an intellectual pursuit but realisation of truth through sādhanā with guru as the direct mediator. Even if its elucidation required all the resources of language and logic, the tattva was ' aparapratyaya ' or 'pratyātmavedya'. Nāgārjuna says :

Aparapratyayaṁ śāntaṁ prapañcair aprapañcitam /
Nirvikalpam anānārtham etat tattvasya lakṣaṇam. //

In this context the greatest happening of our time is the graceful presence of H. H. the Dalai Lama, and with him of the dharmagurus and Tathāgata-incarnates of the four main sects of Tibetan esoteric sādhanā viz. Ven Sakyatri Zin, Ven. Yong Zing ling, Ven. Karmapa (now deceased) and Ven. Du - Jom of the Sakyapa, Geluk - pa, Kargya - pa and Nima pa order respectively along with their disciples and followers, and a large number of spiritually trained initiates – Lamas, Tulkus and Rinpoches in our country.

There was a time when ācāryas like Padmasaṁbhava, Śāntarakṣita and others travelled to the land of Tibet and helped in translating and

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preserving the Sanskrit Buddhist Literature and Spiritual and esoteric sādhanā and Yogic discipline, which was being practised and preserved there in all its secrecy and subtlety to this day. Now a similar dharma - cakra - pravartana seems to have taken place again with the arrival of these spiritually trained paṇḍitas of Tibet in our country. They had to leave their holy land in regretful circumstances, but their arrival in this country has been a boon, and impetus for the renewal by bringing back to us the living continuity of dharma and sādhanā, imparting an immediacy to the ideas which would have been otherwise impossible.

With the presence of the Tibetan scholars the entire Tibetan lore is again being studied in the light of surviving Buddhist Sanskrit (Mahāyāna and Tantric) literature. The Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, Dharmashala has been bringing out Tibetan works of paramount importance and publishing translations of some of these works. Many śāstric works containing the spiritual inheritance of Tibet and the contribution of Mahāyāna and Tibetan Lore to Buddhist tradition have also been brought out. Of these numerous works, the English translation of Rājaparikathāratnamālā (or Ratnāvalī of Nāgārjuna) under the title the Precious Garland and the Song of Four Mindfulnesses, the Bodhicaryāvatāra of Śāntideva (from Tibetan translation), Tantra in Tibet - The Great Exposition of Secret Mantra of Tsong ka - pa (translated and edited by Jeffrey Hopkins). The Buddhism of Tibet and the Key to the Middle Way by H. H. Dalai Lama the XIV may be mentioned.

For a true grasp of the later Mahāyāna and Tantric Buddhism the Tibetan and Chinese translations are our main sources without which our knowledge of the Buddhist lore, tradition and scriptures is bound to be incomplete and lopsided. Of these translations, the Chinese translations are comparatively free, the Tibetan ones are not so. As a result it is comparatively easier and even safer to return back to the lost Indian texts from their surviving Tibetan translations.

These Tibetan translations are the main basis of translating and reconstructing the lost original texts which are not accessible to us in teeir original forms. It is a matter of great satisfaction that the Central Tibetan Institute of Higher Studies, Sarnath has undertaken the commendable work of the reconstruction of ancient Mahāyāna Buddhist texts surviving in their Tibetan translations. Apart from bringing out several studies, books and commentaries such as Nāgārjuna's Philosophy of Dialectic, the Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā with Asaṅga's verse-commentary, the Life and Teachings of Eightyfour Siddhas, the Bhāvanā-krama, Akṣayamatinirdeśasūtra Pramāṇasamuccaya, Ratnāvalī, Dharmādharmatāvibhaṅga and Madhyamakālaṅkāra-

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kārikā are some of the texts taken up at this Institute for reconstruction in Sanskrit.

This Institute has also taken up translation into Tibetan of the Vaiśeṣika Sūtras and some other important Sanskrit texts. Under the inspiring guidance of the eminent Tibetologist, Rev. Prof. Samdhong Rinpoche as its director, this institute also organised a symposium on Pratītyasamutpāda and other philosophical Systems in 1981. Special emphasis was laid on evaluation of pratītyasumutpāda in the light of the doctrines of causality evolved in other Indian philosophical systems, as well as its social meaning.

The Tibet House, New Delhi, with Rev. Prof. Doboom Tulku as Director has been serving the cause of Tibetan Studies in its own way. It has during the last three years, published Encyclopaedia Tibetica in 137 Volumes being the collected works of Bodong (Bodong - sma - gum) Collected Works of Tsho - Mchog glin (in 25 volumes), Collected Works of Ngul chu (Dharma Bhadra in 8 volumes), Biographical Materials of Jonang (in 2 volumes), Collected Works of Radging (01 volume) and lastly Tārā Tantra translated from Tibetan into English by G. M. Mullin. This work contains some rituals relating to Tantra. A symposium on *Hindu, Christian and Buddhist Understandig of God and Future of Mankind* was also convened by the Tibet House in July 1982.

V

Friends Buddhology as a branch of Indology has been attracting scholars throughout the world since the last century. Several specialised research centres have been established in India as well as in other countries where competent scolars are enriching our knowledge through their valuable researches. In recent times, Tibetology also has attracted scholars and significant contributions have been made in this branch along with other branches of Buddhist Studies in the East as well as in the West.

It is not possible to give an account of these works here, but I shall try to locate certain spheres in which researches are being done and others in which research at a higher plane needs to be undertaken. The Buddist Sanskrit manuscripts brought by Mahāpaṇḍita Rāhula Sāṁkṛtyāyana from Tibet are being utilised for scholarly editions of Buddhist texts at the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute.

Recently *Sāratamā* (ed. P. S. Jaini) and *Abhidharmasamuccayaṭīkā* (ed. N. Tatia) have appeared in the Tibetan Sanskrit Works Series brought out by this Institute. The present speaker has edited the *Herukasādhana Pañjikā* of Kambalapāda along with the *Herukābhidhāna* (or *Herukanidhana*) *Tantra* and the *Herukatantra* now awaiting publication. Similarly, the

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Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa Tantra and *Vinayasūtravṛtti* edited by Dr. R. N. Pandey, who has also to his credit a Sanskrit reconstruction of the commentaries of Bhavya and Buddhapālita along with *Akutobhayā* of Nāgārjuna on the *Mādhyamika Kārikās* need be published soon. *Śrāvakabhūmi* Vol. II containing a critical study of the work by the present speaker is in the press. The Nepalese manuscripts of some Buddhist Tantras, such as *Nāmasaṅgīti* (with *ṭīkā*) have been taken up at the Sampurnanda Sanskrit University, Varanasi. *Santānāntarasiddhi* with the commentary of Vinītadeva has been taken up at this university for reconstruction. An edition of the *Kālacakra Tantra* (Vol. I) by Dr. Bishwanath Banerji of Vishwa Bharti is expected to be published very soon. The *Karuṇāpuṇḍarīka* edited by Radheshyam Dhar Dwivedi and *Bauddha Stotrasaṁgraha* edited by Brahmadeva Narain Sharma are other valuable works to be brought out by the same institution.

The newly founded Nāgārjuna Bauddha Bhāratī Tattva Vidyānusaṁdhānapīṭha at Gorakpur has undertaken the publication of Kālacakra Texts, including the commentary *Vimalaprabhā*, *Nāmasaṅgīti* with Sanskrit commentary *Amṛtakaṇikā*, the *Karuṇāpuṇḍarīka*, the *Lokeśvaraśataka* the *Pañcakrama* and some other Buddist Tantric Texts as also the collected works of Nāgārjuna. Dr. Kishore Nath Jha is working on an exposition of the *Jñānaśrīmitranibandhāvali* and researches are also being done on the *Subodhālaṁkāra* of Dharmakīrti at the Ganganath Jha Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapita, Allahabad.

Dr. Lokesh Chrndra has also brought out a Xylographic reproductin of the Palm-leaf manuscript of the *Kālacakra Tantra as* well as '*The* 100 *Forms of Lokeśvara in Hymns and Scriptures*' and Sanskrit reconstruction of the *Māravijaya Stotra* from Chinese (published in Prajñāloka).

Some of the important publications of Saraswati Vihar, New Delhi are *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṅgīti*, *Abhidhānottara Tatntra*, *Siddham Samantabhadracaryā*, Indian scripts in Tibet, *Pañcarakṣā*, *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, *Kāraṇḍavyūha*, *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatejorāja Tantra*, and *Materials for the History of Tibetan Buddhism.*

A study of the Buddhist Tantras in the light of modern psychology has been presented by H. V. Guenther who has also evolved new terminologies in rendering Tibetan versions of Tantric texts. The celebrated author of several Sanskrit reconstructions from the Chinese, Prof. Shanti Bhikshu Shastri has prepared an edition of the *Śiṣyadharmalekhakāvya* of Candragomin utilising the Chinese and other sources, which is a distinct improvement on the edition of Prof. P. L. Vaidya. This book still remains to be published. The *Tattvārthapaṭala* of the Bodhisattābhūmi has in translated with annotaions by J. D.

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Willis (Columbia University) under the title *On Knowing Reality. Bridging the Sūtras and Tantras* containing the ten minor works of the First Dalai Lama edited and translated by G. M. Mullin is a new addition to the Buddhist religio-philosophical literature and brings home various aspects of the śūnyatā doctrine (Tusita Book, Dharmashala, 1981).

In the field of Buddhist epistemology contributions of D. D. Malavania and Jayatilake are well-known. Prof. Stekellner's reconstruction of the views of the *Pramāṇaviniścaya* on the basis of Sanskrit quotations and Tibetan translation is a valuable contribution in the field of Buddhist Nyāya (*Dharmakīrti's Paamānaviniścayaḥ*, Wien, 1979). Prof. Anant Lal Thakur brought out the *Nyāyālaṅkāra* of Abhayadeva Sūri (Gaekwad Oriental Series Baroda, 1981) which offers some quotations from and elucidation of Dignaga's views not available elsewhere. His edition of *Jñānaśrīmitranibandhāvalī*, which opened new vistas in the field of Buddhist epistemological studies has gone out of print and its reprint by some agency is eagerly awaited. Similarly, Richard Haye's *Dignāga's Views of Reasoning and Reason and Emptiness* and *A Study of Logic and Mysticism* by Lida Shotaro are valuable contributions in this field.

Gustav Roth's *Particular Features of the Languages of the Ārya Mahāsāṅghika Lokottaravādin*, Heinz Bechart's (ed) *The Language of the Earliest Buddhist Tradition*, M. Hahn's *The Play Lokānandanāṭaka* by Candragomin, Gopadatta's *Kapīśvara Jātaka* and *Die Haribhaṭṭa Jātakamālā*, Vigrahavyāvarttani (English translation by Kamaleshwar Bhattacharya), *Maṇicūdāvadāna* by Cogni, *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Sāyanāsanavastu* and the *Adhikaraṇavastu* by R. Gnoli, A Passali's *Śāutideva, Buddhist Mystic of the 7th and 8th Century*, *Pāli Nīti Texts of Burma* edited by H. Bechert and H. Braun and *Paññāsa Jātaka* and *Milindapañhaṭīkā* edited by P. S. Jaini, *Doctrine of Meaning in Mādhyamika* by Peter Ebbatson, *Philosophy of Language in Mādhyamika* by Paul William are also notable contributions in the field. Buddhist studies have been provided a standard and direction by J. W. de Jong and his collagues at Canberra. Studies in Avadānas, *Pratyutpanna Buddha Saṁmukhāvasthita Samādhisūtra* and Early Buddhist Symbolism and Metaphysics, Buddhist studies, edited by Geogory Schopen and Text-Critical Remarks *on The Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā* by Jong are important contributions. Dr. Hari Shanker Prasad's work on *Time in Buddhist Philosophy* presents a critical and comparative account of the concept of time in the various systems of Buddhist thought.

Buddhist studies have gained prominence in south India under Prof. K. Sacchidananda Murti, whose lectures and studies in the Mahāyānasūtras present a philosophical study of the Buddhist texts with a critical approach.

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He also introduced a 'Philosophy of the Buddha' course at the Post-graduate level at the Andhra University, Waltair.

The establishment of the Mahāyāna Research Centre (under auspices of the Nagarjuna University) Guntur is a notable event in the sphere of Buddhist studies in Mahāyāna.

Another event in the sbhere of Buddhist studies is the publication of Tome V of the French Translation of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra* of Nagarjuna by Prof. E. Lamotte.

In the sphere of Pali studies, publications of Pali Publications Socity, Kandy, the Sampurnananda Sanskrit Vishvavidyalaya, Varanasi the Nava-nālandā Mahāvihāra are the foremost. The Navanālandā Mahāvihāra has continued the publication of the Atthakathās. Recently the Atthakathās of Khuddakapāṭha, *Suttanipāta Therīgāthā* and *Theragathā* the *Patisambhidhā-magga* as also that of the Majjhimanikāya (Papañca Sūdani) have appeared.

L. N. Tiwari of Sampurnananda Sanskrit Vishvavidylaya has edited the *Maṇisāramañjūsā Ṭīkā* and R. S. Tripathi of the same institution has edited *Aṭṭhaśālinī* with the commentary *Aṭṭhavaṇṇanā*. K. L. Hazra has brought out a book on Theravāda in South East Asia. The *Critical Pali Dictionary* sponsored by the Royal Danish Academy, Copenhagen and prepared at the Government Sanskrit College, Calcutta, under the supervision of Dr. H. N Chatterjee has lastly brought out the 9th facicule of its III Volume ending with the vowels. Dr. H. N. Chatterji has brought out an edition of the available portions of *Ratnāvalī* of Nāgārjuna.

Prof. Jagannatha Upadhyaya of Varanasi is working on the Buddhist Tantras as a Jawahar Lal Nehru Fellow and Dr. L. M. Joshi of Patiala and Dr. N. H. Samtani of Banaras Hindu University have made very valuable contributions to the field of Buddhist Nirvana Tantras and aspects of Pali Buddhism.

In the sphere of Tantric studies Prof. Alex Wayman of Columbia has further enriched our knowledge through his valuable contributions in the field.

Contribution of Bharat Singh Upadhyaya in the field of Pali, Sanskrit Buddhism and Zen Buddhism, of S. K. Pathak in the field of Tantric Buddhism and the Mādhyamika thought, of Nagendra Nath Upadhyaya in the field of Tantric Buddhism, the Nātha yoga Philosophy and the Buddhist Kāpālika Sādhanā and of Dr. Krishnanand Chaudhary's study of the Buddhist Images are noteworthy and significant,

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Suniti Kumar Pathak's reconstruction of the *Yuktiṣaṣṭikā* of Nāgārjuna is to be soon published by the Nagarjuna Buddhist Foundation, Gorakhpur. He is also working on the translation of the *Advayavajrasaṅgraha.*

Prof. N. Aiyaswami Shastri's revised edition of the *Ālambanaparīkṣā* of Dignāga has been published by the Institute of Tibetology, Gangtok and his another work *Buddhist Idealism* is being published by the Nagarjuna Buddhistt Foundation, Gorakhpur.

The Department of Buddhist studies, University of Delhi has been doing commendable work in the field of Pali and Buddhist studies under the guidance of Mahesh Tiwari, a pioneer in the field of Pali. This department recently organised a national seminar on the Impact of Buddhist Thought on Indian life and Calture.

VI

Friends, it would not be out of place to point out some of the problem areas that need be tackled as it keeps occurring to me as a student of Buddhist philosphy. These problems are of historical, exegetical, methodological as well as text-critical and hermeneutical nature.

The Buddhist researches would remain handicapped and incomplete until the remaining unstudied, unedited and unpublished Buddhist texts are studied, edited and brought to light for the use and benefit of the researcher in the field. Still more important is the task of reconstruction of the lost texts from their translations preserved in other Asian languages and providing the missing links of the systems on the basis of these translations as well as the allusions and references in allied systems of Indian thought.

What Guenther has said regarding modern studies in the field of Tantric Buddhism is true of the studies in the field of entire Indian Buddhist tradition. "To be unaware tf the difference between East and West and on the basis of such ignorance to outline a development of Buddhist thought can hardly be said to do justice to Buddhism. The various histories of Buddhist thought that have been written all bear the stamp of the second half of the ninenteenth century. The so-ealled higher criticism which often is insane arbitrariness in the field of Buddhist studies is an inverted form of popular Darwinism an attempt to understand everything in terms of evolution and degeneration." (*Life and Teachings of Nāropā, P. 113*).

No system has evolved in isolation. The Brahmanic, Jaina and the Buddhist systems need be studied as integral parts of one coherent system. Though they mny have some underlying differences, their common heritage should be emphasised. The traditional method of the intensive study of a system and the doctrines propounded in its texts needs urgent revival. The

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histrorical approach towards a system, deprived of this traditional methodology, is incapable of providing an insight into the systems or its doctrines. A textual criticism of the available texts and their various manuscripts should be taken up in the light of the manuscripts available in other scripts and countries also. This may also lead us to a carrect version of the reported sayings of the Buddha.

Apart from studying the Buddhist texts from the traditional method, having an access to the traditionally handed down comments and interpretations, a hermeneutical approach towards them needs to be adopted. The study of the meaning of particular philosophical idea used in Buddhhist texts should be pursued with a view to understand it in the light of the past environment as also the present trends of understanding which may form a basis of correlating it with the fruture. Once again I thank you all for kind attention.

APPENDIX

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By

DAMODARA SHASTRI

अकृत्रिमस्वादुपदाम्, परमार्थाभिधायिनीम् ।
सर्वभाषापरिणतां जैनीं वाचमुपास्महे ॥[1]

आदरणीय विद्वद्-वर्ग, देवियों और सज्जनों !

सबसे पहले मैं आप सब लोगों के प्रति कृतज्ञता-ज्ञापन करना चाहूंगा[2] जिन्होंने अ. भा. प्राच्य विद्या सम्मेलन के ३१ वें अधिवेशन के प्राकृत व जैन विद्या विभाग के अध्यक्षपद पद पर मुझे निर्वाचित किया। मैं इसे आप लोगों के हृदय की उदारता व सौजन्य ही मानता हूं जो आपने मुझ-जैसे अल्पज्ञ व्यक्ति को दृढ़तर विश्वास के साथ यह गुरुतर दायित्व सौंपा। तेल की छोटीं-सी बूंद भी जल में गिरते ही बहुव्यापी हो जाती है, वैसे ही आप-जैसे विद्वान् लोगों की सद्-दृष्टि का संसर्ग पाकर, मेरा अल्प-ज्ञान भी व्यापक प्रतिष्ठा प्राप्त कर रहा है,[3] इसे मैं अपना अहोभाग्यं मानता हूं। इस पद को सुशोभित करने वाले पूर्ववर्ती विद्वानों द्वारा निर्दिष्ट व सरलीकृत सरणि का अनुसरण कर,[4] मैं गुरुतर दायित्व को वहन करने का साहस बटोर सका हूं। इस पद के अनुरूप कर्तव्य का निर्वाह के प्रति आप लोगो के प्रेम और विश्वासपूर्ण सहयोग के सम्बल पर स्वतः सम्पन्न हो सकेगा - इसी भावना के साथ मै आपके समक्ष उपस्थित हुआ हूं।

प्राकृत व जैन विद्या के क्षेत्र से सम्बध व्यक्ति जानते हैं कि विद्वत्-गोष्ठी (सेमिनार) की परम्परा भारत में अतिप्राचीन काल से रही है। आदि तीर्थंकर ऋषभदेव के पुत्र चक्रवर्ती सम्राट-भरत विदग्ध-मंडली के बीच 'विद्या-गोष्ठी' आयोजित कर, शंकाओं की निवृत्ति-हेतु

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१. अभिनव वाग्भट (१४ वी शती) कृत काव्यानुशासन मे आचार्य हेमचंद्र का वचन, श्लो. I

२. तदेबोपकृतं पुंसां यत् सद्भावप्रदर्शनम् (जैन हरिवंश पु. २१।३२)। कृतज्ञता सुदाक्षिण्यं सदाचारः प्रकीर्तितः (सागर धर्मामृत, १।११ की ज्ञानदीपिका टीका मे उद्धृत)। यः कर्म व्यतिहारेण नोपकारार्णवं तरेत्। स जीवन्नपि निर्जीवो निर्गन्धप्रसवोपमः (उत्तर पु. ६३।२२२)। सतां स सहजो भावो यत् स्तुवन्त्युपकारिणः (आदि पु. ४७।१६६)।

३. अप्पो वि परस्स गुणो सप्पुरिसं पप्प वहुदरो होदि। उदर वि तेल्लबिंदू (भगवती आराधना, ३७८)।

४. पौरस्त्यैः शोधितं मार्गं को वा नानुव्रजेज्जनः (आदि पु. १।३१)। सन्मार्गे प्रकटीकृते हि रविणा कश्चारुदृष्टिः स्खलेत् (जैन पद्मपुराण, १।१०३)। पुरो उत्तमेहिं पहओ, मग्गो सो दुग्गमो न सेसाण (बृहत्कल्पभाष्य, २४६)।

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शास्त्रीय चर्चा किया करते थे।[5] मानव सभ्यता के प्रवर्तक आदितीर्थंकर की माता काव्य-गोष्ठियों से मनोरंजन करती थी।[6] उपनिषदो में भी राजा जनक की सभा आदि मे गम्भीर शास्त्र-चर्चा के प्रसंग दृष्टिगोचर होते हैं।

मुझे विश्वास है कि यहां उपस्थित विद्वन्मंडली के सदस्य उक्त प्राचीन परम्परा के गौरव की रक्षा करते हुये; परपाण्डित्यपरीक्षा या स्वपाण्डित्यप्रदर्शन की भावना छोड़कर-जिज्ञासा एवं परस्पर-विचार-विनिमय की भावना से, शास्त्र-चर्चा करेंगे, अपनी प्राचीन-श्रवण, संस्कृति व अध्यात्म-चिन्तनधारा के गौरव के संरक्षण व सम्वर्धन हेतु अपने विचार रखेंगे, और भावी पीढी के समक्ष अध्ययन व अनुसंधान की दिशा में ठोस सुझाव भी प्रस्तुत करे।

(क) नमः श्रुतपारगेभ्यः

अपने विचारो को व्यक्त करनें से पूर्व, मैं प्राकृत व जैन विद्या के क्षेत्र से सम्बद्ध उन मनीषियों-विद्वानों-अनुसंधित्सुओं का पुनीत स्मरण करना अपना परम कर्तव्य समझता हूं जिनके दिवंगत होनें से ज्ञान-विज्ञान की प्रगति को एक गम्भीर आघात लगा है। ऐसे महनीय व्यक्तियों में पूज्य श्री. पं. वर्द्धमान पार्श्वनाथ शास्त्री, श्री. मूलचन्दजी किसनदास कापड़िया, श्री कानजी स्वामी, श्री. रतनलाल डोशी, पं. देवदत्तजी शर्मा, पं. तेजपाल काला (नांदगांव-महाराष्ट्र), प्रो. घाशीराम जैन (मेरठ) आदि के नाम प्रमुख हैं।

उक्त मनीषियों के अभाव से जो रिक्तता आई है वह अपूरणीय प्रतीत होती है। हम सब प्राकृत एवं जैन विद्या विभाग की ओर से उनके प्रति श्रद्धावनत होकर, विनयांजलि समर्पित करते हैं।

(ख) राजस्थान और जयपुर की पुण्यभूमि

भगवान महावीर का विहार तथा धर्मोपदेश देश के विभिन्न क्षेत्रो मे हुआ। काशी कौशल, त्रिगर्त, पांचाल, मत्स्य, शूरसेन, कलिंग, कुरूजांगल, काम्बोज, बाल्हीक, सिन्धु, गान्धार आदि देश उनके पदार्पण से पवित्र हुए थे।[7] वर्तमान राजस्थान की भूमि भी भगवान् महावीर के पदार्पण से धन्य हो उठी थी।[8]

वर्तमान 'जयपुर' नगर प्राचीन काल मे मत्स्य देश में परिगणित था। मत्स्य देश की स्थिति वर्तमान में अलवर, धौलपुर, भरतपुर और जयपुर के प्रदेशों मे सीमित हैं। जैन शास्त्रो मे साढे पचीस आर्य देशो के अन्तर्गत इसकी गणाना की गयी है। मत्स्यदेश की राजधानी विराटनगरी थी, जो वर्तमान जयपुरसे उत्तर-पूर्व मे ४२ मील दूरी पर है। मत्स्य-जनपद कुरु-राज्य के दक्षिण ओर यमुना के पश्चिम मे था। तीर्थंकर महावीर का समवसरण यहां आया,

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५. बुधसदसि सदस्यान् बोधयन् विश्वविद्या व्यवृणुत बुधचक्रीत्युच्छलत्कीर्तिकेतुः (आदि पु. २१।१५६)। समं विदग्धमण्डल्या विद्यागोष्ठीरभावयत्। (वही, २१।१३०)

६. विशिष्टकाव्यगोष्ठीभिदव्यस्तामित्यरंजयन् (आदि पुराण १२।२१२)

७. हरिवंशपुराण–३।३-७

८. भगवान् महावीर के श्रीमालनगर एवं अर्बुद (अबू) पर्वत मे आगमन की सूचना १३ वीं शती के शिलालेखो से भी प्राप्त होती है। (द्र. Progress Report of Archaeaological Survey, Western Circle, 1907, p. 35)

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और यहां के राजाओं ने अत्यन्त हर्षोल्लास के साथ उनके धर्मोपदेश को सुना। तीर्थंकर महावीर के यहां पहुंचने का प्रभाव आज भी विद्यमान है।

आबू के राजा नन्दिवर्द्धन ने जब महावीर के समवशरण की चर्चा सुनी थी, तो उनका मनमयूर भी हर्षोन्मत्त हो नृत्य करने लगा था।[9]

प्रसिद्ध इतिहासकार ओझाजी के शब्दों मे मेवाड़ राज्य मे सूर्यास्त कें अनन्तर रात्रि-भोजन की आज्ञा न थी।[10] कर्नल टांड साहब का कथन है कि कोई भी जैन यति उदयपुर मे पधारे, तो उसे रानी महोदया आदरपूर्वक राजमहल मे लाकर सम्मानपूर्वक ठहराती और आहार का प्रवन्ध करती थी।

आमेर-जयपुर के राजे कछवाहे (कच्छपघात) राजपूत थे।[11]

वर्तमान जयपूर के निर्माण का श्रेय महाराजा सवाई जयसिंह (१६९९–१७४३ ई.) को है। महाराजा जयसिंह की शासन-व्यवस्था मे जैनियों का महत्वपूर्ण योगदान रहा है। इनके शासन कें उच्च पदों पर अधिकांश जैन थे। जैनियो की अहिंसात्मक संस्कृति जयपुर नगरमे प्रतिबिम्बित हुई है और शासकीय आदेश से जीवहिंसा, वेश्यावृत्ति एवं मद्यपान निषिद्ध रहे हैं।

राजस्थान की इस पावन भूमि के प्रति तथा इस पुण्यभूमि मे जन्म लेकर, या निवास कर, अथवा राजस्थानी भाषा का आश्रय लेकर, प्राकृत व जैन धर्म-दर्शन के क्षेत्र में ज्ञात या अज्ञात रूप से कार्यरत साहित्यकारो व मनीषियों आचार्यो के प्रति भी हमारा यह मस्तक स्वतः श्रद्धावनत हो जाता है।

आचार्य सिद्धसेन (५वीं शती), आचार्य उद्योतनसूरि (८वी शती), आचार्य हरिभद्र (८वी शती), आचार्य सिद्धर्षि (१०वी शती), आ. धनपाल (वि. ११वी शती), पं. आशाधर (वि. १३वी शती), आचार्य समयसुन्दर (१७वी शती), उपाध्याय मेघविजय (१८वी शती), आदि विद्वानो के अतिरिक्त, आचार्यकल्प, पं. टोडरमल (१८वी शती), पं. दौलतराम कासलीवाल (१८वी शती), पं. सदासुखदास (१८-१९वी शती), पं. जयचन्द्र जी छाबडा (१८-१९वी शती) तथा पं. चैनसुखदास जी न्यायतीर्थ (बीसवी शती के नाम अत्यन्त श्रद्धा के साथ स्मरणीय है।

इनके अतिरिक्त भी, अनेकानेक विद्वान हैं जिनका उल्लेख इस छोटे से निबन्ध मे करना सम्भव नही है। जैन श्वेताम्वर तेरापन्थी सम्प्रदाय अपने उद्भव काल से ही संस्कृत व राजस्थानी आदी भाषाओं में प्राकृत व जैन विद्या की सेवा करता आ रहा है, जो हमारे लिए गौरव की बात है।

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९. रा. रा. वासुदेव गोविंद आपटे, जैन धर्म का महत्व, सुरत, भाग १, पृ. ३७

१०. ओझाजी कृत अनूदित, टांड राजस्थान-प्रथा, पृ. ११।

११. राजस्थान का यह पश्चिमी भाग ढुंढाहड़ देश कहलाता था। नरवर (ग्वालियर) के एक कच्छपघातवंशी राजकुमार सोढदेव ने १०-११वीं शती ई. मे यहां आकर अपना स्वतन्त्र राज्य स्थापित किया और दौसा नामक नगर को अपनी राजधानी बनाया था। तदनन्तर क्रमशः खोह और रामगढ़ को राजधानी बनाया गया और १३वीं शती ई. कें लगभग आमेर (अम्वावती) दुर्ग का निर्माण करकें उसे राजधानी बनाया गया। सवाई जयसिंह द्वारा १७२७ ई. मे जयपुर नगर का निर्माण होने तक आमेर ही राजधानी बना रहा, तदुपरान्त उसका स्थान जयपुर ने ले लिया।

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(ग) जैन विद्वानों द्वारा लिखित संस्कृत अभिलेख-

जैन विद्वानो ने कई संस्कृत अभिलेख भी लिखे हैं। कुमारपाल का चित्तौड़ अभिलेख (११५० ई.), बिजोलिया अभिलेख (११६९ ई.), तथा सून्धा अभिलेख (१३१९ ई.) दिगम्बर विद्वानो द्वारा बस्कृत मे लिखे गये हैं। इस प्रकार के अन्य अभिलेख भी खोजे जा सकते हैं जो न केवल ऐतिहासिक महत्व के हैं अपि तु उनका काव्य पक्ष भी अध्ययन के योग्य हैं।

(घ) जैन ग्रन्थ भाण्डार और संस्कृत साहित्य-

जैन ग्रन्थ भण्डारो की स्थापना मे जैन विद्वानो एवं राजपुरुषों सभी का योगदान रहा हैं। इसके पिछे साहित्य के प्रति जितना प्रेम.था, उतना ही धार्मिक भावना भी रही है । जैन विद्वानों ने ग्रन्थ भण्डारो की स्थापना करने तथा ग्रन्थो की प्रतियां लिखने-लिखवाने कें कार्य को पुण्यप्राप्ति का साधन बना दिया था। इसलिए पश्चिमी भारत मे सैंकडां ग्रन्थभण्डार स्थापित हो सके हैं, तथा उनमे लाखो ग्रन्थ सुरक्षित रहे सके है। इस क्षेत्र मे आचार्यं धर्मघोषसूरि (११३० सं.), सोमसुन्दरसूरि (१४७१), जिनभद्रसूरि (१४७५ सं.), आदि के प्रयत्न उल्लेखनीय है। राजस्थान के जैन ग्रन्थ-भण्डारो का अध्ययन डॉ. कस्तूरचन्द कासलीवाल, मुनि पुण्यविजय, अगरचन्द नाहटा प्रभृति विद्वानो ने किया हैं। अभी तक प्रत्येक भाषा की कितनी पाण्डुलिपियां इन भण्डारो मे हैं, इसका निर्णय नही हुआ है। न केवल राजस्थान मे, अपितु भारत के अन्य-अन्य प्रान्तो के ग्रन्थ भण्डारो मे भी पश्चिमी भारत के जैन-विद्वानो की संस्कृत रचनाएं प्राप्त होती है। अतः जब तक समस्त ग्रन्थ भण्डारो की पांडुलिपियां का भाषा की दृष्टि से विभाजन न हो, तब तक जैन संस्कृत ग्रन्थो की संख्या का पता लगाना कठिन है। इस प्रकार का कार्य विभिन्न भाषाओ के जानकार कर्मठ शोधकर्ता ही कर सकते है।

२. वर्तमान प्रगति-स्थिति का विहंगम-अवलोकन

प्राकृत एवं जैनविद्या के अध्ययन, अध्यापन एवं अनुसंधान की दृष्टि से भारत और विदेशो मे पर्याप्त प्राप्ति हुई है।

(क) भारतीय विश्वविद्यालय एवं शिक्षण संस्थान-

भारतीय विश्वविद्यालयो मे 'प्राकृत एवं जैन विद्या' विषय को स्नातक, स्नातकोतर एवं शोध विषयो के अन्तर्गत (मुख्य एवं गौण रूप से) विश्वविद्यालयो मे स्थान प्राप्त हैं।

इनमे कुछ विश्वविद्यालयो मे तो प्राकृत। जैनविद्या। जैन दर्शन के स्वतन्त्र विभाग भी कार्यरत हैं,, बिहार (वैशाली), उदयपुर, पूना, पंजाबी (पटियाला) एवं सम्पूर्णानन्द संस्कृत (वाराणसी) आदि विश्वविद्यालयो के नाम प्रमुख है। केन्द्रिय शिक्षा-मंत्रालय, भारत सरकार के तत्वावधान मे कार्यरत एवं विधि-प्रतिष्ठित राष्ट्रिय संस्कृत संस्थान (दिल्ली) द्वारा संचालित श्री लालबहादुर शास्त्री केन्द्रीय संस्कृत विद्यापीठ (नई दिल्ली) में भी जैन दर्शन का विभाग स्वतन्त्र रूप से कार्यरत है। उक्त विद्यापीठ में स्नातक, स्नातकोत्तर एवं शोध-उपाधि हेतु प्राकृत एवं जैन-दर्शन के अध्ययन, अध्यापन व शोध-मार्गनिर्देशन की व्यवस्था है। इसके अतिरिक्त, इस संस्थान मे प्राकृत व जैन विद्या के क्षेत्र मे गम्भीर व शास्त्रतलस्पर्शी अध्ययन एवं अनुसन्धान करने वाले व्यक्त को 'शास्त्रचुड़ामणि' उपाधि भी दी जाती है जो अपने आप मे अद्वितीय है।

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उक्त विश्वविद्यालयो से सम्बद्ध, या स्वतन्त्र रूप से, अनेक संस्थाए भी प्राकृत एवं जैन विद्या के क्षेत्र मे अनुसन्धान का कार्य कर रही हैं,

इसके अतिरिक्त, कुछ अन्य संस्थाओ मे भी जैनदर्शन व प्राकृत के अध्ययनादि की व्यवस्था है।

(ख) प्रकाशन संस्थाएं–

प्राकृत व जैन साहित्य के प्रकाशन के क्षेत्र मे भी अनेकानेक संस्थाए देश में महत्वपूर्ण कार्य कर रही हैं–

(ग) विदेशी विश्वविद्यालय

विदेशों मे भी अनेक स्थानो मे प्राकृत व जैन विद्या के क्षेत्र मे सन्तोषजनक कार्य हो रहा है।

जैन विद्या व प्राकृत भाषा से सम्बन्धित अनुसन्धान एवं साहित्य-प्रकाशन आदि कार्यों का विस्तृत विवरण देने से पूर्व, प्राकृत व जैन विद्या का ऐतिहासिक सर्वेक्षण करना उचित होगा ताकि उसके प्राचीन वैभव की झांकी मिल सके।

३. प्राकृत व जैन विद्या का ऐतिहासिक सर्वेक्षण

(क) धर्म दर्शन एवं भाषाए–

किसी देश या जाति की विशेषता उसकी, सभ्यता व संस्कृति के कारण होती है। सभ्यता व संस्कृति उस देश या जाति के भौतिक व आध्यत्मिक ज्ञान-विज्ञान को प्रतिबिम्बित करती है। किसी जाति या देश के ज्ञान-विज्ञान की प्रगति का मुख्य आधार है–उस जाति-विशेष के सदस्यो, उस देश-विदेश के नागरिको का चिन्तन एवं विचार। विचार या चिन्तन की अभिव्यक्ति भाषा के माध्यम से ही सम्भव होती है।

भाषा और विचार का मिश्रित रूप साहित्य के रूप में प्रकट होता है।[१३] दूसरे शब्दो मे भाषा और विचार- इन दो तट-बन्धो के बीच साहित्य की धारा प्रवाहित होती है। इसलिए, किसी देश या जाति के चिन्तन के स्तर को समझना हो तो उस देश या जाति का साहित्य एक प्रमुख साधन माना जाता है।

भारतीय अध्यात्म-चिन्तन की गंगा यहां दो प्रमुख धाराओं में प्रवाहित होती रही है– (१) वैदिक और (२) श्रमण। इन दोनो धाराओ ने चिरकाल से भारतीय ज्ञान-विज्ञान को

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१२. इदमन्धं तमः कृत्स्नं जायेत भुवनत्रयम्। यदि शब्दाह्वयं ज्योतिः, आसंसारान्न दीप्यते (दण्डिकृत काव्यादर्श, १।४) ॥ वाचामेव प्रसादेन लोकयात्रा प्रवर्तते (वही १।३)। न सोऽस्ति प्रत्ययो लोके, यः शब्दानुगमादृते ॥ अनुविद्धमिव ज्ञानं सर्वं शब्देन भासते (वाक्यपदीय, ब्रह्मकाण्ड १२३)।

१३. शब्दार्थौ सहितावेव प्रतीतौ स्फुटतः सदा। सहिताविति तावेव किमपूर्वं विधीयते ॥ (वक्रोक्तिजीवित, १।१६) ॥

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समृद्ध और जनजीवन को प्रभावित किया हैं। इन दोनो धाराओं नें परस्पर आदान-प्रदान करके हुए भी, अपनी मौलिक विशेषता को सुरक्षित रखा हैं। एक बार इन दोनों धाराओ के बीच एक तीसरी धारा भी उत्पन्न हुई, तब एक पावन 'संगम' तीर्थ का वातावरण बन गया, वह काल था – उपनिषद्-युग। औपनिषदिक विचार-धारा मे इन दोनो धाराओ के मिश्रित रूप का दर्शन होता हैं। दूसरे शब्दो मे, भारतीय संस्कृति व दर्शन के उदात्त पक्ष का समष्टि व मिला-जुला रूप औपनिषदिक साहित्य में प्रतिबिम्बित हुआ है। इस विचार-धारा ने भारतीय चिन्तन को नया आयाम दिया। फलस्वरूप परवर्ती काल में विविध भारतीय दर्शनो का उदय व विकास हुआ।

जैन व बौद्ध-धर्म-दर्शन जहां श्रमण संस्कृति से जुडे हैं, वहां अन्य दर्शन वेद-प्रमाणता को स्वीकार करते हुए वैदिक व औपनिषदिक संस्कृति से अनुबद्ध हैं। कहना न होगा कि इन दर्शनो ने जहां भारतीय दर्शन को समृद्ध किया हैं, वहां भारतीय भाषा को भी समृद्धि व गौरव प्रदान किया हैं।

(ख) भाषा-नारी की स्वच्छन्दता पर अंकुश

काल व क्षेत्र (समय व स्थान के भेद) के निमित्त से यथोचित परिवर्तित होने की नैसर्गिक क्षमता प्रत्येक जन-भाषा में होती हैं। वह एक स्वच्छन्द व उन्मुक्त विचारों वाली किशोरी के समान हुआ करती है। किन्तु जब साहित्यकार उस भाषा को अपनीं साहित्यिक सृष्टि के माध्यम के रूप मे अपनी सहचरी बनाता हैं, तो वह भाषा एक लजीली वधू की तरह अवगुण्ठन मे सिमट जाती है।[14] लौकिक स्त्री के लिए शास्त्रों मे जहां तेज़ चलना वर्जित[15] किया गया, उसी तरह भाषा की गतिशिलता भी नियन्त्रित कर दी गई[16]। अनियन्त्रित व नियन्त्रित भाषा के भेद को स्पष्ट करने हेतु इनका नामकरण क्रमशः 'प्राकृत' व 'संस्कृत' किया गया। जिस प्रकार नीच-जन-सेविनी नारी समाज मे निन्दित होती हैं,[17] उसी प्रकार अशिक्षित।अशिष्ट वर्ग द्वारा सेवित व अमर्यादित जनभाषा को भ्रष्ट (व्याकरण की मर्यादासे च्युत, अपभ्रष्ट, अपभ्रंश) कहा जाने लगा।[18] इसके प्रयोक्ता को महाभाष्यकार (ई. १५० पू.) पतंजलि ने

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१४. योषितां भूषणं लज्जा (उत्तर पु. ५४।५४)। ण भूसणं भूसयते सरीरं विभूषणं सीलहिरी य इत्थिए। गिरा हि संखारजुया वि संसती अपेसला होइ असाहुवादिणी (बृहत्कल्प-भाष्य ४११८)।

१५. न त्वरितं व्रजेत् (याज्ञवल्क्य स्मृति - १।८७ की मिताक्षरा टीका से उद्धृत शंखमत)।

१६. एतदेव विपर्यस्तं संस्कारगुणवर्जितम्। पाठ्यं नानावस्थान्तरालकम् (भरत-नाट्यशास्त्र १८।२)।

१७. कुस्त्री सज्जनसंगमे न रमते, नीचं जनं सेवते (सुभाषितरत्नभाण्डागार, स्वभाववर्णन २१, पृ. ८४)।

१८. शब्दः संस्कारहीनो यः गौरिति प्रयुयुक्षिते। तमपभ्रंशमिच्छन्ति विशिष्टार्थं निवेशितम् (वाक्यपदीय, ब्रह्मकाण्ड १४८)।

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'म्लेच्छ' तक बताया।[19] गरुडपुराणकार ने 'प्राकृत' सुनने मात्र से द्विज की अधोगति का प्रतिपादन किया है।[20]

(ग) भाषा-विकास की प्रक्रिया

प्रत्येक युग में एक सामान्य-जनप्रचलित भाषा होती है। स्थानादिभेद से उसमे एकरूपता समाप्त होने लगती हैं, और रूपो आदि की विविधता उत्पन्न हो जाति है। विजेता और विजित जाति का पारस्परिक सम्पर्क, जलवायु कीं स्थिति मे परिवर्तन, लोगो का एक देश से दूसरे देश मे स्थानान्तरण, उस अवधि मे अभिव्यति-शैली व संकेत-पद्धति मे सुधार-इन सब कारणों से भाषा मे परिवर्तत होता हैं। उसी के समानान्तर एक साहित्यिक भाषा का जन्म होता है। जो सभ्य एवं सुशिक्षित जनो द्वारा व्यवहित होती है, और सामान्य-जन-भाषा की तुलना मे अधिक परिनिष्ठित, परिमार्जित, मर्यादित, एवं एकरूपता-सम्पन्न होती है। दूसरी तरफ, जनभाषा बराबर बदलती रहती है। कालान्तर मे विद्वान विचारकों के प्रयत्न से रूपवैविध्य-युक्त इस जन-भाषा को पुनः एक परिनिष्ठित रूप देने का प्रयत्न होता है। लोकभाषा के प्रादेशिक मत-भेदो का समन्वय कर किसी एक देश-व्यापी भाषा को सर्वदेशीय प्रतिनिधि भाषा के रूप मे प्रस्तुत किया जाता है। ऐसी स्थिती मे पूर्व साहित्यिक भाषा से पृथक, एक दुसरी साहित्यिक भाषा का अवतरण होता है इसे उच्चारणादि की अशुद्धता से सुरक्षित रखने हेतु, व्याकरण के नियमो मे बांध दिया जाता है। इस प्रकार, यह भाषा सुसंस्कृत, सुसज्जित रूप प्राप्त कर लेतीं हैं। उदारवादी विचारको के प्रयत्न से लोक-प्रचलित उपयोगी अपार शब्द-भाण्डार इस सुसंस्कृत भाषा मे समाहित कर लिया जाता है। इस प्रकार, साहित्यिक सुसंस्कृत भाषा सामयिक लोकभाषा से गुणवत्ता प्राप्त करती रहती है।

किन्तु दूसरी तरफ, धीरे-धीरे, उक्त साहित्यिक सुसंस्कृत भाषा सामान्य जनता कीं अपेक्षा वर्ग-विशेष एवं स्थान-विशेष मे सिमट जाती है। शब्दो के ग्राम्य रूपो के लिए इसमे प्रायः स्थान नहीं होता। सामान्य जन, महिला, एवं अल्प-शिक्षित वर्ग मे उसका व्यवहार धीरे-धीरे समाप्त होतां जाता है। कठिनता से सरलता की ओर अग्रसर होने वालीं सामान्य-जन-भाषा परिवर्तित व विकसित होती हुई, स्वरूप की दृष्टि से साहित्यिक भाषा से कोसों दूर बढ़ जाती है, और असमानता धारण कर लेती है। अभिजात वर्ग के अलावा सामान्य-जन एवं समाज के निचले वर्ग को दृष्टि मे रखकर भी साहित्यिक रचना करते हुए कुछ साहित्यकार आगें आते हैं। वे अपनी सुविधानुसार, किसी प्रादेशिक जनभाषा को साहित्यिक जामा पहना देते हैं। किसी धार्मिक नेता द्वारा यदि किसी प्रदेश-विशेष मे बोली जाने वाली जन-भाषा को उपदेश का माध्यम बनाया जाता है, उस स्थिति मे पुनः एक नई तीसरी साहित्यिक भाषा अवतरित होती है। विविध जन-भाषाओं से इस साहित्यिक भाषा का वैषम्य अधिक न बढे इस दृष्टी से वैयाकरण आगे आता है, और वह लोक-प्रचलित जन-भाषा के विविध प्रादेशिक स्वरूपों मे विकास-

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१९. तस्माद् ब्राह्मणेन न म्लेच्छितवै, नापभाषितवै, म्लेच्छो ह वा एष यदपशब्दः (महाभाष्य पस्पशाह्निक, १।१।१, प्रयोजनाधिकरण)। न म्लेच्छितव्यं यज्ञादौ:स्त्रीषु नाप्राकृतं वदेत (सरस्वतीकण्ठाभरण, २।८)।

२०. लोकायतं कुतर्कं च प्राकृतं म्लेच्छभाषितम्। न श्रोतव्यं द्विजेनैतद् अधो गच्छति तद् द्विजम् (गरुडपुराण-पूर्व. ९८।१७)।

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प्रवृत्तियों को निश्चत कर, सामान्य नियम प्रस्तुत करता हैं। किन्तु भाषा का विकास रुकता नही। शब्दो का व्याकरण द्वारा निष्पन्न होना एक बात है, और लोक मे प्रयोग दुसरी बात। व्याकरण द्वारा भाषा को बांधने का उक्त प्रयत्न धीरे-धीरे शिथिल होता जाता है, और जन-भाषा नैसर्गिक गति से प्रवाहमान रहती है, क्योंकि प्रकृति की हर वस्तु की तरह भाषा भी ज्ञान व सभ्यता कें विकास के साथ-साथ, परिवर्तन-शील है। जब तक कोई भाषा अपने समय के समाज तथा लोक तत्त्वों से प्रेरणा ग्रहण कर जीवन्त रहती है, तब तक वह प्रचार-प्रसार का सशक्त माध्यम बनी रहती हैं। लेकिन ज्यों ही उसे व्याकरण के नियमों से जकड़ दिया जाता हैं, उसका विकास अवरूद्ध हो जाता हैं, और उसी भाषा का अर्वाचीन रूप कालान्तर मे लोकभाषा के तत्वो की प्रमुखता को अन्तर मे समेटता हुआ, नई भाषा के रूप मे प्रकट हो जाता हैं।

यह क्रम बार-बार घटित होता रहा हैं, जिसके फलस्बरूप, वैदिक संस्कृत लौकिक संस्कृत, प्राकृत, पाली, शौरसेनी, महाराष्ट्री, अपभ्रंश एवं अन्य वर्तमान भारतीय भाषाएं (हिन्दी राजस्थानी, पंजाबी, गुजराथी, मराठी, बंगाली सिन्धी आदि) साहित्यिक भाषा के रूप मे प्रतिष्ठित होती रही हैं। उक्त सभी साहित्यिक भाषाएं अपने पूर्ववर्ती काल मे जनभाषा ही थी। किन्तु समयानुसार शिष्ट व अभिजात वर्ग की परिष्कार भावना से तथा तत्कालीन साहित्यकारों के व वैयाकरणो के प्रयत्न से, मर्यादित, अलंकृत एवं परिनिष्ठित रूप प्राप्त कर, साहित्यिक क्षेत्र मे गौरवपूर्ण स्थान प्राप्त करती रही हैं।

(घ) संस्कृत-प्राकृत आदि भारतीय भाषाएं : (वैदिक व ब्राह्मण युग)–

प्राचिन भारतीय आर्य भाषा के अन्तर्गत 'संस्कृत' भाषा का प्राचिनतम रूप हमें वैदिक साहित्य के रूप मे प्राप्त होता हैं। आजकल पढ़ाई जा रही संस्कृत भाषा के स्वरूप में वैदिक संस्कृत से अनेक रूपो मे भिन्नता हैं, अतः दोनो को अलग-अलग नामो से–(१) वैदिक संस्कृत (छान्दस), और (लौकिक (या साहित्यिक) संस्कृत भाषा पुकारा जाता हैं। चारों वेद ब्राह्मण, और प्राचिन उपनिषदो की भाषा वैदिक संस्कृत के अन्तर्गत हैं, और रामायण, महाभारत अदि महाकाव्यों की भाषा लौकिक संस्कृत के रूव में प्रसिद्ध हैं। वैदिक भाषा का प्राचीनतम रूप जो ऋग्वेद के प्रथम ब दसवे मंडल को छोडकर, अन्य मण्डलो में मिलता हैं वह उस समय की साहित्यिक भाषा का प्रतिनिधित्व करता हैं। विद्वानो के मत मे ऋग्वेद की भाषा तत्कालीन पुरोहिती ओर राजाओं की भाषा हैं, जबकि अथर्ववेद में मूल 'जन-भाषा' का रूप देखा जा सकता हैं।

वेद मे स्पष्ट संकेत है कि उस ससय विविध धर्म एवं विविध भाषाएं विद्यमान थी[21]। इस साहित्यिक भाषा (वैदिक छान्दस भाषा) एवं तत्कालीन जन भाषाओं के मध्य विषमता बहुत अधिक नहीं रही होगी। वैदिक भाषा मे भी जन-भाषा की तरह व्याकरणीक रूपों की विविधता दृष्टीगोचर होतो हैं। महाभाष्यकार पतंजली ने छान्दस भाषा कीं स्वछन्दता का संकेत भी किया हैं।[22]

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२१. जनं बिभ्रती बहुधा विवाचसं, नानाधर्माणं पृथिवी यथौकसम्। (अथर्व १२।१।४५)

२२. योगविभागः कर्तव्यः। छन्दसि सर्वे विधयो भवन्तीति। सुपां व्यत्ययः। तिङां व्यत्ययः। वर्णव्यत्ययः। लिङ्गव्यत्ययः। पुरुषव्यत्ययः। कालव्यत्ययः। आत्मनेपदव्यत्ययः। परस्मैपदव्यत्ययः इति। (पाणिनिसूत्र-३।१।८५ 'व्यत्ययो बहुलम्' पर महाभाष्य)

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ऐतिहासिकों का कहना है कि ऋग्वेद उस समय की रचना है जब आर्य सप्तसिन्धु-प्रदेश के आसपास विचरण करते थे। बाद में, आर्यजन मध्यदेश के मार्ग से होते हुए पूर्वी प्रदेश (वर्तमान बंगाल व बिहार आदि) तक पहुंचे। इस बीच, आर्यों का अनेक अनार्य कबीलो से सम्पर्क हुआ। अनार्यों ने आर्यो की छान्दस भाषा को सीखा तो ज़रूर लेकिन वे उसका शुद्ध उच्चारण न कर पाते थे, और वे आर्य-भाषा के शब्दो को तोड़-मरोड़ कर-विकृत रूप मे ही बोल पाते थे। आर्य लोगो ने अनेक स्थलो पर इस बात के प्रति अपना रोष प्रकट किया है कि आर्य भाषा के सरलतम शब्दो को भी अनार्य लोग बडी कठिनता से बोल पाते हैं[23]। ऐसे समय देश मे दो वर्ग ऐसे होंगे जिनमे एक तो शुद्ध उच्चारण का अभ्यस्त, एवं कट्टरवादिता का समर्थक था। और दुसरा, शिथिलता-अशुद्ध उच्चारण का सहज समर्थक। पहले वर्ग मे उदीच्य (उत्तरी प्रदेश = आधुनिक पंजाब, पश्चिमोत्तर प्रदेश अर्थात अफगाणिस्थान तक का भूभाग) के निवासी थे, और दूसरे वर्ग में थे प्राच्य देश (वर्तमान बिहार व बंगाल के निवासी)। कौषीतकी ब्राह्मण में स्पष्ट उल्लेख है कि उदीच्च प्रदेश के लोग शुद्ध उच्चारण करने मे अभ्यस्त हैं, दक्ष है, अन्य प्रदेश के लोग भाषा का शुद्ध उच्चारण सीखने हेतु उदीच्च लोगों के पास ही आते है, और जो उनके पास सही उच्चारण सीख कर आता है, उसका उच्चारणादि सुनना चाहते हैं।[24]

स्पष्ट है कि वैदिक युग मे छान्दस भाषा के अवांछित विकास (विक्रिया) को रोकने की ओर ऋषियों और विद्वानों का ध्यान था, किन्तु फिर भी, निश्चित व्याकरण के अभाव मे परिवर्तन होता रहा। इस स्वल्प परिवर्तन को वेद से लेकर ब्राह्मणो तक की भाषा मे देखा जा सकता है। 'ब्राह्मण' ग्रन्थो का प्रणयन ऋषियों द्वारा परस्पर की बोलचाल की, एवं अध्ययनाध्यापनादि मे प्रयुक्त भाषा-जो ऋग्वेदिक साहित्यिक भाषा की तुलना मे अधिक विकसित रूप वाली थी-में किया गया माना जाता है। सम्भव है कि ब्राह्मणग्रन्थो के प्रणेता ऋषि भाषानीति में कुछ उदारवादी रहे हो और प्राचीन शब्दो को अपनाने मे हिचकिचाहट न करते हो। कुच भी हो, छान्दस भाषा मे दिन-प्रतिदिन ग्राम्य बोलियो के शब्दों एवं निपातो का प्रवेश होने लगा, जिससे भाषा मे विकल्पो (रूप-भेदो) की अधिकता बढ़ती गई और (व्याकरण-सम्मत) नियमों की शिथिलता घर करती गई।

पाणिनियुग–

पाणिनि (ई. पू. ४००) के समय तक आते-आते समाज मे चिन्तन-धारा भी काफी विकसित हो चुकी थी। लोकायतिक, नास्तिक-आस्तिक, नियतिवाद आदि दृष्टियां (दर्शन) चर्चा की विषय थी। (बृहदारण्यकादिक रूप मे) औपनिषदिक विचारधारा भी अस्तित्व मे आ चुकी थी। साहित्यिक संस्कृत पहले की अपेक्षा अधिक व्यापक व प्रतिष्ठित हो गई थी। जन-भाषा के दो रूप बन गए थे–(१) उदक् (उदीच्य), और (२) प्राक् (प्राच्य)।[25] प्राच्य भाषा में तत्कालीन द्रविड़ व मुण्डा भाषा का प्रभुत्व था।

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२३. अदुरुक्तं वाक्यं दुरुक्तमाहुः, अदिक्षिताः दीक्षितवाचं वदन्ति। (ताण्डचब्राह्मण १७।४)

२४. तस्माद् उदीच्यां दिशि प्रज्ञाततरा वाग् उद्यत, उञ्च उ एव यन्ति वाचं शिक्षितुं, यो वा तत आगच्छति, तस्य वा शुश्रूषन्त इति (कौषीतकिब्राह्मण, ७।६, एवं शांखायनब्राह्मण)।

२५. इरावती (शरावती) के पश्चिमोत्तर की भाषा उदक् थी, और दक्षिण-पूर्वी प्रदेश की भाषा

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अभिजात वर्ग मे जो भाषा प्रचलित थी या समादृत था, वह 'उदीच्य' थी। यही उस समय की परिनिष्ठित व शुद्ध भाषा मानी जाती थी। इस भाषा की शुद्धता की कीर्ति सर्वत्र व्याप्त थी प्रायः समाज के सभी लोग इसे बोलते-समझते थे। यही भाषा आगे 'चलकर, लौकिक संस्कृत' पद पर प्रतिष्ठित हुई। इसी भाषा को लक्ष्य कर यह कहा जाता है कि पाणिनि के समय मे 'संस्कृत' लोकप्रचलित भाषा थी।[26] वास्तविकता यह है कि इसका व्यवहार प्रमुख रूप से ब्राह्मण-वर्ग मे अधिक था। क्षत्रियादि मे इसका प्रयोग कुछ कम था, किन्तु वे अधिकांशतः इस भाषा को अच्छी तरह समझते थे, कुछ-कुछ बोल भी लेते थे। शूद्र वर्ग बोलने में सक्षम न भी हो, पर वह प्रायः टूटा-फूटा अर्थ समझ लेते थे। निचले (शूद्र–) वर्ग मे अपेक्षाकृत जनभाषा (प्राकृत) का व्यवहार प्रचलित था।[27] सामान्य जनता मे जो भाषा प्रचलित थी, वह 'प्राकृत' कहलाई। इस भाषा मे भी प्रादेशिक स्तर पर विविधता आने लगी थी।

प्राच्य प्रदेश के लोगो ने अपनी देशी भाषा के आधार पर, कालान्तर मे, जिस साहित्यिक भाषा (रूप) का निर्माण किया, वह 'मागधी प्राकृत' के नाम से विशिष्ट स्थान बना सकी। यें प्राच्य-भाषा (मागधी)-भाषा लोक (तथाकथित अनार्य या म्लेच्छ। असुर) छान्दस भाषा के 'र' के स्थान पर 'ल' का उच्चारण करते थे, और इस प्रवृत्ति के प्रति उदीच्य वालो का घोर आक्रोश था (यद्यपि बाद मे 'रलया' : डलयोरभेद : कहकर अनार्य-प्रवृत्ति से समन्वय हुआ है)। महाभाष्यकार पतंजलि ने लिखा है कि 'असुर' लोग 'अरयः' के स्थान पर 'अलयः' बोलते हैं। अतः ब्राह्मण लोग इस प्रकार का अशुद्ध उच्चारण कर म्लेच्छत्व के भागी न बने।[28] यास्क (वि. पू. ८००) के समय तक छान्दस भाषा इतनी अधिक विकसित हो चुकी थी कि वैदिक मन्त्रो का अर्थ समझना दुरुह हो गया था। भगवान महावीर और बुद्ध (ई. पू. छठी शती) के समय तक उक्त प्राच्य-भाषा छान्दस तथा ब्राह्मण-ग्रन्थो कीं भाषा से इतनी दूर चली गई कि उदीच्य प्रदेश से आने आने वाले व्यक्ति के लिए इसे समझना कठिण हो गया था। इसी

(*Continued from previous page*)

प्राक्।प्रागुदंची विभजते हंसः क्षीरोदके यथा। विदुषां शब्दसिद्धचर्थम्, सा नः पातु इरावती (काशिका–१।१।७५)॥ व्याकरण-शास्त्र मे शब्द-रूपो के भेद को व्यवत करने के लिए प्राच्य-उदीच्य का विचार इरावती (शरावती) नदी से किया जाता था। देशोऽयं भारतं वर्षं शरावत्यास्तु योऽवधेः। देशः प्राग्दक्षिणः प्राच्यः उदीच्यः पश्चिमोत्तरः (अमरकोश २।१।६–७)॥ शरावती सम्भवतः अम्बाला जिले की घग्घर नदी है।

२६. दूर से पुकारने (दूराद्धूते च–८।२।८४), अभिवादन का उत्तर देने (प्रत्यभिवादेऽशूद्रे ८।२।८३); प्रश्नोत्तर (पृष्टप्रतिवचने ८।२।९३), अथवा डांट-फटकार (भर्त्सने (८।२।९५) आदि व्यवहार के लिए पाणिनि व्याकरण कें सूत्रों मे नियम निर्धारित है, जिनसे यह सिद्ध होता है कि उस समय संस्कृत, सामान्यतः, लोग-भाषा थी।

२७. द्रष्टव्य, पाणिनि-सूत्र्-अशूद्रस्त्र्यसूयकेषु, भो राजन्यविशां च। (८।२।८३)

२८. तेऽसुरा हेलयो हेलय इति कुर्वन्तः परावभूवुः। तस्माद् ब्राह्मणेन न म्लेच्छितवै, नापभाषितवै। म्लेच्छो ह वा एष यदपशब्दः (महाभाष्य, पस्पशाह्निक)। शतपथब्राह्मण मे भीं कहा है - तेऽसुरा आत्तवचसो हे अलयो हे अलय इति वदन्तः पराबभूवुः तस्मान्न ब्राह्मणो म्लेच्छेत्। असुर्या हि एषा वाक्।

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दृष्टि से, भगवान महावीर और भगवान बुद्ध, दोनो ने ही अपने उपदेश लोक भाषा प्राकृत-पाली मे ही दिए। इस प्रकार, जैन और बौद्ध धर्मों के प्रवर्तन से भी प्राकृत को बल मिल रहा था। जो भाषाएं अब तक प्राकृत जनो मे व्यवहृत थी, वे अब संस्कृत समाज मे भी छा जाने का उपक्रम करने लगी। संस्कृताभिमानी लोगों पर इसकी प्रतिक्रिया स्वाभाविक थी। फलस्वरूप शिष्ट भाषा को अपभ्रंष से सुरक्षित करने हेतु सीमा-बन्ध के रूप मे 'व्याकरण'-निर्माण की अनिवार्यता उत्पन्न हुई, और इसकी पूर्णता पाणिनि की 'अष्टाध्यायी' की रचना के रूप मे हुई।[29]

आ) पाणिनि ने प्रत्येक प्रत्येक प्रान्त व प्रदेश मे प्रचलित संस्कृत के विशिष्ट रूपो को यथा सम्भव, स्वीकृत करने का यत्न किया।[30] उन्हे योग-प्रमाण व संज्ञा-प्रमाण दोनो पक्ष स्वीकार थे और उन्होने लोक मे प्रचलित रूढ सज्ञा को भी प्रमाण माना।[31] इस प्रकार पाणिनि ने संस्कृत का एक देशव्यापी रूप उपस्थापित किया।

इस समय नए-नए ग्रन्थ, अध्ययन के विषय, एवं शब्द जन्म ले रहे थे। गद्य और पद्य की एक नूतन भाषा-शैली उद्भूत हो रही थी। संस्कृत भाषा कें विस्तार का क्षेत्र उत्तर मे कम्बोज-प्रकण्व (पामीर परगना) से लेकर पश्चिम कच्छ-काठियावाड, दक्षिण मे अश्मक (गोदावरी-तट का प्रदेश), और पूर्व मे कलिंग एवं सूरमस (असम की सूरमा नदीं का पर्वतीय प्रदेश) तक विस्तृत था, ऐसा अष्टाध्यायी के भौगोलिक उल्लेखो से ज्ञात होता है। (इसके अतिरिक्त स्थानीय बोलियां तो थी हीं।)

कहने की आवश्यकता नही कि उक्त व्याकरण की रचना करते समय आ-पाणिनि ने (जो स्वयं उत्तरीं भाग मे तक्षशिला के पास स्थित 'शालातुर'[32] नामक स्थान के थे) उदीच्य प्रदेश की भाषा को मौलिक आधार बनाया। जैसे कि उदिच्य भाषा की शुद्धता की चर्चा पहले की जा चुकी है, पाणिनि का ऐसा करना उपयुक्त भी था। स्वच्छन्दता से बिगड़ती जा रही भाषा को आ-पाणिनि ने पष्क्रितता के सांचे मे स्थीर कर दिया, इसलिए इस भाषा को संस्कृत कहा जाने लगा। पाणिनि से पूर्व भी, शब्दविद्या के अन्य आचार्यों ने इस भाषा को नियमबद्ध

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२९. द्र.-समवायांग सूत्र, ९८, आदिपुराण-२८।२५०, चुल्लवग्ग-५।३३।११, धर्मबिन्दु-प्रकरण-३३

३०. संस्कृत के प्राच्य व उदीच्य रूपो मे थोड़ा-बहुत भेद यास्क के समय से चला आ रहा था। बह्वर्थक वैदिक धातुओ के किसी अर्थ का प्रचार एक प्रदेश मे था और किसी अर्थ का दूसरे प्रदेश मे। यास्क ने भी कहा है कि 'शव' धातु गति अर्थ मे केवल कम्बोजो मे प्रचलित थी, आर्यं जनपदो मे वह विकार अर्थं मे प्रयुक्त होती थी। 'दा' धातु काटने अर्थ मे प्राच्य देश मे व्यवहृत थी। उदीच्य जनपदो मे संज्ञा शब्द 'दात्र' काही प्रयोग प्रचलित था। शवतिर्गतिकर्मा कम्बोजेष्वेव भाष्यते। विकारमस्यार्येषु भाषन्ते शव इति। दातिर्लवनार्थे प्राच्येषु दात्रमुदीच्येषु (निरुक्त-२।२।८) महाभाष्य पस्पशाह्निक, पृ. ६२

३१. अनिर्दिष्टस्यापि गुणस्य भवति लोके सम्प्रत्ययः (महाभाष्य २।१।५५ पर तथा-द्रष्टव्य म. भा. २।१।५३)।

३२. यह स्थान सिन्धु-कुभा संगम के कोने मे ओहिन्द से चार मील पश्चिम मे था। वर्तमान मे यह 'लहुर' है।

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करने के प्रयत्न किये थे, पर वे एकांगी थे। उन सबमे पाणिनि व्याकरण विस्तार व गाम्भीर्य की दृष्टि से सर्वोत्तम (सीरमौर) सिद्ध हुआ। डॉ. सुनितिकुमार चटर्जी के शब्दो मे वैदिक भाषा और ब्राह्मण ग्रन्थो की साहित्यिक भाषा के पश्चात भारतीय आर्यभाषा का तिसरा रूप-साहित्यिक-संस्कृत-प्रतिष्ठित हुआ। फलतः यह उदिच्य बोलियो पर आधारित था, और मध्यदेश पूर्व तथा दक्षिण के भी अखिल ब्राह्मण जगत् ने इसे सहर्ष स्वीकार कर लिया।[33]

रामायण-काल–

पाणिनि के उक्त महनीय प्रयत्न के बावजूद, प्राकृत (जनभाषा) का प्रवाह अवरुद्ध नहीं हुआ। रामायण-काल (ई. पू. २००) तक आते-आते संस्कृत केवल द्विजाति-ब्राह्मण-वर्ग की भाषा बनकर रह गई।[34] संस्कृत की शुद्ध प्रयोग के प्रति व्याकरण की उपयोगिता अब भी मान्य थी।[35] व्याकरण के नौ सम्प्रदाय उस समय तक प्रसिद्ध थे।[36]

पतंजलि-काल–

आचार्य पतंजलि (१५० ई. पू.) के समय तक संस्कृत का प्रचार पाणिनि के समय की अपेक्षा कम हो गया। स्त्रियों मे संस्कृत का व्यवहार प्रायः उठ गया था।[37] क्षत्रियों व वैश्यों में भी संस्कृत का व्यवहार कम हो गया था, यद्यपि वे संस्कृत को पूर्णतया समझ लेते थे। इन सबके बावजूद, संस्कृत शिष्ट[38] समाज को परस्पर बांधने वाली एकमात्र 'सम्पर्क-भाषा' थी। इसका शब्दकोष भी पूर्वापेक्षया अधिक समृद्ध हो गया था। कल्पसूत्र, धर्मशास्त्र आदि की रचना हो चुकी थी। वेदांगसाहित्य उन्नति पर था। महाभारत का भी बृंहित संस्करण अस्तित्व में था। यज्ञीय संस्कृति के पुनरुत्थान का युग प्रारम्भ हो रहा था। यह सब था, किन्तु जनभाषा (प्राकृत) के विकास की गति अवरुद्ध नहीं थी, और हो भी कैसे सकती थी, क्योंकि भाषा का विकास सर्वशक्तिशालिनी 'प्राकृत' के अधीन है। पतंजलि के समय मे एक-एक शब्द के कई-कई जनभाषाई (अपभ्रंश) रूप प्रचलित थे। जैसे, 'गो' शब्द के गावी, गोणी, गोता, गोपोतलिका आदि प्राकृत रूप व्यवहार मे थे।[39]

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३३. द्र.-भारतीय आर्यभाषा और हिन्दी, पृ. ७७

३४. यदि वाचं प्रदास्यासी द्विजातिरिव संस्कृताम्। रावणं मन्यमाना मां सीता भीता भविष्यति (वा. रामा. सुन्दरकाण्ड, ५।१४)। हनूमान् की उक्ति-यदि मैं संस्कृत में बोलूंगा तो सीता मुझे रावण (ब्राह्मण) समझ कर डर जाएगी।

३५. नूनं व्याकरणं कृत्स्नमनेन बहुधा श्रुतम्। बहु व्याहरताऽ नेन न किञ्चिदपभाषितम् (वा. रामा. किष्किन्धा, ३।२९)॥

३६. हनूमान् को 'नवव्याकरणार्थवेत्ता' (वा. रामा निष्किन्धा, २।२९) कहा गया है।

३७. अभिवादे स्त्रीवन्मा भूमेत्यध्येयं व्याकरणम् (महाभाष्य, पस्पशाह्निक, प्रयोजनाधिकरण)। प्राकृतम्-बालमहिलादिसुबोधं ... वचनमुच्यते (रुद्रट काव्यालंकार २।१२ पर नमि-साधु)।

३८. अस्मिन्नार्यावर्ते निवासे ये ब्राह्मणाः कुम्भीधान्याः अलोलुपाः अगृह्यमाणकारणाः-तत्र भवन्तः शिष्टाः। शिष्टाः शब्देषु प्रमाणम्। (महाभाष्य, ६।३।१०९)

३९. एकैकस्य शब्दस्य बहवोऽपभ्रंशाः, तद्यथा गौरित्यस्य शब्दस्य गावी, गोणी, गोता, गोपो-तलिका-इत्यादयो बहवोऽपभ्रंशाः (महाभाष्य, पस्पशाह्निक, वा. ६)।

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पतंजलि द्वारा निर्दिष्ट गावी, गोणी आदि रूप तत्कालीन प्राकृत (जनभापा) के ही हैं। गावी, गोणी शब्दों का प्राकृत मे प्रयोग विशेषावश्यक भाष्य' (ई. ६ठी-७वीं शती), तथा उस पर रचित कोटचाचार्यकृत वृत्ति (वि. ८वीं शती) में प्राप्त होता है।[40]

प्राकृत भाषाएं भी साहित्य-रचना मे प्रयुक्त होने लगी थी। साहित्य मे प्रयुक्त प्राकृत शब्द संस्कृत भापा मे भी प्रविष्ठ होने लगे थे, जिससे संस्कृत की अशुद्धता का भय वैयाकरणों को होने लगा था। शिष्ट जन भी व्यवहार मे व्याकरण के नियमो के प्रतिकूल प्रयोग कर जाते थे।[41] प्राचीनकाल मे भी, वैदिक भाषा में अनेक देशी रूप घुल-भिल गए थे। जैसे, वैदिक भाषा के विकृत, किंकृत, निकृत, दन्द्र - इनके जनभाषाई विकट, कीकट, निकट, दण्ड आदि रूप वैदिक भाषा मे (शुद्ध रूप मे) मान्य हां हो गए थे। 'ट' आदि मूर्धन्य ध्वनियां भारत-जर्मनिक परिवार की किसी भाषा के सम्पर्क से संस्कृत मे समाविष्ट हुई-ऐसा भाषाविदों का मत है। यही कारण था कि लौकिक संस्कृत मे कथासमय शब्द-भण्डार बढ़ता गया। उदाहरणार्थ, भद्रं ते, गोपेन्द्र - आदि शब्दो के प्राकृत रूप भदन्त व गोविन्द भी लौकिक संस्कृत मे प्रतिष्ठित हो गए। नूतन और नूत्न ये दोनों शब्द लौकिक संस्कृत में प्रचलित हैं। निश्चय ही इन दोनों मे एक दूसरे का प्राकृत रूप है। विदेशियों के आक्रमण के समय अरबी व तुर्की आदि के शब्द भी संस्कृत मे समाविष्ट हो गए। अनेक संस्कृत शब्दों का प्रचलन समप्त होकर, उनके सत्सदृश शब्दो का प्रचलन प्रारम्भ हो गया था।[42]

'जाने' के अर्थ मे सुराष्ट्र मे 'हम्म धातु का, मगध मे 'रंह' धातु का, और आर्य जनपदो मे 'गम' धातु का प्रयोग होता था।[43]

गति अर्थ मे 'शव' धातु का व्यवहार कम्बोजों मे ही सीमित हो गया, किन्तु आर्य लोग 'विकार' अर्थ मे ही इसका प्रयोग करते थे। प्राच्यों मे काटने के अर्थ मे 'दाति' शब्द का प्रचार था, तो उदीच्य देशो मे 'दात्र' का।

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४०. भग्गनिविट्ठं गोणि (विशेषावश्यक भाष्य, १४३८)।
शिष्याचार्ययोर्गोण्युदाहरणम्। एगस्स धुत्तस्स सव्वावयवसुंदरा गावी कहिंचि भग्गा (विशेषावश्यक भाष्य- १४३७ पर कोटचाचार्यकृत वृत्ति)।

४१. उदाहरणार्थ, 'सारथि' अर्थ मे व्याकरण-सम्मत प्रयोग था-प्रवेता। किन्तु लोक मे 'प्राजिता' का प्रयोग ही प्रचलित था। आजकल भी अनेक व्याकरण-विरुद्ध प्रयोग प्रचलित हैं-जैसे अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय आदि। (द्र. -महाभाष्य-२।४।५६)

४२. 'ऊष' के अर्थ मे उषित, 'तेर' के अर्थ मे तीर्ण, 'चक्र' के अर्थ मे कृतवत् और 'पेच' के अर्थ मे पक्ववत् शब्द चल पडे थे। (यदेषां शब्दानामर्थेऽन्यान् शब्दान् प्रयुञ्जते। तद्यथा उषेत्यस्य शब्दस्यार्थे 'क्व यूयमुषिताः'। तेरेत्यस्यार्थे 'क्व यूयं तीर्णाः'। चक्रेत्यस्यार्थं 'क्व यूयं कृतवन्तः'। पेचेत्यस्यार्थं 'क्व यूयं पक्ववन्त' इति (महाभाष्य, पस्पशाह्निक, पृ. ६०)

४३. शवतिर्गतिकर्मा कम्बोजेष्वेव भाषितो भवति। विकार एनमार्याः भाषन्ते शव इति। हम्मतिः सुराष्ट्रेषु, रंहतिः प्राच्यमध्येषु, गमिमेव त्वार्याः प्रयुंजते। दातिर्लवनार्थे प्राच्येषु, दात्रमुदीच्येषु। (म. भा. पस्पशाह्निक, पृ. ६२)

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संस्कृताग्रही ब्राह्मण एवं प्राकृत-समर्थक श्रमण-परम्परा मे विरोध के बीज का वपन होता जा रहा था।[44] ऐसी स्थिति मे भाष्यकार पतंजलि ने महाभाष्य की रचना कर भाषा की अशुद्धता से वेद की रक्षा के लिए ब्राह्मणों के लिए निष्काम भाव से व्याकरण के अध्ययन की प्रेरणा दी। उन्होंने साधु शब्दों के प्रयोग से धर्म व अभ्युदया, तथा अशुद्ध प्रयोग सें अधर्म व विनाश का भय भी प्रतिपादित किया।[45] उन्होंने शुष्क व्याकरण-सिद्धान्तो को लोक-व्यवहार के आधार पर सर्वजनग्राह्य बनाया। उसके प्रयत्न से प्राकृतो के बढ़ते प्रवाव पर कुछ अवरोध उत्पन्न हुआ। किन्तु व्याकरण की तुलना मे लोक-प्रयोग की प्रभुसत्ता, एवं जनभाषा की नैसर्गिक स्वच्छन्दता का मान उन्हे भी था। (यहां तक कि पाणिनिकृत तथाकथित पातालविजय (या जाम्बवतीविजय) मे भी ११वीं शती के नमि साधु (रुद्रटकृत काव्यालंकार के टीकाकार ने 'सन्ध्यांवधूं गृह्य करेण भानुः' इस पद्य को उद्धृत कर व्याकरण-विरुद्ध 'गृह्य' पद के प्रयोग पर ध्यान आकृष्ट किया है।) उक्त दृष्टि से आचार्य पतंजलि ने शास्त्र की रचना करते हुए भी यही कहा कि शास्त्र तो व्यवस्था करनेवाला है,[46] बह तो साधु शब्दों के निर्माण से परिचित करा कर, लोग के समक्ष प्रस्तुत कर सकता है।[47] लिंगादि के प्रयोग का अधिकार तो लोकाश्रित ही है।[48]

महाभाष्यकार पतंजलि ने पाणिनि-व्याकरण की जों महत्ता स्थापित की, वह चिरस्थायी हो गई। यही कारण था कि कालान्तर मे, जबकि अष्टाध्यायी (पाणिनि) के पठन-पाठन की परम्परा ह्रास-शील हो गई थी,[49] बौद्धों व जैनों ने भी संस्कृत व्याकरणों की रचना की। बौद्धाचार्य चन्द्रगोमी (ई. ५वीं शती) ने 'चान्द्र व्याकरण'[50] लिखा। जैन विद्वान पूज्यपाद देवनन्दी (ई- ५वीं शती) ने भी जैनेन्द्र व्याकरण के अतिरिक्त पाणिनि व्याकरण पर 'शब्दावतार' नामक न्यास (अनुपलब्ध)[51] की रचना की। शाकटायन ने (शक सं. ७३६-८५) शाकटायन (संस्कृत) व्याकरण की, तथा आचार्य हेमचन्द्र (१२वीं शती ई.) ने सिद्धहैमशब्दानुशासन (संस्कृत व्याकरण की रचना की। इन सबके पीछे उद्देश्य स्वपरम्परा के लोगों के लिए

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४४. येषां च विरोधः शाश्वतिकः इत्यस्यावकाशः-श्रमणब्राह्मणम्। (महाभाष्य-२।४।९)

४५. दुष्टः शब्दः स्वरतो वर्णतो वा मिथ्याप्रयुक्तो न तमर्थमाह। स वाग्वज्रो यजमानं हिनस्ति यथेन्द्रशत्रुः स्वरतोऽपराधात् (महाभाष्य, पस्पशाह्निक, प्रयोजनाधिकरण)।

४६. शास्त्रेण नाम व्यवस्थाकारिणा भवितव्यम् (महाभाष्य-३।१९१)। साधुत्व-ज्ञानविषया सैषा व्याकरण-स्मृतिः (वाक्यपदीय, ब्रह्मकाण्ड, १४२)।

४७. संस्कृत्य संस्कृत्य पदान्युत्सृज्यन्ते (महाभाष्य-१।१।१)।

४८. लिङ्गमशिष्य लोकाश्रयत्वातू लिंगस्य (महाभाष्य-२।१।३६)।

४९. देशान्तरादागमय्य व्याचक्षाणान् क्षमापतिः। प्रावर्तयत विच्छिन्नं महाभाष्यं स्वमण्डले (राजतरंगिणी-४।४८८) ॥ नष्टो व्याकरणागमः। काले स दाक्षिणात्येषु ग्रन्थमात्रे व्यवस्थितः (वाक्यपदीय-२।४८९)।

५०. चन्द्राचार्यादिभिर्लब्ध्वा देशं तस्मात्तदागमम्। प्रवर्तितं महाभाष्यं स्वं च व्याकरणं स्मृतम् (राजतरंगिणी, तरंग-१, श्लो. १७६)।

५१. जैनेन्द्रं निजशब्दभोगमतुलं...आख्यातीह स पूज्यपादमुनिपः पूज्यो मुनीनां गणैः (श्रवणवेल्गोल शिलालेख, क्रम सं. ४०, शक सं. १०८५)।

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सरल व संक्षिप्त पध्दति का प्रस्तुतीकरण तथा भारतीय चिन्तन-धारा से जुडे रहने की प्रवृत्ति प्रतीत होती है।

(ड) प्राकृत भाषाओं का स्वर्णयुग :

इस प्रकार, संस्कृत व्याकरणकारों ने भाषा को 'असूर्यंपश्या राजदारा' की तरह जब मर्यादित कर दिया, वह (संस्कृत-भाषा) जनसामान्य से धीरे-धीरे सिमटती गई। दूसरी ओर, प्राकृत भाषाएं साहित्यिक रूप ग्रहण करने लगी थीं। देखा जाय तो सब भाषाओं की मूल 'प्राकृत' (जन-भाषा) ही है। भाषा का मूल-स्रोत तो जन-सामान्य ही होता है, और वही भाषा को समर्थ रूप प्रदान करता है। प्रत्येक भाषा की प्रारम्भिक अवस्था 'देशी' कही जाती है, क्योंकि उसका मुख्य प्रवाह देश, लोग, समाज मे रहता है। पुनः वह विशिष्ट जनों द्वारा संबरती हुई, परिनिष्ठित व साहित्यिक बनकर, समाज मे विशिष्ट भाषा का स्थान ग्रहण करती है। राजशेखर (ई. ९वीं शती) ने उक्त दृष्टि से ही प्राकृत को संस्कृत का मूल कहा है।[52] वाक्पतिराज (ई. ७६०) ने भी प्राकृत को भाषा-रूपी नदियों का उद्गम-स्रोत बताया है।[53] नमि साधु (११वीं शती ई.) ने इसे 'सकलभाषानिबन्धनभूतवचन' कहा है।[54] यही कारण है कि परवर्ती विद्वान ने 'प्राकृत' को नाटकों मे अप्रबुद्ध जनसमुदाय व महिला-वर्ग की भाषा के रूप मे ही निरूपित किया है।[55]

वैदिक युग मे कोई जन-भाषा थी, जिससे 'छान्दस' (वैदिक) भाषा विकसित हुई। इस छान्दस को भी अनुशासित, तथा इसमे से विभाषा के तत्व को निष्कासित कर देने पर 'संस्कृत' भाषा अस्तित्व मे आई। किन्तु संस्कृत व्याकरण के दुरूह नियमो से अपरिचित जन-सामान्य भाषा के स्वतन्त्र रूपों का निर्माण करता रहा। इस विकसित अर्वाचीन भाषा को जब साहित्यिक रूपता प्राप्त हुई तो वह प्राकृत (पालि, अर्द्धमागधी, शौरसेनी, महाराष्ट्री आदि) के रूप मे अस्तित्व मे आई। प्राकृत नामकरण से इसकी 'स्वाभाविक रूप से विकसित होने की स्वतन्त्र प्रवृत्ति' द्योतित होती है।[56]

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५२. यद् योनिः किल संस्कृतस्य (बालरामायण, ४८)।

५३. सयलाओ इमं वाया विसंति, एत्तोय णेंति वायाओ। एंति समुद्दं चिय णेंति सायराओ च्चिय जलाइं (गउडवहो-६३)।

५४. क) बालानपि सद्बोधकारिणी कर्णपेशला। तथापि प्राकृता भाषा (सिद्धर्षिकृत उपमिति-भवप्रपञ्चकथा, ई. १०वीं शती)। प्राकृतं बालमहिलादिसुबोधं (काव्यालंकार २।१२ पर नमिसाधु)। बालस्त्रीमन्दमूर्खाणां नृणां चारित्रकांक्षिणाम्। अनुग्रहार्थं तत्वज्ञैः सिद्धान्तः प्राकृतः कृतः (हरिभद्रसूरिकृत धर्मबिन्दुप्रकरण, ३३, ई. ८वीं शती, तथा दशवैकालिवृत्ति-२०३)।

ख) द्र.-भरतनाटचशास्त्र १८।३०–३३, दशरूपक-२।६४–६६

५५. स्त्रीषु नाप्राकृतं वदेत्। संकीर्णं नाभिजातेषु नाप्रबुद्धेषु संस्कृतम् (सरस्वतीकण्ठाभरण, २।८, ई. ११वीं शती)। द्र.-भरतनाटचशास्त्र-१८।३०–३३; दशरूपक-२।६४–६६

५६. प्रकृति यानी सहज भाषा-व्यवहार। उससे उत्पन्न भाषा को 'प्राकृत' नाम दिया है। अथवा, प्राक्+कृत, अर्थात् संस्कृत की अपेक्षा पूर्ववर्ती भाषा-प्राकृतेति सकलजगज्जन्तूनां

(*Continued on next page*)

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भ. महावीर और भ. बुद्ध इसी भाषा मे उपदेश देते थे।[57] जैनों मे लोकभाषा के प्रति इतना प्रेम था कि साधु के लिए विभिन्न देशों की भाषा (बोलियों) का ज्ञान होना अपेक्षित कहा गया।[58] मलधारी हेमचन्द्रसूरी (ई. ११वीं शती) ने कहा है कि जो देश-भाषाओं को नहीं जानता, वह धूर्तों द्वारा पद-पद पर वंचित हो जाता है।[59] अस्तु, प्राकृत रचना का श्रीगणेश ई. पू. ५०० के लगभग प्रारम्भ हो गया, भले ही उसका लिखित रूप बाद मे आया हो। प्रारम्भ मे प्राकृत के दो ही मुख्य रूप थे-पूर्वी (मागधी) और पश्चिमी (शौरसेनी)।

पूर्व की बोलियों मे साहित्य का नया जीवन प्रस्फुटित हुआ। पश्चिम की बोलियों मे साहित्य का श्रीगणेश कुछ बाद मे हुआ। मध्यदेश मे संस्कृत का प्रभाव बना रहा। प्राचीन और उदीच्य (संस्कृत) के मध्य भी एक ऐसी बोली थी जो न तो पश्चिमोत्तर उदीच्य की भांति रुढ़िबद्ध रही होगी, और न पूर्व की प्राच्या की तरह शिथिल व स्खलित ही। मध्यदेशीय इस बोली से अन्य प्राकृत-पाली-का उद्भव हुआ। इस पाली का परवर्ती रूप 'शौरसेनी' प्राकृत के रूप मे सामने आया। कुछ भाषावैज्ञानिक महाराष्ट्री को इस शौरसेनी का ही पश्चाद्वर्ती रुप मानते है। उक्त दोनो प्रदेशों के मध्य जन-साधारण मे एक अन्य बोली का भी प्रचलन था जिसमें मध्यदेशीय प्राच्या के तत्त्व मिश्रित थे। इस बोली का साहित्यिक रुप 'अर्धमागधी' नाम से पुकारा गया। बाद मे महाराष्ट्री का जन्म हुआ जो काफी समय तक एक परिनिष्ठित उच्च-स्तरीय साहित्यिक ललित भाषा के रूप मे प्रतिष्ठित रही।

लोकाश्रय के साथ-साथ, राज्याश्रय के भी प्राप्त होने से, प्राकृत को और भी बल मिला। सम्राट अशोक ने प्राकृत मे ही राज्यादेश उत्कीर्ण कराये। कलिंग के राजाओं के शासन मे भी प्राकृत को प्रतिष्ठा मिली, सम्राट खारवेल (ई. पूर्व १६६–१५२) ने हाथीगुम्फा (उडीसा प्रदेश के भुवनेश्वर से कुछ दूर उदयगिरि पर्वत पर बने एक गुफा मन्दिर) मे इतिहासप्रसिद्ध शिलालेख उत्कीर्ण कराया, जो प्राकृत मे ही है। खारवेल के युग मे ही लेखन कला का प्रचार हुआ, और जैन आगमों को लिपिबद्ध करने का सूत्रपात हुआ (जैन आगमो मे ब्राह्मी लिपी को श्रद्धा से नमस्कार किया गया है)[60]।

यही नहीं, वैदिक धर्मावलम्बी आन्ध्र-वंशी राजाओं ने भी प्राकृत को पूर्ण संरक्षण व संवर्धन प्रदान किया, और प्राकृत के अनेक कवियों को आश्रय दिया। सामान्य-जन मे भी प्राकृत भाषा रसिक चर्चा का माध्यम थी, जिसका निदर्शन 'गाथासप्तशती' (संग्रहकार आन्ध्रवंशी

(*Continued from previous page*)

व्याकरणादिभिरनाहितसंस्कारः सहजो वचनव्यापारः प्रकृतिः, तत्र भवं सैव वा प्राकृतम्। ... प्राक् पूर्वं कृतं प्राक्कृतं बालमहिलादिसुबोधं सकलभाषानिबन्धनभूतं वचनमुच्यते (रुद्रटकृत काव्यालंकार-२।१२ पर नमिसाधु, ११वीं शती)।

५७. समवायांग-३४।१११, औपपातिकसूत्र ३३, भगवतीसूत्र-५।१।९०, प्रज्ञापना सूत्र-१।७१

५८. बृहत्कल्पभाष्य (द्र. प्राकृत सा. का. इतिहास-जगदीशचन्द्र जैन, पृ. २२२)

५९. न मुणेइ देसभासा देसायारं न नीइ-विन्नाणं। ततो धुत्तहि पए पए य वंचिज्जए अबुहो (भवभावना-आ. हेमचन्द्र, ई. १२वीं शती)।

६०. णमो बम्भीए लिविए (द्र.-भगवतीसूत्र, अनगारधर्मामृत-४।१५।

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राजा शातवाहन-'हाल', ई. प्रथम शती) और 'वज्जालग्गं' (संकलनकार श्वेताम्बरमुनि जयवल्लभ, ई. ४थी शती व परवर्ती) मे देखा जा सकता है। आन्ध्रवंशी राजा शातवाहन (ई. २०–२४) के अन्तःपुर मे प्राकृत ही बोली जाती थी।[61]

शातवाहन राजा 'हाल' की विद्वत्-सभा के कवि पादलिप्तसूरि (विक्रम सम्वत १५१–२१९) ने 'तरंगवती' जैसी श्रेष्ठ प्राकृत कथा-कृति (अनुपलब्ध) की रचना कर परवर्ती साहित्यकारों के लिए मार्ग-निर्देशन प्रस्तुत किया (इस कृति का संक्षिप्त रूप नेमिचन्द्र गणि (१५वीं शती) कृत 'तरंगलोला' प्राप्य है)। आन्ध्रवंशीय शिलालेखों के अलावा, लंका, नेपाल, कांगडा, मथुरा आदि स्थानों मे प्राचीन शिलालेख प्राप्त हुए हैं जिनसे प्राकृत की जन-भाषा के रूप मे स्थिति प्रमाणित होती है। अजमेर (राजस्थान) से चालीस किलोमीटर दूर वारली ग्राम से एक प्राकृत अभिलेख प्राप्त हुआ है जो ई. पूर्व ४४३ का है। इसी के समकालीन दूसरा बौद्ध-शिलालेख बस्ती जिले (उत्तरप्रदेश) के पिपरहवा ग्राम से प्राप्त हुआ है। ई. पूर्व तीसरी शती का भी (राजा धर्मपाल का) एक सिक्का मिला है जो प्राकृत लेख से संयुक्त है। भारत के बाहर भी चीनी, तुर्किस्तान आदि मे, ब्राह्मी व खरोष्ठी लिपियों में प्राकृत लेख प्राप्त होते है जो तीसरी शती ई. के हैं।

आचार्य विमलसूरि (ई. १-२ शती) नें 'पउमचरियं' नामक जैन रामायण की रचना कर, प्राकृत भाषा को साहित्यिक काव्य-विधा के क्षेत्र मे जो सन्मान दिया वह उल्लेखनीय है। ई. चौथी शती मे संघदास गणी एवं धर्मदास गणी ने 'वसुदेवहिंडी' जैसी प्राकृत कथा की रचना प्रस्तुत कर, विश्वकथासाहित्य को समृद्ध किया है।

वाकाटकवंशी नरेश प्रवरसेन (ई. ४४०) तो स्वयं ही एक श्रेष्ट प्राकृत कवि थे। अनेक प्राकृत कवियों ने उनकें यहां सम्मानित पद पाया था। कन्नौज के राजा यशोवर्मन (ई. आठवीं शतीं) के आश्रित 'वाक्पतिराज' कविने प्रसिद्ध 'गउडवहो' महाकाव्य की रचना की। इसी राज्य ने प्राकृत-सट्टक 'कर्पूरमंजरी' आदि के निर्माता राजशेखर जैसे विद्वान (ई. ९-१० शती) को प्रश्रय दिया था।

इस प्रकार, साहित्यिक क्षेत्र मे संस्कृत व प्राकृत भाषाए समान रूप से प्रतिष्ठित हो गयीं। दोनों मिलकर समाज के सभी वर्गो को अनुरंजित करने लगीं। यही कारण है कि महाकवि कालिदास ने कुमारसम्भव में सरस्वती के मुख से संस्कृत व प्राकृत-दोनों भाषाओं द्वारा क्रम-क्रम से, 'वागर्थ-साहित्य' रूप शिव-पार्वती की स्तुति करायी है।[62] भरत कृत नाटचशास्त्र (ई. पूर्व ३ री शती से तीसरी शती ई. तक) में भी प्राकृत व संस्कृत दोनों के लोकमान्य होने का संकेत किया है।[63]

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६१. श्रूयते च कुन्तलेषु सातवाहनो नाम राजा, तेन प्राकृतभाषात्मकमन्तःपुर एवेति समानं पूर्वेण (राजशेखर का काव्य-मीमांसा; पृ. ५०)।

६२. द्विधा प्रयुक्तेन च वाङमयेन सरस्वतीं तन्मिथुनं नुनाव। संस्कारपूतेन वरं वरेण्यं वधू-मुखग्राह्यनिबन्धनेन ॥ (कुमारसम्भव-७।४०)

६३. प्राकृतं संस्कृतं चैव चातुर्वर्ण्य-समाश्रमम् (नाटचशास्त्र-१८।२८)।

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'पाणिनि-शिक्षा' मे भी, संस्कृत-प्राकृत दोनो के वर्णो को ब्रह्मवाणी के रूप में निरूपित किया गया है।[64] इसी कथन में स्वर से स्वर मिलाकर, जैन शास्त्रो मे भी प्राकृत व संस्कृत को ऋषिभाषित कहकर दोनो को समान आदर दिया गया है।[65]

प्राकृत भाषा की सहज सरसता व शृंगाररसोचितता के कारण, प्राकृत काव्यरचनाएं समाज के शिक्षित-अशिक्षित दोनों वर्गों में लोकप्रिय हो गयी। कवि व विद्वान मुक्तकण्ठ से प्राकृत के गुणगान करने लगे।

(च) प्राकृत का यशोगान

गाथा सप्तशती (ई. १।४ शती) के अनुसार अमृतसम माधुर्यसम्पन्न प्राकृत भाषा को छोड़कर, अन्य किसी भाषा के माध्यम से, प्रणय व सौन्दर्य-चित्रण आदि कामचर्चा मे प्रवृत्त होने वाले को स्वयं पर लज्जित होना चाहिए।[66]

जयवल्लभ (ई. ४थी शती) के मत मे, मधुर व ललित वर्णो वाली शृंगारोचित प्राकृत भाषा में रचित काव्यों के रहते हुए, संस्कृत काव्य को कौन पढ़ना चाहेगा?[67] आठवीं शती के वाक्पतिराज कें अनुसार, सृष्टि के प्रारम्भ से ही नूतन-नूतन अर्थों से युक्त सुन्दर कृतियां यदि कहीं हैं तो प्राकृत में ही।[68] राजशेखर (ई. ९वीं. शती) ने कहा कि प्राकृत के सामने संस्कृत भाषा कटु (कड़वी) प्रतीत होती है,[69] तथा जितना अन्तर स्त्रियों व पुरुषों की वाणियों मे मधुरता की दृष्टि से होता है, उतना ही अन्तर प्राकृत व संस्कृत में स्पष्ट है।[70]

आर्यासप्तशती-कार (१५वीं शती) गोवर्द्धनाचार्य की दृष्टि में प्राकृत ही शृंगार-रस की रचना के लिए उपयुक्त है, संस्कृत के साथ शृंगार-रस को जोड़ना एक तरह से बल-प्रयोग ही है।[71]

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६४. प्राकृते संस्कृते चापि स्वयम्प्रोक्ताः स्वयम्भुवा (पाणिनि शिक्षा, ३)।

६५. सक्कया पायया चेव भणिईत्यो होंति दोंण्णिया। एरमंडलम्मि गिज्जंते पसत्था इसिभासिया (अनुयोगद्वार सूत्र, वि. दूसरी शती, सूत्र-१२६, गाथा-११, द्रष्टव्य-सुत्तागमो भा. २, पृ. १११७; तथा स्थानांग सूत्र-७।४८।१०-व्यावर प्रकाशन, पृ ५८७)

६६. अमिअं पाइअकव्वं पढिउं सोउं अ जे ण जाणंति। कामस्स तत्ततत्ति कुणंति ते कहं ण लज्जंति (गाथा-सप्तशती-१।२)॥

६७. ललिए महुरक्खरए जुवईजणवल्लहे ससिंगारे। संते पाइयकव्वे को सक्कइ सक्कयं पढिउं (वज्जालग्गं)

६८. णवमत्थदंसण-संनिवेससिसिराओ बंधरिद्धीओ। अविरलमिणमो आभुवनबंधमिह णवर-पययम्मि (गउडवहो-६२)॥

६९. यद् योनिः किल संस्कृतस्य सुदृशां जिह्वासु यन् मोदते। यत्र श्रोत्रपथावतारिणि कटुर्भाषाक्षराणां रसः। (बालरामायण-४८-४९)॥

७०. परुसा सक्कयबंधा, पाउअबंधो वि होइ सुउमारो। पुरिसमहिलाणं जेत्तिअमिहंतरं तेत्तिअमिमाणं (कर्पूरमंजरी-१।८)॥

७१. वाणी प्राकृतसमुचितरसा बलेनैव संस्कृतं नीता (आर्यासप्तशती, १।५२)।

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दार्शनिक व धार्मिक क्षेत्र में भी स्वतन्त्र ग्रन्थों का प्रणयन हुआ, जिसमें आचार्य गुणधर कृत 'कसायपाहुड' (ई. ४७–१०१), पुष्पदन्त व भूतवलि कृत षट्-खण्डागम (६६–१५६ ई.) आचार्य कुन्दकुन्द (ई.१–२ शती) कृत प्रवचनसार, समयसार, पंचास्तिकाय, अष्टपाहुड आदि ग्रन्थ शिवार्यकृत भगवती आराधना (ई. प्रथम शती), तथा जिनभद्रगणि क्षमाश्रमण (ई. ६ठी शती) कृत विशेषावश्यक भाष्य आदि के नाम उल्लेखनीय हैं।

इस प्रकार, क्रमशः प्राकृत का भी उन्नयन हुआ, और उसे भी साहित्यिक प्रतिष्ठा प्राप्त हुई। आचार्य भरत ने नाटकों में भी पात्रों के अनुरूप, प्राकृत आदि भाषा के प्रयोग की प्रेरणा दी है।[72]

महाकवि कालिदास (ई. प्रथम शती) अश्वघोष (ई. १–२ शती), भास (ई. ३री शती) शुद्रक (ई. ५वीं शती), तथा विशाखदत्त (६ठी शती उत्त.) आदि कृत नाटकों में प्राकृतों का प्रयोग जन-सामान्य मे प्राकृत के व्यवहार को पुष्ट करने हेतु पर्याप्त हैं।

भरत (ई. पू. ३री शती से ३री शती ई.) कें अनुसार नायक आदि उच्च वर्ग की भाषा संस्कृत होनी चाहिए, किन्तु वे ऐश्वर्य से च्युत हों, या प्रमत्त हों, तो उनकी भाषा प्राकृत होनी चाहिए। भरत ने श्रमण, भिक्षु, स्त्री, बालकों की भाषा 'प्राकृत' निर्धारित की है।[73] अन्तःपुर मे मागधी, राजपुत्रों द्वारा अर्धमागधी, विदुषकादि द्वारा प्राच्या, नायिका-आदि द्वारा शौरसेनी (आवन्ती) का प्रयोग नाटक-शास्त्रोचित है।[74] दशरूपक (ई. ९९४–१०१८) के कर्ता धनंजय के अनुसार, उच्च वर्गो (कुछ जगह महारानी व वेश्या भी) की भाषा संस्कृत, स्त्रियों की सामान्यतः प्राकृत, सामान्य (अवर) वर्ग की भाषा शौरसेनी, तथा अत्यन्त नीच व्यक्तियों की भाषा पैशाची होती है।[75]

(छ) अपभ्रंशादि भाषाएं और जैन साहित्य

संस्कृत की भांति प्राकृत की शुद्धता बनाए रखने हेतु व्याकरण का निर्माण प्रारम्भ हुआ। भरत-कृत नाटचशास्त्र में प्राकृत-व्याकरण के नियम निरूपित किये गए मिलते हैं।[76] चन्द्रकृत (ई. ३–४ शती) 'प्राकृत लक्षण', आचार्य वररुचि कृत (ई. ४–६ठी शती) 'प्राकृत-प्रकाश' आदि स्वतन्त्र प्राकृत व्याकरण लिखे गये। काल-क्रम से, संस्कृत की तरह, प्राकृत भी

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७२. नाटके सम्प्रयोक्तव्या वेशभाषाक्रियान्वितः (नाटचशास्त्र-२४।८०)। यद्देशं नीचपात्रं स्यात् तद्देशं तस्य भाषितम्। कार्यतश्चोत्तमादीनां कार्यो भाषाव्यतिक्रमः (दशरूपक २।६६)।

७३. नाटचशास्त्र-१८।३०–३३

७४. नाटचशास्त्र-१८।३७–४०

७५. देशभाषाक्रियावेशलक्षणाः स्युः प्रवृत्तयः। लोकादेवावगम्यौताः यथौचित्यं प्रयोजयेत्॥ पाठ्यं तु संस्कृतं नृणामनीचानां कृतात्मनाम्। लिंगिनीनां महादेव्या मंत्रिजा-वेश्ययोः क्वचित्॥ स्त्रीणां तु प्राकृतं प्रायः शौरसेन्याधमेषु च। पिशाचात्यन्तनीचादौ पैशाचं मागधं तथा॥ (दशरूपक २।६३–६६)॥

७६. द्र. नाटचशास्त्र-१८।५–२२

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जन-भाषा से दूर हटती चली गई। जन-भाषा का विकास जारी रहा। वह जन-भाषा 'अपभ्रंश' रूप में साहित्यिक जगत में प्रतिष्ठित हुई।[77]

ई. छठी शती मे अपभ्रंश भाषा के रूप मे लोग-जीवन को आकर्षित करने लगी थीं। भामह (ई. छठी शती) ने काव्यालंकार में अपभ्रंश का उल्लेख संकृत व प्राकृत के समकक्ष साहित्यिक भाषा के रूप मे किया है।[78] इसके बाद दण्डी (९वीं शती) ने काव्यादर्श में संस्कृत प्राकृत, अपभ्रंश के साथ मिश्र भाषा इस प्रकार चार भाषाओं का निरूपण किया है। उद्योतनसूरि (८वीं शती) ने कुवलयमाला में, आचार्य रुद्रट (९वीं शती) ने काव्यालंकार में भी साहित्यिक प्राकृतो मे अपभ्रंष के प्रति सम्मानपूर्ण भाव व्यक्त किया है। राजशेखर (१०वीं शती) (काव्य-मीमासाकार) के समय तक अपभ्रंष राजसभा व विद्वत्परिषदों में समादृत हो गई थी। सरस्वतीकण्ठाभरण (११वीं शती) मे अपभ्रंष को सुकव्य-अर्थात काव्योपयोगी बताया गया है।[79]

विद्यापति (ई. १४वीं शती) के समय तक आते-आते अपभ्रंश की तुलनामें प्राकृत काव्य भी विद्वज्जन-बोध्य हो गए थे और देशी भाषाएं लोकप्रिय हो गई थीं।[80] काश्यपगोत्रीय ब्राह्मण पुष्पदन्त कवि (ई. १०वीं शती) ने राष्ट्रकुट-शासन मे 'महापुराण' जैसी सरस काव्य की रचना कर, अपभ्रंश को पूर्ण रूप से साहित्यिक क्षेत्र में प्रतिष्ठित कर दिया। कालान्तर में इसका प्रभाव बढ़ता ही गया। स्वयं संस्कृत के विद्वान मनीषी-जिनके पूर्वजों ने कभी इसे 'अपभ्रंश' कहकर तिरस्कृत किया था-इस अंगीकार करने लगे। इस भाषा ने राष्ट्रव्यापि रूप पाया। अपभ्रंष को राष्ट्रव्यापी महत्व दिलाने मे मान्यखेट के जैनधर्मावलम्बी राष्ट्रकूट (७-१०वीं शती), बंगाल के बौद्ध-धर्मानुयायी पाल शासक, तथा गुजरात के सोलंकी चालुक्य राजाओं (ई. ११-१२वीं शती) का प्रमुख हाथ रहा है।

आचार्य पुष्पदन्त (ई. १०-११वीं शती) का यह वर्णन कि भगवान ऋषभदेव ने संस्कृत प्राकृत व अपभ्रंश में रचना कर काव्य का सृजन करना सिखाया[81] इस तथ्य को पुष्ट करता है कि इस काल तक जैन समाज में उक्त सभी भाषाएं समादृत हो गई थी।

समग्र रूप में यह भाषा अपने युग की जातीय भवोन्मेष चेतना का वाहक बनी थी। जब संस्कृत, पालि, प्राकृत मे तर्कजाल, दार्शनिक दुरूहता, पिष्ट पेंषणता, पाण्डित्य-प्रदर्शन, अलंकारिक बोझिलता, अर्थ की कठिनता, चरित्रों की एकरसता का साम्राज्य था तब जनजीवन

७७. प्राकृतमेवापभ्रंशः (रुद्रटकृत काव्यालंकार की नमिसाधुकृत टीका, ११वीं शती)।

७८. काव्यालंकार-१।१६ (काव्यं गद्यं पद्यं च तद् द्विधा। संस्कृतं प्राकृतं चान्यदपभ्रंश इति त्रिधा)। छठीं शती के एक ताम्रपत्र (राजा धांरसेन द्वितीय से सम्बद्ध) में भी तीन भाषओं की चर्चा है (संस्कृत-प्राकृत-अपभ्रंशभाषात्रय-प्रतिबद्धप्रबन्धरचनानिपुणान्तः-करणः)।

७९. सरस्वतीकण्ठाभरण-२।१६

८०. सक्कउ वाणी बहुअ न भावइ। पाउव रस को मम्म न पावइ। देसिल-वअना सब जन-मिट्ठा। तै तैसन जम्पअ अवहट्ठा (विद्यापति)॥

८१. द्र. महापुराण-५।१८

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के लिए अपभ्रंश एक नई आशा-किरण बनकर आई। उसमे सहजता और सरलता थी। जीवन का नया उत्साह और आवेग था। लोक जीवन का संस्पर्श था। लोक कथा और ग्राम्य गीतों की मधुरता थी। आभीर, गुर्जर आदि लोक-जातियों कीं स्वच्छन्दता और उन्मुक्तता थी। धार्मिक जीवन की उदात्तता के साथ जीवन के सरस प्रवाह की एकतानता थी। चरित्रों में वास्तविक जीवन का यथार्थ था।

अपभ्रंश जब साहित्य में जडीभूत और अवरुद्ध हो गई तों उसमे स्थानिय लोकतत्त्वों का समावेश अनिवार्य हो गया। परिणामस्वरूप स्थानीय भेद से विभिन्न नव्य भारतीय आर्य-भाषाओं - हिन्दी, गुजराती, मराठी, बंगाली, उड़िया, असमिया आदि का उदय हुआ। इस प्रकार अपभ्रंश का विकार या विकास ही हिन्दी अथवा अन्य भाषाएं हैं।

इस प्रकार, भारतवर्ष में जन-भाषा के विविध रूप अंकुरित, पुष्पित व परिर्वधित होते रहे हैं। तत्कालीन आचार्य यथासमय उनका आकलन व मूल्यांकन करते रहे हैं। संस्कृत प्राकृत अपभ्रंश आदि प्रमुख साहित्यिक भाषाओं के अतिरिक्त, उनके समानान्तर कई देशी भाषाएं भी अस्तित्व में रही है। ये सभी भाषाएं मिलकर वाङमयात्मक के काव्यपुरुष के विविध अंगो का निर्माण करती हैं, अर्थात प्रत्येक भाषा का, शरीर में अंगो की तरह, अपना-अपना वैशिष्ट्य हैं। इसीलिए आचार्य राजशेखर (ई. नौवीं शती) ने शब्दार्थात्मक, रसात्मक 'काव्यपुरुष' का मुख संस्कृत को बताते हुए, प्राकृत को बाहु, अपभ्रंश को जघन, पैशाची को पाद, मिश्र भाषा को जघन बताया है।[८२]

भरतमुनि (ई. पू. ३री शती से ३री शती ई. प. तक) कृत नाटचशास्त्र में शौरसेनी, अर्धमागधी, वाल्हीका, दाक्षिणात्या - इन सात भाषाओं का उल्लेख है। वररुची कृत प्राकृत प्रकाश (ई. ४–६ शती) में प्राकृत, पैशाची, मागधी, शौरसेनी, रुद्रट (ई. ६वीं शती से पूर्व) कृत 'काव्यालंकार'[83] मे प्राकृत, संस्कृत, मागधी, पैशाची, शौरसेनी, अपभ्रंश और राजशेखर (ई. १०वो शती) कृत काव्यमीमांसा मे संस्कृत, प्राकृत अपभ्रंश, पैशाची - इन भाषाओं का नामोल्लेख प्राप्त होता है। इसके अतिरिक्त, आचार्य यतिवृषभ (ई. ५४०–६०९) कृत तिलोयपण्णत्ति मे,[84] तथा निशीथचूर्णी में, और कुवलयमाला (ई. ८वीं शती) मे १८ देशी भाषाओं का उल्लेख प्राप्त होता है।

उक्त सभी जन-भाषाओं मे जैन मनीषियों ने भारतीय वाङमय के विविध विषयों - जैसे धर्म, दर्शन, न्याय, आचार, नीति, कथा, काव्य, तन्त्र-मन्त्र आदि - पर अपनी लेखनीं चलायी है, और भारतीय साहित्य को समृद्ध किया है।

आचार्य हेमचन्द्र और महापराक्रमी गुर्जरेश्वर जयसिंह सिद्धराज की प्रतिभासम्मिश्रण से गुजरात की सांस्कृतिक उन्नति चरम सीमा पर पहुंची। सिद्धराज युद्धविजेता थे, तो हेमचन्द्र वैराग्य व अध्यात्मचिन्तन के धनी थे। इन दोनों का संगम गुजरात के लिए अकृतपूर्व सांस्कृ-

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८२. शब्दार्थौ ते शरीरम्, संस्कृतं मुखम्, प्राकृतं बाहुः, जघनमपभ्रंशः, ... पैशाचं पादौ उरो मिश्रम् ... रस आत्मा (काव्यमीमांसा, अ. ३, पृ ६)

८३. काव्यालंकार २।१२

८४. तिलोय-पण्णत्ति ४।२२६७

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तिक अभ्युदय का कारण माना जाता है। कुमारपाल जैसे सातों व्यसनों के सेवक एवं ऐश्वर्य के विलासमय जीवन में डूबे राजा को आचार्य हेमचन्द्र ने परमधार्मिक बनाकर अहिंसा की सीमा विस्तीर्ण की, और लोगों मे उज्वल आचार-भूमिका का निर्माण किया। संक्षेप में गुजरात की प्रसुप्त सांस्कृतिक चेतना को जगने वाले आचार्य हेमचन्द्र ने गुजरात मे एक नये युग का निर्माण किया।

इसी तरह, मराठी वाङ्मय में जैन विद्वानो की कृतियों का ढेर है। जैन आचार्यों ने मराठी भाषा मे मौलिक ग्रन्थो का तो निर्णय किया ही, साथ ही संस्कृत के ग्रन्थो का अनुवाद भी किया।

आचार्य हेमचन्द्र ने संस्कृत और जैन संस्कृति का प्रचार गुजरात मे किया, उसी तरह सुप्रसिद्ध दार्शनिक आचार्य विद्यानन्द के साहित्यिक कार्यों और जैन शासन का प्रचार-क्षेत्र मैसूर राज्य रहा है। आ. विद्यानन्द (ई. ७७५–८४०) गंगनरेश शिवमार द्वितीय, और राचमल्ल सत्यवाक्य प्रथम के समकालीन थे। आचार्य विद्यानन्द की प्रतिमा दर्शनजात मे सर्वविदित है। उन्होने (तत्त्वार्थ श्लोकवार्तिक मे) घोषणा की कि ब्राह्मणत्व आदि जातियां सम्यग्दर्शनादि गुणों तथा मिथ्यात्वादि दोषों से व्यवस्थित है, न कि जन्मगत अधिकार से। कोई भी जाति नित्य और अनादि नहीं है। इस तरह के उदार विचार देश के सांस्कृतिक एकता की स्थापना के लिए महत्त्वपूर्ण है।

दक्षिण भारत मे जैन आचार्यों ने सांस्कृतिक एकता का प्रसार किया। मि. फ्रेर ने 'भारत के साहित्यिक इतिहास' नामक ग्रन्थ मे लिखा है कि यह जैनो के ही प्रयत्नो का फल था कि दक्षिण मे नये आदर्शो; नये साहित्य और नये भावं का संचार हुआ। रामस्वामि अय्यंगार के मत मे तमिल भाषा मे संस्कृत शब्दो का उपयोग पहले-पहले सबसे अधिक जैनो ने ही किया। संस्कृत शब्दो को उच्चारण की सुगमता की दृष्टि से यथेष्ट रूप मे परिवर्तित किया। तमिल साहित्य भी जैनो के संरक्षण मे ही विकास की चरम सीमा पर पहुंचा।

कन्नड़ साहित्य का ई. ६वीं शती से लेकर १२वीं शती तक का इतिहास जैनो के ग्रन्थो से ही पूर्ण है। इस काल मे सभी प्राचीन व श्रेष्ठ कृतियां जै कवियों की ही हैं। महाकवि अग्गल (ई. ११८६) जैसे कवियों ने सर्वप्रथम संस्कृत भाषा के बहुमूल्य सुन्दर भूषणों को पहना कर कन्नड़ सरस्वती को सजाया। यह सब जैन आचार्यों और विद्वानों के इस क्षेत्र मे विचरण और उनकी जन-सम्पर्कवृत्ति का प्रभाव है।

ऊपर के विवेचन से स्पष्ट है कि लोकभाषा के प्रति लगाव और उसकी सुरक्षा जैनधर्म का बहुत बड़ा प्रदेय (योगादान) है; दूसरे, उसने प्रत्येक युग के भाषा-साहित्य को पुरी प्रामाणिकता के साथ सुरक्षित रखा, जो भारतीय भाषा और साहित्य की निरन्तरता और विकास को समझने में बहुत सहायक हैं; तीसरे, लोकभाषा को धर्म का माध्यम बनाने पर बल देकर उसने धर्म चेतना और जनता के बीच जीवित सम्पर्क रखा। इसका फल यह हुआ कि मध्ययुग में राजनैतिक रूप से पराजित होने पर भी, भारत सांस्कृतिक दृष्टि से अपराजेय रहा। इतना ही नही, इस चेतना से उसने पुन: राजनीतिक स्वतंत्रता प्राप्त करने की प्रेरणा ली; जैन धर्म भी इस लोक-चेतना की उपेक्षा नहीं कर सका।

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(ज) देववाणी प्राकृत

जैन धर्म एक सर्वोदय धर्म है।[85] सामान्य जनता से लेकर उच्चवर्ग तक, वह सुख व शान्ति का उपदेश प्रदान करता है।[86] इसलिए, जैन साहित्य की रचना बहुमान्य लोकभाषा में ही हुई। भगवान् महावीर ने अपने विहार-क्षेत्र की लोकभाषा 'अर्धमागधी' प्राकृत में ही अपने उपदेश दिये।[87]

जिस प्रकार वैदिक संस्कृति में संस्कृत को देववाणी का दर्जा प्राप्त था,[88] उसी तरह जैन संस्कृति में प्राकृत को परमेष्ठी देव की वाणी होने के कारण, 'देववाणी' की संज्ञा प्राप्त हुई।[89]

अर्धमागधी-प्राकृत व ब्राह्मी लिपि व्यवहार करने वालों को जैन शास्त्रों में 'भाषार्थ' की संज्ञा दी गयी।[90]

(झ) जैनोंद्वारा संस्कृत व संस्कृति की सेवा

भारतीय इतिहास मे ई. पू. १८४ में शुंग वंश के पुष्यमित्र ने मौर्य वंश का अन्त कर मगध का शासन स्वायत्त किया। यह पुष्यमित्र ब्राह्मण धर्म का अनुयायी और श्रमण धर्म का विरोधी था। अतः इसके राज्यकाल मे प्राकृत की अवहेलना और संस्कृत भाषा का पुनरुत्थान हुआ। इसी समय, पतंजलि ने महाभाष्य की रचना की। गृह्य-धर्म-श्रौतसूत्रोंका रचना काल भी यही है। महाभारत का संस्करण भी तभी हुआ माना जाता है। धीरे-धीरे, संस्कृत भाषा तार्किकों के लिए एक अमोघ अस्त्र बन गई। इस स्थिति में जैन आचार्यों को भी अपने विचारों को व्यक्त करने के लिए संस्कृत भाषा का आश्रय लेना पड़ा।

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८५. सर्वापदामन्तकरं निरन्तं सर्वोदयं तीर्थमिदं तवैव (युक्त्यनुशासन, ६१)।

८६. उच्चावचजनप्रायः समयोयं जिनेशिनाम्। नैकस्मिन्पुरुषे तिष्ठेत् एकस्तम्भ इवालयः (यशस्तिलक-आ. ८)॥ चतुर्वर्णफला सार्था चतुर्वर्गसमाश्रया (हरिवंश पुराण-जैन ५८।३)। सर्वार्धमागधीया भाषा मैत्री च सर्वजनताविषया (नन्दीश्वरभक्ति-४२)।

८७. उद्गमागहा भाषा-तेसिं सव्वेसिं आरियमणारियाणं अप्पणो समासाए परिणामेणं परिणमइ (औपपातिक सूत्र-३३, सुत्तागमो-१, भाग, पृ. ३४५-४६)। समवायांग ३४, सुत्तागमो-१ भाग, पृ. ३४६

८८. संस्कृतं नाम दैवी वाग्, अन्वाख्याता महर्षिभिः (दण्डीकृत काव्यादर्श-१।३३)। संस्कृतं स्वर्गिणां भाषा शब्दशास्त्रेषु निश्चिता (वाग्भटकृत काव्यालंकार-२।२)। विन्देम देवतां वाचम् अमृतामात्मनः कलाम् (उत्तररामचरित)। देवाद्याः संस्कृतं प्राहुः, प्राकृतं किन्नरादयः (सरस्वतीकण्ठाभरण, २।९, ११वीं शती)॥

८९. दिव्यभाषा तवाशेषभाषाभेदानुकारिणी (आदि पुराण-३३।४८)। त्वन्मुखात् प्रसूता वाणी दिव्या (वही-१।१८९)। नानाभाषात्मिकां दिव्यभाषामेकात्मिकामपि (वहीं, ३३।१२०)। आरिसवयणे सिद्धे देवाणं अद्धमागहा वाणी (रुद्रटकृत काव्यालंकार-२।१२)। त्वद्-दिव्यवाक् (आदि पु. २३।१५४)।

९०. भासारिया जे णं अद्धमागहीए भासाए भासंति। जत्थ वि यं बंभी लिवि पवत्तई (पन्नवणा सुत्त-५९)।

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जैन व बौद्ध-दोनो ने प्रारम्भ मे, लोक भाषा की तुलनां मे संस्कृत को कम आदर दिया। भ. बुद्ध ने अपने शिष्यों को अपनी-अपनी भाषाओं में ही उपदेश प्रसारित करने की अनुज्ञा दी थी।[91] जब संस्कृत भाषा का प्रभाव देश मे बढ़ा और शुंग वंश के शासन मे राज्याश्रय भी प्राप्त हो गया, ऐसी स्थिति मे जैनों ने भी प्राकृत के साथ-साथ संस्कृत में भी स्वतन्त्र ग्रन्थ रचनें का सूत्रपात किया।

जैन आचार्यो मे संस्कृत मे स्वतन्त्र ग्रथों की रचना का श्रेय आचार्य उमास्वाती को है। ये सम्भवतः (१-२ शती) पहले विद्वान है जिन्होने विविध आगम ग्रन्थो मे बिखरे हुए जैन तत्वज्ञान को योग, वैशेषिक आदि दर्शन ग्रन्थो के समान सूत्रबद्ध किया और उसे तत्त्वार्थाधिगम या अर्हत्प्रवचन के रूप में सामने रखा। इन्होने सर्वप्रथम यह अनुभव किया कि विद्वत्समाज की भाषा संस्कृत बन रही है, इसलिए जैन दर्शन, संस्कृत में लिखे जोने पर ही, विद्वानों का ग्राह्य विषय बन सकेगा। चुंकि ये ब्राह्मण कुल में उत्पन्न हुए थे, इसलिए संस्कृत का अभ्यास होने के कारण इस भाषा मे ग्रन्थनिर्माण करना उनके लिए सहज था। वाचक उमास्वाती आगमिक विद्वान् थे। अतः उनकी सभी रचनाएं आगम-परिपाटी को लिए हुए हैं। उमास्वाती का तत्त्वार्थसूत्र जहां जैन तत्वज्ञान का आदिम संस्कृत ग्रन्थ है, वहां जैन धर्म व आचार का निरूपण करने वाला उनका 'प्रशमरतिप्रकरण' ग्रन्थ भी अपनी श्रेणी का एक विशिष्ट ग्रन्थ है।

किन्तु जहां तक प्राकृत आगमों की व्याख्या का सम्बन्ध था, इसके प्रति रूढ़िवादी जैनो ने प्रारम्भ मे संस्कृत को स्वीकार करने में अपनी सहमति या विरोध प्रदर्शित किया। आचार्य सिद्धसेन की घटना सर्वविदित है ही। आचार्य सिद्धसेन बचपन से ही संस्कृत के अभ्यासी थे। एक बार उन्हों ने प्राकृत सिद्धान्तो को संस्कृत भाषा मे अनुदित करने का अपना विचार संघ के समक्ष व्यक्त किया। इस पर रूढ़िवादी स्थविरो की प्रतिक्रिया यह हुई कि उन्होंने सिद्धसेन को उक्त विचार प्रकट करने का प्रायश्चित्त करने को कहा। प्रायश्चित्त यह बताया गया कि सिद्धसेन अपना जैन वेश छिपाकर, और गच्छ का परित्याग कर, बारह वर्ष पर्यन्त दुष्कर तप करे। यदि इस १२ वर्षो की अवधि में सिद्धसेन द्वारा कोई महान् प्रभावना हो सके तो अवधि पूर्ण होनेसे पूर्व भी वास्तविक पद पर सिद्धसेन को पुनः आरूढ़ किया जा सकेगा। आचार्य सिद्धसेन को उक्त प्रायश्चित्त रूप मे वेश छिपा कर परिभ्रमण हेतु प्रस्थान करना पड़ा।

अुन्होने उज्जयिनी कें मन्दिर मे कल्याणमन्दिर स्तोत्र द्वारा शिव-लिंग का स्फोटन कर पार्श्वनाथ तीर्थंकर का विम्व प्रकट कर विक्रमादित्य राजा को जिन-शासन के प्रति अनुरक्त किया, और इस प्रचार धर्म-प्रभावना का चमत्कारी उदाहरण प्रस्तुत किया था।[92] कालान्तर में वे पुनः जैन संघ में समादृत स्थान पा सके।

इस घटना का वास्तविक स्वरूप जो हो, इतना तो स्पष्ट ही है कि आचार्य सिद्धसेन (वि. ५वीं शती, कुछ लोग ६-७ शती) के समय तक एक रूढिवादी परम्परा विद्यमान थी, जो आगमों की व्याख्या या अनुवाद करना शास्त्र विरूद्ध एवं दुःसाहस समझती थी।

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९१. अनुजानामि भिक्खवे सकाय-निरुत्तिया बुद्ध-वचनं परियापुणितुं। (चुल्लवग्ग ५।३३।११)

९२. द्र.-पट्टावली-समुच्चय।

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इन्ही रूढ़िवादियो को लक्ष्य कर, आचार्य सिद्धसेन ने कहा था 'पुरानी रूढ़ि को ढोने के लिए मे पैदा नहीं हुआ हूं, भले ही मेरे दुश्मनो की संख्या बढ़ती जाए'।[93] अस्तु आचार्य सिद्धसेन जैसे क्रान्तिकारियो के प्रयत्न से संस्कृत के प्रयोग को बढावा मिला।

श्वेताम्बर आगमो पर सर्वप्रथम चूर्णियों मे प्राकृत के साथ संस्कृत[94] का प्रयोग किया गया। चूर्णिकर्ताओं मे अगस्त्यसिंह स्थविर (वि. ३री शती) तथा जिनदास गणी महत्तर (ई- ६ठी शती) के नाम उल्लेखनीय हैं। आगमों की संस्कृत टीकाएं लिखने का श्रेय आचार्य हरिभद्र सूरि (७०५-७७५ ई.), इनके १०० वर्ष पश्चात आचार्य शीलांकसूरि, शान्तिसूरि, नेमिचन्द्र सूरि (११वीं शती), मलयगिरि, अभयदेव सूरि (१२वीं शती), द्रोणाचार्य मलधारी हेमचन्द्र, क्षेमकीर्ति (ई. १२७५), शान्तिचन्द्र (१५९३ ई.) आदि को हैं। इन टीकाओं में भी कथा सम्बन्धी अंशो को प्राकृत मे ही ऊपनिबद्ध किया गया।

दिगम्बर परम्परा मे षट्खण्डागम की धवला टीका (८१६ ई) भी संस्कृत-प्राकृत मिश्रित भाषा में है। वीरसेन कृत इस टीका मे कर्म सिद्धान्त का प्रतिपादन प्राकृत मे ही किया गया है। दर्शन व न्याय विषयक विवेचन में संस्कृत का आश्रय लिया गया है।[95]

डॉ हीरालाल जैन के मत में धवलाकर के समय तक कर्मसिद्धान्त के व्याख्यान मे तो प्राकृत का ही माध्यम चलता था, किन्तु दर्शन व न्यायविषयक विवेचन के लिए संस्कृत का माध्यम जैन परम्परा मे भी स्वीकृत हो चुका था, जैसा कि तत्कालीन जैन साहित्य से भी सिध्द होता है।

संस्कृत काव्य-निर्माण की दृष्टि से पहले जैन कवि आचार्य समन्तभद्र (वि. २-३री शती) हैं जिन्होने 'स्वयम्भूस्तोत्र' जैसे स्तुति काव्य का सृजन कर जनों के मध्य संस्कृत काव्य-परम्परा का श्रीगणेश किया। 'यह एक सर्वमान्य तथ्य है कि संस्कृत भाषा मे काव्य का प्रदुर्भाव स्तुति या भक्ति साहित्य से हुआ है। यों जैन संस्कृत काव्यो की मूल आधार-शिला द्वादशांगवाणी है।' जैन न्याय का वास्तविक प्रारम्भ भी आचार्य समन्तभद्र के ग्रन्थो (आप्त मीमांसा आदि) से होता हैं। आचार्य समन्तभद्र ने इष्टदेव की स्तुति के व्याज से एक ओर हेतुवाद के आधार पर सर्वज्ञ की सिध्दि की, दुसरी ओर विविध एकान्तवादो की समीक्षा करके अनेकान्तवाद की प्रतिष्ठा की। उन्होने जैन परम्परा मे सर्वप्रथम न्याय शब्द का प्रयोग करके एक ओर 'न्याय' शब्द दिया तो दूसरी ओर न्यायशास्त्र मे स्याद्वाद को गुम्फित किया है।

परवर्ती आचार्यों ने विपुल साहित्य रचकर जैन संस्कृत साहित्य के भण्डार को पूर्ण किया। जब बौध्द दर्शन मे नागार्जुन, वसुबन्धु, असंग तथा बौध्दन्याय के पिता दिग्नाग का

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९३. पुरातनैर्या नियता व्यवस्थितिः तथैव सा किं परिचिन्त्य सेत्स्यति। तथेति वक्तुं मृतरूढ-गौरवात् अहं न जातः प्रथयन्तु विद्विषः॥ (सिद्धसेन द्वात्रिंशिका - ६।२)

९४. प्राकृत-मिश्रित संस्कृत (चूर्णि) का उदाहरण द्रष्टव्य है - एगो पसुवालो प्रतिदिनं मध्याह्न-गते रवौ अजासु महान्यग्रोध-तरु-समाश्रितासु तथुत्ताणओ निवन्नो वेणुविदलेण अजोद्गीर्ण-कोलास्थिभिः तस्य वटस्य छिद्रीकुर्वन् तिष्ठति (-उत्तराध्ययन चूर्णि)।

९५. द्र. भिक्षुस्मृति ग्रन्थ मे डॉ. हीरालाल जैन का 'षट्खण्डागम' शीर्षक लेख, पृ. ५१ (द्वितीयखण्ड)।

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उदय हुआ, और दार्शनिक जगत में इन बौध्द दार्शनिको के प्रबल तर्कप्रहारों से खलबली मच रही थी, तो जैन दार्शनिको के सामने प्रतिवादियो के आक्षेपो का खण्डन कर स्वदर्शन की प्रभावना करने का महान उत्तरदायित्व आ पड़ा। सातवी सदी मे आए ह्युएन्त्संगके के अनुसार वाद-विवाद में बौध्द केवल संस्कृत का ही प्रयोग करते थे। इस स्थिति मे भाषा की संकीर्णता को स्थान देना अनुचित था। अन्य दार्शनिको का खण्डन उन्हीं की भाषा मे करना उचित समझा गया, और इस प्रकार संस्कृत को गौरवपूर्ण स्थान प्राप्त करने मे आगे का मार्ग प्रशस्त होता गया।

गुप्तकाल तक संस्कृत को पूरे भारत मे सम्मानित स्थान प्राप्त हो गया था। जैन साधु-साध्वी समाज संस्कृत भाषा मे भी परिनिष्ठित होने लगा। कहते हैं, 'सिध्दसेन दिवाकर' (ई. ५वीं शती) की मृत्यू के बाद, विशाला (उज्जयिनी) में एक वैतालिक (चारण-भाट) ने सिध्दसेन की बहन, जो जैन साध्वी थी, के समक्ष अनुष्टुप छन्द के दो चरण कहे :

स्फुरन्ति वादिखद्योताः साम्प्रतं दक्षिणापथे।

उक्त जैन साध्वी ने तुरन्त आगे के दो चरण कहकर उक्त छन्द को पुरा किया—

नूनमस्तंगतो वादी सिध्दसेनो दिवाकरः ।।[96]

जैन आगम की टीकाओ में भी इसके उदाहरण मिलते हैं, जिनसे संस्कृत के व्यवहार-भाषा होने का प्रमाण पुष्ट होता है।[97]

सिध्दर्षि (प्रथम संस्कृत कथाकार) के समय (ई. ९०५) तक संस्कृत ने इतनी लोकप्रियता प्राप्त कर ली थी कि प्राकृत भाषा को भूलकर लोग संस्कृत रचनाओं में अपेक्षाकृत अधिक आनन्द अनुभव करते थे।[98]

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९६. वैतालिक का कहना था कि आजकल दक्षिणापथ मे वादी रूपी जुगनूं इधर-उधर मंडरा रहे हैं। जैन साध्वी ने कहा-इससे यह निश्चित होता है कि सिध्दसेन दिवाकर इस संसार मे नही रहे। (अन्यथा किसी वादी को स्वपाण्डित्य प्रदर्शित करने का साहस नही होता)।

९७. हरिभद्र सूरि की आवश्यक टीका में एक कथा है, जिसके अनुसार एक इभ्यपुत्र दासियो के जरिये रानी के पास (एक पुड़िया में सामान रखने के बहाने) एक पद्य लिखकर भेजता है 'काले प्रसुप्तस्य जनार्दनस्य मेघान्धकारासु च शर्वरीषु मिथ्या न भाषामि विशालनेत्रे ते प्रत्यया ये प्रथमाक्षरेषु। इभ्यपुत्र का सन्देश था-'कामेमि ते' (अर्थात में तुझे चाहता हूं)। रानी ने भी उत्तर मे एक पद्य लिखा, जो निम्न प्रकार है-नेह लोके सुखं किंचिच्छादितस्यांहसा भृशम्। मितं च जीवितं नृणां तेन धर्मे मतिं कुरु ॥ रानी के सन्देश का रूप था-'नेच्छामि ते' (अर्थात में तुझे नही चाहती)।

९८. संस्कृता प्राकृता चेति भाषे प्राधान्यमर्हतः। तत्रापि संस्कृता तावद् दुर्विदग्धहृदि स्थिता। बालानामपि सद्बोधकारिणी कर्णपेशला। तथापि प्राकृता भाषा न तेषामभिभाषते ॥ उपाये सति कर्तव्यं सर्वेषां चित्तरंजनम्। अतस्तदनुरोधेन संस्कृतेयं करिष्यते ।। (उपमितिभवप्रपंचकथा, १।५१–५२)

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जैन न्याय के क्षेत्र में आचार्य समन्तभद्र (वि. २-३ री शती) आचार्य अकलंक (७३०-७८० ई.) आचार्य विद्यानन्दि (ई. ७७५-८४०), माणिक्यनन्दि (१०-११वीं शती ई.), प्रभाचन्द्र (१२वीं शती), आचार्य मल्लिषेण (१२८२ ई. लगभग) आदि के अतिरिक्त नव्यन्याययुग के प्रवर्तक महान तार्किक-शिरोमणि न्यायाचार्य उपा. श्री यशोविजय (ई. १८वीं शती) का नाम स्वर्णाक्षरो में लिखित है।

संस्कृत रचना की होड़ ने १३वीं शती तक कठिन से कठिन बन्धनो को भी तोड़ डाला। जैन मुनियो के लिए नाटक आदि विनोदों मे भाग लेना वर्जित समझा गया है। नाटक आदि की रचना का तो प्रसंग ही कैसे उठसकता था ? किन्तु एक ऐसा समय आया कि जैन आचार्यों ने संस्कृत में नाटक लिखने प्रारम्भ कर दिये।

संस्कृत के प्रति प्रेम की भावना ने संस्कृत-रचना की परम्परा को निरन्तर कायम रखा। कहा जाता है कि एक बार सम्राट अकबर की विद्वत्सभा मे जैनो के 'समत्थसुत्तस्य अणन्तो अत्थो' (समस्त आगमसूत्रो के अनन्त अर्थ है) वाक्य का किसी ने उपहास किया। यह बात महामहोपाध्याय समयसुन्दर जी को बुरी लगी और उन्होंने राजा को 'राजानो ददते सौख्यम्' इस ८ अक्षरी वाक्य के १० लाख २२ हजार चार सौ सात अर्थ किये। समयसुन्दर की यह कृति 'अष्टलक्षी' नाम से संस्कृत साहित्य की शोभावृद्धि कर रही है, किन्तु अभी वह अप्रकाशित है।

जैन संस्कृत साहित्य के अध्ययन से हमे इस देश की लोक संस्कृति के विविध रूपों का परिचय प्राप्त होता है। तत्कालीन सामाजिक, दार्शनिक व राजनीतिक, आर्थिक आदि स्थितियो का विशद चित्र हमारी आंखो के सामनें स्पष्ट हो जाता है। अनेक ऐतिहासिक तथ्यों का भी उद्घाटन होता है। अनेक विद्वानो ने जैन संस्कृत साहित्य के आधार पर सांस्कृतिक स्वरूप का चित्र प्रस्तुत करनें का प्रयास किया है।

देश व विदेशो के विभिन्न ग्रंथागारो और विशिष्ट व्यक्तियं के स्वामित्व मे विद्यमान् समस्त ग्रन्थो और प्राचीन हस्तलिखित पाण्डुलिपिया की गणना की जाय तो जैन आचार्मों व विद्वानो द्वारा रचित संस्कृत कृतियों की संख्या एक लाख के आसपास पहूंच जाती है। भारत सरकार को चाहिए कि वह ऐसे अप्रकाशित ग्रन्थो के प्रकाशन मे सहयोग दे और साथ ही उन समस्त ग्रन्थो की सूचियां (Catalogue) प्रकाशित करावे ताकि अभितक प्रकांश मे न आई हुई कृतियो का परिचय विश्व के अनुसंधित्सु एवं विद्वानो को प्राप्त हो सके।

संक्षेप मे विगत दो-ढाई हज़ार वर्षों के अन्तराल मे भारतीय विद्या के क्षेत्र मे जैनो का योगदान अत्यन्त महत्वपूर्ण है। उन्होने ज्ञान-विज्ञान का कोई ऐसा क्षेत्र न छोड़ा, जिसमे लेखनी न चलाई हो। उनकी न्याय, प्रमाण-शास्त्र, कथा, काव्य, अलंकार नाटक, कोश, गणित, ज्योतिष व्याकरण, तन्त्र-मन्त्र, नीति व आचार, योग-अध्यातम आदि विविध विषयो पर उत्कृष्ट कृतियां प्राप्त होती है।

जैन आचार्यों और विद्वानो ने जन-जीवन के जितने अंग होते है, उन सब पर विशिष्ट साहित्य रचा। उनकें साहित्य से प्रत्येक विषय को नई चेतना और नया जीवन प्राप्त हुआ है। जैन आचार्य होने के नाते यह स्वाभाविक था कि उनकी रुचि जैन सिद्धान्तो के प्रचार-प्रसार मे

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अधिक हो, किन्तु वे इसमे लिप्त न रहे। जीवनोत्थान कें हर विषय को उन्होनें महत्त्व देकर अपनी सशक्त लेखनी द्वारा विपुल साहित्य का निर्माण किया।

अकेले आचार्य हेमचन्द्र ने इतना अधिक साहित्य रचा कि उन्हे लोग 'ज्ञान को महान् सागर' कहने लगे। उनकें समकालीन सोमप्रभ सूरि ने हेमचन्द्र कीं सर्वांगीण प्रतिभा पर विस्मयमुग्ध होकर कहा था —

क्लृप्तं व्याकरणं नवं, विरचितं छन्दो नवं, द्वयाश्रया-
लंकारौ प्रथितौ नवौ, प्रकटितं श्रीयोगशास्त्रं नवम्।
तर्कः संजनितो नवो, जिनवरादीनां चरित्रं नवम्,
बद्धो येन न केन केन विधिना, मोहः कृतो दूरतः॥

४. भारतीय संस्कृति एवं विद्या के आराधक जैन

उपर्युक्त समग्र निरूपण से यह सिद्ध हो जाता हैं कि जैन धर्म व जैन संस्कृति भारतीय जन-जीवन को अनुप्राणित करते रहें हैं। अध्यात्म विद्या के प्रवर्तक 'श्रमण' ही थे। भागवत पुराण में श्रमणो को 'अध्यात्मविद्या विशारद' बताते हुए[99] ब्रह्म-प्राप्ति के योग्य बताया है।[100] वही आदितीर्थंकर ऋषभ को प्रमुख अवतारो मे वर्णित करते हुए,[101] उनकी तपःपूत कठिन योग-चर्चा का[102] बडे आदर के साथ वर्णन किया गया हैं। भारतीय संस्कृति के प्रेरणा-स्तम्भ मर्यादा पुरुषोत्तम भगवान राम ने जिस शबरीं के जूठे बेर खाए थे, वह शबरी 'श्रमणी' (श्रमण विचारधारा की अनुयायिनी) थी, ऐसा वाल्मीकि रामायण से ज्ञात होता है।[103] भगवान राम के भोजनालय मे श्रमणों (जैन साधुओं) को भोजन-दान किये जाने का वर्णन वाल्मीकि ने किया है।[104] इतना ही नहीं, भगवान राम ने (योगवासिष्ठ-ग्रन्थानुसार), अपनी हार्दिक इच्छा व्यक्त की थी कि मैं 'जिन' (जैन धर्म के तीर्थंकरादि जीवन्मुक्त) की भांति आत्म-शांति प्राप्त करूं।[105] वास्तव में भगवान राम का जीवन जैन समता-धर्म[106] का

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९९. भागवत पु. ११।२।२० (श्रमणा वातरसना अध्यात्मविद्याविशारदाः)।
१००. भागवत पु. ११।६।४७
१०१. भागवत पु. ५।३।२०
१०२. भागवत पु. ५।५–६ अध्याय
१०३. स चास्य कथयामास शबरीं धर्मचारिणीम्। श्रमणां धर्मनिपुणाम् अभिगच्छेति राघव (वा. रामा. १।१।५६–५७)। द्र.- वही - ३।७४।७–९
१०४. तापसा भुंजते चैव श्रमणाश्चैव भुंजते (वा. रामा. १।१४।२२)
१०५. नाहं रामो न मे वाञ्छा भावेषु च न मे मनः।
शान्तिमाधातुमिच्छामि स्वात्मनींव जिनो यथा॥
(योगवाशिष्ठ-वैराग्य-प्रकरण - १५।८)॥
१०६. चारित्तं खलु धम्मो, धम्मो जो सो समो त्ति निद्दिट्ठो (प्रवचनसार - १।७)

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उदाहरण प्रस्तुत करता है।[107] श्रीमद्भगवद्गीता 'समता'[108] धर्म का जो उपदेश प्रस्तुत करती है, वह, बहुत-कुछ, जैन संस्कृति का अनुवाद प्रतीत होता है।

वेद के 'एकं सद् विप्रा बहुधा वदन्ति' (ऋग्वेद १।१६४।४६) मे हम 'बहुधा वदन्ति' वाक्य में जैनो के स्याद्वाद-सप्तभंगी का संकेत पाते है, तो गीता के सदसच्चाहमर्जुन (गीता-९।१९) कथन में अनेकान्तवाद (सत्+असत्) का, तथा वही अन्य पद्य मे[109] जैन सम्मत मोक्ष-मार्ग-रत्नत्रय (सम्यग्दर्शन, सम्यग्ज्ञान, सम्यक्-चरित्र) का प्रतिबिम्ब दिखाई पड़ता है। जैनो द्वारा पानी छान कर पीये जाने का जो नियम है, वह मनुस्मृति आदि मे सामान्य धार्मिक नियम के रूप में वर्णित है।[110] जैनविचारधारा ने भारतीय संस्कृति को जो दिया उस पर तो बहुत कुछ लिख जा सकता है। किन्तु आज जो सभी धर्म व दर्शन भारत की भूमि पर फल-फूल रहे है, वह 'अनेकान्तवाद' की, तथा उसके द्वारा प्रदर्शित समन्वय व सापेक्ष भावना का, देन है।

जैन लोग सरस्वती के उपासक रहे है।[111] अब तक की जो प्राचीनतम मूर्ति (२री शती ई., कुशाणकालीन, मथुरा के कंकाली टीले से प्राप्त) मिली है, वह जैन आचार्य नागहस्ती द्वारा प्रस्थापित है। अपने ज्ञान-भण्डार के ह्रास या विनाश की आशंका होने पर उसे पुनः सुरक्षित व प्रतिष्ठित करने के प्रति जैन यथासमय सजग रहे है। मुनि-संघ-सम्मेलन, वाचना आदि कार्यक्रमो का आयोजन वे कई बार उक्त दृष्टि से करते रहे हैं। उदारवादी जैन मनीषियों ने परकीय 'अजैन' सिद्धान्तों को जानने के लिए अनुयायियों को प्रेरित कर ज्ञान-विज्ञान की प्रगति मे सदा योगदान दिया हैं।[112] आचार्यं की विशेषता मे पर समयविज्ञता (परसिद्धान्तज्ञता) समाहित है।[113] आदिपुराण मे उत्तम संस्कारों को जागृत करने हेतु व्याकरण, न्याय, ज्योतिष गणित आदि शास्त्रों का अध्ययन करना ब्रह्मचारी के लिये उचित बताया गया है।[114] वास्तव मे जैनों के लिये कोई सिद्धान्त एकान्त रूप से स्वकीय व परकीय नहीं रहा है, हां जो अबाधित-

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१०७. प्रसन्नतां या न गताभिषेकतः| तथां न मम्लौ वनवासदुःखतः। मुखाम्बुजश्री रघुनन्दनस्य मे, तथास्तु सा मञ्जुलमङ्गलप्रदा (रामचरितमानस, अयोध्याकाण्ड, २ श्लोक)॥

१०८. समत्वं योग उच्यते (गीता-६।१९)। द्र.-गीता-१२।१३-१९

१०९. श्रद्धावांल्लभते ज्ञानं तत्परः संयतेन्द्रियः। ज्ञानं लब्ध्वा परां शान्तिमचिरेणाधिगच्छति (गीता-४।३९)॥ यहां 'संयतेन्द्रियता' सम्यक् चारित्र को व्यक्त करती है।

११०. दृष्टिपूतं न्यसेत्पादं वस्त्रपूतं जलं पिबेत् (मनुस्मृति-६।४६)। यही श्लोक भागवतपुराण ११।१८।१६, तथा वृद्ध चाणक्य १०।२ में है।

१११. जयउ सुयदेवदा (धवला-१।१।१, पृ. ६९)। सुयदेवी बारहअंगंगी (वसुनन्दि श्रावकाचार ३९१, देवी सरस्वती (अमितगतिकृत सामायिक-पाठ १०)। वाग्देवी सरस्वती (आदि. पु ३४।१४९)। वाग्देवीं संविदे नः स्यात् (षड्दर्शनसमु.३)।

११२. ज्ञेयः परसिद्धान्तः स्वपदाबलनिश्चयोपलब्ध्यर्थम् (सिद्धसेन-द्वात्रिंशिका-८।१९)।

११३. सग-परसमयविदण्हू (आचार्यभक्ति प्राकृत-२)।

११४. आदि पु. ३८।११९-२०

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सिद्धान्त हो, उनके लिए ग्राह्य तो वही रहा है ।[115] जैनों नें सभी भारतीय दर्शनों को एक सूत्र मे पिरोई हुई माला कें फूल के रूप मे ही देखा है । आचार्य सिद्धसेन तथा उपा. यशोविजय जी आदि ने जैन तर्क-भाषा में प्रत्येक दर्शन को 'नय-विशेष' के रूप में बताकर उनमे परस्पर समन्वय की आवश्यकता को इंगित किया है ।[116] इसमे सन्देह नहीं कि जैन मनीषी सदा से ही भारतीय ज्ञान-विज्ञान की प्रगति मे सहयोगी रहे है । उनकी यह प्रवृत्ति आज भी उनके कार्यकलापों मे व्यक्त होती है ।

५. प्राकृत व जैनविद्या की प्रगति : देश-विदेश में

इस सम्बन्ध मे देश-विदेश से पत्रव्यवहार करने के अनन्तर जो सामग्री एकत्रित हुई, वह इतनी अधिक थी कि उसे इस भाषण में समग्र रूप से समाहित करना कठिन है ।

(क) साहित्य-प्रकाशन

(१) आगम प्रकाशन समिति, (जैन स्थानक, पीपलिया बाजार, पो. ब्यावर-राजस्थान) के प्रकाशन–

अ. भा. वर्धमान स्थानकवासी जैन श्रमण संघ के युवाचार्य पं. र. श्री. मिश्रीमल जी 'मधुकर' जी के मार्गनिर्देशन व प्रधान सम्पादकत्व में इस संस्था द्वारा आगमो के अत्यन्त उपयोगीं एवं शुध्द संस्करणों का प्रकाशन किया जा रहा है । गम्भीर तलस्पर्शी विद्या के धनी विद्वानो का सहयोग लेकर, मूलपाठ, हिन्दी अनुवाद, संक्षिप्त विवेचन, अपेक्षित परिशिष्ट आदि के साथ आगमो का प्रकाशन सचमुच एक महनीय कार्य है । इससे भी अधिक प्रशंसनीय कार्य यह है कि इनका मूल्य बहुत कम-लागत मात्र रखा गया हैं । प्रत्येक आगम-ग्रन्थ के साथ विद्वत्तापूर्ण प्रस्तावना ग्रन्थ का मूल्य और भी बढ़ा देती हैं । संस्था ने १९८१–८२ वर्ष में पांच आगम ग्रन्थ प्रकाशित किये हैं–

(२) संपूर्णानन्द संस्कृत विश्वविद्यालय (वाराणसी-उ. प्र.) द्वारा 'परमागमसारो' (श्रुत मुनि रचित १३वी शती), का प्रकाशन किया गया हैं ।

(३) वीर सेवा मन्दिर ट्रस्ट (१।१२८, डुमराव कॉलोनी, अस्सी, वाराणसी) द्वारा डॉ. गोकुलचन्द्र जैन के सम्पादन मे डॉ. दरबारीलाल कोठिया की कृति 'जैन दर्शन और प्रमाण-शास्त्र-परिशीलन' प्रकाशित हुई है । इसमे जैन न्याय व प्रमाणशास्त्र विषय पर अभी तक विभिन्न पत्र-पत्रिकाओं में प्रकाशित निबन्धो को यथाक्रम संजोग कर, अनुसन्धाताओ के लिए एक ही कृति में 'गागर मे सागर' प्रस्तुत करने का प्रयास किया है । सभी प्रकरण शोधपूर्ण व समीक्षात्मक हैं ।

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११५. आत्मीयः परकीयो वा कः सिध्दान्तो विपश्चिताम् । दृष्टेष्टाबाधितो यस्तु युक्तस्तस्य परिग्रहः ।। (योगबिन्दु, आ हरिभद्रसूरी ५२५) ।।

११६. सन्मतितर्क-३।४७, विशेषावश्यक भाष्य-२२६५, जैनतर्कभाषा-२।११, स्याद्वादमंजरी-का. १४

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(४) वीर सेवा मन्दिर (२१ - दरियागंज, नई दिल्ली - २) द्वारा आलोच्य अवधि मे सर्वाधिक महत्वपूर्ण कार्य किया गया हैं-जैन बिब्लियोग्राफी (Universal Encyclopaedia of Jain References) का प्रकाशन।

(५) जैन दर्शन समिति (१६-सी, डॉअर लेन, कलकत्ता-२९) द्वारा श्री. श्रीचन्द चोरडिया के सम्पादन में 'वर्धमानजीवनकोष' कृति का प्रकाशन हुआ हैं।

(६) भारतीय ज्ञानपीठ (बी-४५।४७, कनाट प्लेस, नई दिल्ली-१) द्वारा मूर्तिदेवी ग्रन्थमाला के अन्तर्गत जैन विद्या विषयक ग्रन्थ प्रकाशित किये जाते हैं । इसमें (१) श्रावक-प्रज्ञाप्ति (२) दिल्ली जैन ग्रन्थावलि प्रकाशित हुवे। इसकें अतिरिक्त, इसी संस्था से पूर्वप्रकाशित-(१) षड्दर्शन-समुच्चय (आचार्य हरिभद्र), तथा (२) तत्वार्थराजवार्तिक (आचार्य अकलंक) आदि ग्रन्थो के द्वितीय संस्करण भी प्रकाशित किये गए हैं।

उपर्युक्त मूर्तिदेवी ग्रन्थमाला के अन्तर्गत विविध भारतीय भाषाओं के अप्राप्य व अप्रकाशित ग्रन्थो का अनुसन्धान एवं आधुनिक पध्दती से सम्पादन कर अब तक १०० से अधिक उपयोगी ग्रन्थ प्रकाशित किये गये हैं। डॉ ज्योतिप्रसादजी जैन, तथा सिध्दान्ताचार्य पं. कैलासचन्द्र शास्त्री जैसे लब्धप्रतिष्ठ विद्वानों कें सम्मादन-निर्देशन मे संस्था का प्रकाशन-कार्य अत्यन्त उच्चकोटी का हुआ हैं जिससे भारतीय संस्कृति व वांङ्गमय का भण्डार समृध्द हुआ हैं।

(७) श्री. लालभाई दलपतभाई भारतीय संस्कृति विद्यामन्दिर (नवरंगपुरा, अहमदाबाद-९) के प्रकाशन

१९५७ ई. मे संस्थापित यह संस्थान अब तक अनेक उच्चस्तरीय ग्रन्थो का प्रकाशन कर चुका हैं। मुर्धन्य विद्वान पं. दलसुख मालवणिया जी तथा डॉ. नगीन जे. शाह के योग्य निर्देशन मे यह संस्थान देश का अप्रतिम अनुसन्धान-प्रकाशन-केन्द्र बन चुका हैं। १९८०-८२ के दौरान ईस संस्था द्वारा नौ ग्रन्थो का प्रकाशन हुआ हैं-

(८) श्री महावीर जैन विद्यालय (अगस्त क्रान्ति मार्ग, बम्बई-३६) द्वारा 'जैन आगम ग्रन्थमाला' के अन्तति जैन आगमों को मूल रूप में प्रकाशित किया जा रहा हैं।

(९) दिगम्बर जैन अतिशय क्षेत्र-श्री महावीर जी (महावीर भवन, चौड़ा रास्ता, जयपुर-३) द्वारा श्री कैलाशचन्द्र बाड़दार की 'जैन योगानुशीलन' कृति प्रकाशित हुई हैं।

(१०) 'तारक गुरु जैन ग्रन्वमाला (शास्त्री सर्किल, उदयपुर) द्वारा अब तक २०० से अधिक जैन ग्रन्थो का प्रकाशन किया जा चुका हैं।

(११) भगवान बाहुबलि मस्तकाभिषेक के अवसर पर ग्रन्थ-प्रकाशन

गत फरबरी १९८१ में कर्नाटक के श्रवणबेलगोला स्थित भ. बाहुबलि की उत्तुंग विश्वप्रसिध्द मूर्ति का (प्रतिष्ठापना-सहस्राब्दी) महामस्तकाभिषेक सम्पन्न हुआ। इस अवसर पर अनेकानेक साहित्य (पत्र-पत्रिकाओं) के विशेषांक, काव्य, नाटक, निबन्ध स्मरणिकाएं आदि-आदि प्रकाशित किए गए।

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अभिनन्दन-ग्रन्थो का प्रकाशन

विगत दो वर्षों मे कई अभिनन्दन ग्रन्थ प्रकाशित हुए हैं जिसमे अनेक उपयोगीं शोध-सामग्री संचित हुई हैं।

(ख) स्वतन्त्र शोध-कार्यं

(ग) शोध-उपाधि प्राप्त। शोध प्रबन्ध स्वीकृत

(घ) शोध-कार्य-संलग्न

(ङ) शोध-प्रबन्ध-प्रस्तुति

(च) शोध-संस्थाओं की स्थापना

(छ) पुरस्कार की प्रवर्तना। घोषणा

(ज) व्याख्यान-माला। संगोष्ठियों का आयोजन

दिल्ली विश्वविद्यालय में राजकृष्ण जैन मेमोरिअल व्याख्यानमाला के अन्तर्गत डॉ. टी. जी. कालघाटगी ने जैन न्यायतर्कशास्त्र (जैन लाजिक) विषय पर (१९८१) व्याख्यान दिया।

(फ) विदेशों में प्राकृत व जैन विद्या सम्बन्धी कार्यं

(१) स्वतन्त्र शोध-कार्य

(२) अध्ययन व पीएच. डी. हेतु शोधकार्यं

(३) साहित्य-रचना

(४) संगोष्ठियों का आयोजन

(५) साहित्य प्रकाशन

(६) उपसंहार

उपर्युक्त विवरण को जैन विद्या सम्बन्धी प्रगति कां निदर्शन मात्र समझना चाहिए। अनेक विवरण अज्ञात रह गए है, और अनेक स्थानाभाव व समयाभाव के कारण इस भाषण मे समाहित नहीं हो पाए हैं।

जैन समाज तथा जैन मिद्या के अनुरागी व्यक्तियों व विद्वानों से मेरा विनम्र अनुरोध हैं कि इस प्रगति को और भी अधिक परिष्कृति। उत्साह। उदारता के साथ आगे बढ़ाये। जैन ग्रन्थ भण्डारों में विद्यमान अप्रकाशित कृतियों का प्रकाशन। सम्पादन करावे, जैन प्राचीन ज्ञान-विज्ञान के प्रति युवा पीढी को प्रोत्साहित करे, और वैज्ञानिक पृष्ठभूमि मे जैन सिध्दान्तो की समीक्षा-हेतु विद्वानों-अनुसन्धाताओ को यथाशक्ती प्रेरणा। आर्थिक अनुदान आदि दे। तभी जैनेन्द्र धर्मचक्र की प्रवर्तना मूर्त रूप ले सकेगी।

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HISTORY SECTION

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By

N. P, RAVAL

It is my special privilege to be elected the President of the History Section of the Session for which I express my hearty thankfulness to you all and specially the Executive Committee of the 30 th Conference of A. I. O. C.

While expressing my gratiutude to you, I would I like to draw your attention to in appropriateness of the name given to this Section as the History Section. I would like to suggest that it may be properly renamed as Social Science Section; for it covers topics of History, Geography, Economics as well as aspects of Sociology and so on.

So for as ancient 'Bharatiya' literature is concerned it is one of the earliest and richest literature in the world although much of the thought and matter of this literature is still a mystery to the world on account of gaps in its hoary traditions.

Though on the eventful ancient history a great deal of research work has been doneyet the political and social background of the age is still not decisively clear to the world as is the beauty of the literature. It is, therefore, my humble request to the fellow delegates whom I respect as the cream of scholarship to work in this direction with this in mind. By way of a pointer I herewith give a short sketch of the ancient Bharatiya politics, with the hope that the scholars will try to have a p.ep into the hidden treasure and make it available to the world.

With the advent of man on the surface of the earth from the stage of a loner mankind gradually developed to the group-living stage. The groups which at first were wandering in search of food and shelter settled at one place, as such villages and town came into existenc after a long encampment at one place. In search of livelihood they invented technique of cultivation and handicrafts and due to that they had to provide for exchange of commodities and safety of life and property. They learnt to build houses, and established hamlets, villages and cities. At this juncture for mutual benefit and general order they thought of forming rules to regulate life and thus

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administrative principles evolved which gave birth to the state. With the development of the state the science of ruling came into existence. That scienee was called Political Science.

The question arises 'Where did it begin?' After the study of world civilization, we come to the conelusion that this science was born in Bharata while the historical civilizations of the world were in the womb, the earliest literature of the world namely the Veda appeared in this land.

There are some traces of Politics in the Ṛgveda scattered here and there but in the Atharvaveda we come across enough material of this kind. Even the Yajurveda and the Brāhmaṇas give various descriptions of Yajñas (ceremonies) of coronation and ascending to the throne. In them we also come across the method of administration and appointment of office-bearers and levy of taxes and so forth. Brāhamaṇa literature after the Vedas such as Śatapatha, Gopatha, Taittirīya etc. as full of such data.

Some Sanskrit epics *other than the Vedas*, the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata relate something about Political ideas even though they are not books of politics. In the Rāmāyana these ideas can be seen when the king Daśaratha-the aged father of Rāma and Vashistha talk about the succession of Rāma to the throne. Similarly in the epic when Rāma goes into exile and Bharata invites him back to thc throne Rāma expostulates the Principles of politics including the duties of the king towards the subjects, control of Revenue and Treasury and Judicial functions and so on, as well as in the meeting of Sugrīva with Rāma, Kumbhakarna and Vibhīshana and advice of.

After the Rāmāyaṇa there were many political thinkers. References to them are found in the Mahābhārata, though their works are not available.

The epic Mahābhārata itself is the most important treaties on Polittcal Thought of ancient Bharata. Duties of king, method of governing, importance of Political Science, Principles of origin of state and kingship, duties and responsibilities of king and his ministers are to be gleaned from the tax-system of the Śānti-parvan or Rājadharma so called. In it one comes across short descriptions of Home Policy while Foreign policy and treaties are elaborate in details.

In the 5th Chap. of the Sabhā-parvan there is a simple and detailed description of ideal government; in the Ādi-parvan diplomacy is recommended unnder special cricumstances, in the Sabhā and Vana-karvans emergeney duties of state are mentioned.

In the Śāntiparvan Pitāmaha Bhīṣma in reply to Dharmarāja regarding controvercies of statecraft refers to the thinkers of the previous age. While

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stating the divine theory of kingship he quotes discussion on the subject between Indra and Māndhātā in the Chapter 65; in chapter 90 the talks between Yauvanāśva and Māndhātā aver to the duties of king; in the Chapter 73 Aila and Kāśyapa talk over the function of a Purohita; in the Chapter 82 on the Importance of Treasury there is the talk of Kalakavrikshi and Koushala Naresha; in the Chapter 81 there is a talk-between Nārada and Kṛṣṇa about republican states.

It is said in the Mahābhārata that to root out anarchism and establish peace Brahmā had composed Rājaśāstra (Political-Science) of one lac of Ślokas which were abridged by Śiva-Viśālākṣa, Indra, Bṛhaspati and Śukra respectively. Other writers on the Rājaśāstra are Manu, Bharadvāja and Gauraśiras, ths works of the last two are lost.

Mānusmṛti of Manu deals much more extensively with politics. He has referred to many branches of the science. Names of such writers as Parāśara, Piśuna, Kauṇapadanta, Vātavyādhi, Ghoṭamukha, Caurāyaṇa etc. are to be met with in literature between the age of Manu and Kauṭilya, but their works have not been discovered so far.

Kauṭilya the author of Arthaśāstra-the world famous book on Political Science-was eminently a successful Prime Minister of the well known Maurya Dynasty in ancient Bhārata. This work states and critically estimates the opinions of previous political thinkers and enunciates his ideas on the subject.

The chief aim of the writer of Arthaśāstra is to guide a king in all practical matters of administration, and not to put forth philosophical principles of monarchy and other political questions. It aims to solve the recurring problems of government, but it also describes in details the action and form of government at the critical time of war and peace.

The first section of the book relates to monarchy, the second section to the duties and rights of state officials; further section relates to civil and criminal laws, transfer of property and customs, the fifth section deals with the duties of servants of the king, the sixth section is devoted to form and duties of 'Sapta Prakṛtis', the last section deals with foreign affairs, relation with surrounding states, treaties and ways and means of surpassing.

Śukra similarly in his book called Nītiśāstra shows such details as to where courtiers have sait in the court, classes of nobles and their incomes, portfolios of ministers and scope of their prescribed duties. It has not omitted to prescribe the daily duties of ministers and the number of secretaries assisting them; besides these the relation of ministers with the king is fairly dealt with.

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One Kāmandaka is said to have compiled a Nītiśāstra in Aṣṭā Chanda which is a summary entirely based on Kauṭilīya Arthśāstra.

In a later age one can find many books on political science, which lack original thinking so it is in vain to describe them or give their contents However, for the sake of referencc it will not be out of place to enlist the authors, their times and books for a comparative study.

1. Laxmīdhara	1124 A. D.	Nītikalpataru, Rājanītikalpataru
2. Annam Bhatta	1200 „	Nīticandrikā
3. Caṇḍeśvara	1350 „	Nītiratnākara
4. Nīlakaṇṭha	1625 „	Nītimayūkha
5. Mitra Miśra	1625 „	Nītiprakāśa
6. Someśvara	1125 „	Abhilaṣitārtha Cintāmaṇi
7. Bhoja	1025 „	Yuktikalpataru
8. Devana Bhaṭṭa	1300 „	Rājanītikāṇḍa
9. Kṛṣṇadeva Rāja	1525 „	Amuktamālyada?

The first five of these deal with Political Science in details while the last four have nominally touched it.

It also seems necessary to state the different names of the scieuce, which were used in ancient Bharata. Going through the political history of the country we find such synonymous titles as Rājadharma, Daṇḍanīti, Nītiśāstra and Arthśāstra.

Rājadharma is so called because it enumerates the duties of kings; Daṇḍanīti is named because thinkers of those days, believed that Force rules the state, Daṇḍa (force) was supreme. Nītiśāstra means the science to guide the conduct of rulers and subjects. Though Artha means wealth yet in fact Arthaśāstra is a book on Political Science and has little connection with economic wealth. Kauṭilya himself defined the scope of his work in this sense.

In conclusion it may be said that though Bharata is rich in the literature of Political Science yet the major part of this vast field is still unknown to the world, The valuable treasure of the political knowledge is contained in the old Sanskrit books which are either lost or as yet not interpreted by Sanskritists or have been translated from such languages as Tibetan or Chinese and therefore, not known to many Indologists.

Onc of the reasons for the political setback of the land has been the lack of contact with this fund of wisdomand tested experience of our thinkers and seers.

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The remedy to overcome this drawback, in my humble opinion, is that the people of this country should not leave any stone unturned to discover the greatness of the golden teachings and to bring to light the gems of past knowledge not only to acquaint the world of our rich heritage, but also to serve as an incentive to our younger generation which is more inclined to imitate the west and its ideologies.

It is also hoped that the unsolved problems of practical politics will find a ready and useful solution in them.

I close, thanking you for giving me a patient hearing.

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INDIAN LINGUISTICS SECTION

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By

VIDHATA MISHRA.

Fellow Delegates,

I consider it proud privilege to get this opportunity of participating as the president of the section of the Indian Linguistics at the 31st session of the All-India Oriental Conference being held under the auspices of the University of Rajastan at Jaipur. Ancient texts consider the union of the good and the great with the distinguished as a result of exceptional good fortune– *satāṁ sadbhiḥ saṅgaḥ katham api hi puṇyena bhavati.*

It is always a pleasure to preside over a section of the All-India Oriental Conference where all erudite scholars of different branches of oriental learning come to exchange their ideas and experiences. But when it is presided and when I compare my humble self with my most eminent predecessors – the past presidents of this section, all of whom have been recognised by posterity as experts contribution to expansion of horizons of knowledge, I experience of feeling similar to that experienced by Kālidāsa, when he attempted to describe the illustrious dynasty of Raghu in his monumental court epic the *Raghuvaṁśam*, by saying that he is going to be as ridiculed as the dwarf trying to pay his hands upon the fruit capeble of being collected by the tall along, since his efforts are as if to cross the unfathomable ocean with the help of a small raft –

prāṁśulabhye phale lobhād udbāhur iva vāmanaḥ
titīrṣur dustaram mohād uḍupenāsmi sāgaram[1] /

Language, as you all know, plays an immense role in our life–the life of an individual, of a country and of a nation–how great it is really difficult to estimate Language is the foundation of this conference. Whithout a language, you will realise, even this address, which I am now delivering about, would have been impossible. The effects of language are quite remarkable and include much of what distinguishes man from animals. We Indians, I am proud to say, have the unique merit and distinction, which is indeed very great in the history of civilization of baving realised at an eaily date, the importance of linguistic studies and applied our innate reflective nature and speculative spirit to observing the facts of language and building up a grammar of our

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own speech. India may justly claim to be the cradle of the linguistic scince India is the home for linguistic studies since the vedic period. There were so many linguists in ancient India as referred to in different Prātiśākhyas, Śikṣās and grammars such as Agniveśya,[2] Anyatareya,[3] Āgastya,[4] Ātreya,[5] Indra,[6] Ukhya,[7] Audavraji,[8] Aupaśavi,[9] Kāṇḍamāyana,[10] Kāṇva,[11] Kāśyapa,[12] Kauṇḍinya,[13] Gārgya,[14] Gautama,[15] Jātūkarṇya,[16] Dālbhya,[17] Laigī,[18] Pauṣkarasādi,[19] Plakṣāyaṇa,[20] Plākṣi,[21] Bābhravya,[22] Bṛhasati,[23] Bhāradvāja,[24] Mākṣavya,[25] Māṇḍūkeya,[26] Mādhyaṁdina,[27] Yāska,[28] Vālmīki[29] Vedamitra,[30] Vyāḍi,[31] Śākaṭāyana,[32] Śākalya,[33] Śaityāyana,[34] etc. India is in fact an extraordinary rich mine of linguistic researches waiting to be worked out. It is my belief that the Indian languages are the only system of languages in the world, which has a continuous, and more or less clearly, documented history extending over nearly four thousand years. This continuity of documents in the Prātiśākhyas, the Śikṣas and diflerent grammars of Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit is still available to us. The work of Pāṇini which culminated the creative period of linguistic science in India, is hailed as the crowning achievement in this field never equalled any where as yet. It is a matter of regret that linguistics hardly found an honourable mention in the foundation of universities and Vidyāpīṭhas of the Rāshtriya Sanskrit Saṅsthāna.

The Univarsity of Bombay established the first endowment in this field in the last quarter of the 19th century with the foundation of the Wilson Philological Lecturership inaugurated by a series of seven lectures delivered by Dr. Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar in 1877.

Thereafter the University of Calcutta set up a chair for Comparative Philology and Dr. Suniti Kumnr Chatterjee was the first man who was appointed there as the Khaira Professor of Indian Linguistics. This was the only University in the country which offered courses in Comparative Philology and offered the master's degree and also the doctorate degree in this subject until the early fifties of the 20th century. Credit must therefore be given to the then Government of India for instituting a number of overseas scholarships which enabled brilliant young scholars to study languages and linguastics under the leading lights of Europe, Germany, France and to some extent England offered the necessary training and encouragement to that first generation of modern scholars interested in linguistic studies. But those scholars when returned to India, had to be attached to the language departments since the word linguistics was still unfamiliar to those running universities. Comparative Philology, as the term current for this subject at that time, was primarily oriented to a study of the language as reflected in literature and formed only a minor part of a single paper at the M. A. level.

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Recognising the difficulties involved in this situation, scholars of Indian linguistics met in Lahore in 1928 and established the Linguistic Society of India and also decided to hold a biennial Confernce as a section of the All-India Oriental Conference. The University of Punjab offered a home on temporary basis to the Linguistic Society and assisted in bringing out a number of issues of Indian Linguistics, the official organ of the society. Nevertheless the study of linguistics was a minor pursuit, restrictad to a few doctoral aspirants working in different language departments. Those who wanted to specialise in higher researches in the subject had still to proceed abroad. The time did not seem to be suitable for linguisties to take a proper place in the university curriculum. In course of time the headqnarters of the Linguistic Society of India were shifted in 1938 from Lahore to Calcutta where the university had a department for Compartive Philology.

Conseqnently the burden of running the society chiefly fell on the staff of the Department of Comparative Philology. While these events were shaping themselves, a singnificant happening took place in the state of Maharashtra. The Deccan College established at Poona in 1821, was closed in 1934 by the then Govt. of Bombay. But in the year 1939 it was recognised as a foundation for research and postgraduate studies in linguistics and somc other new subjects. The Deccan College reopened with only two departments–(1) Department of Linguistics and (2) Department of History cum Sociology. Almost from the beginning the college attracted scholars from every nook and corner of the country. The work accomplished within a short period of six years at the college marked a new era in the development of linguistic studies. During most of the war years from 1939 to 1945 most of the linguistic work turned out through the Deptt. of Linguistics at Deccan College and in other universities was primarily in the field of historical and comparative philology with a certain amount of emphasis on phonetics. But the vast mass of unrecorded linguistic wealth of India remained outside the general scope of research and with a few honorable exceptions, did not draw the attention of Indian scholars. It is indeed a matter for gratification that recognising the impact that the Deccan College had on these developments the Government of India invited plans of development from the college and approved them in principle giving initial financial assistance to one of them, namely, a Dictionary of Sanskrit on Historical Principles delineating the history of each Sanskrit word from the Ṛgveda to the 18th century A. D. It was in 1948, just after the country had won its independence that this sanction was accorded by the Govt. of India and work on the project was initiated at Deccan College. In the same year (1948) the University of Poona was established with provision for a department of linguistics which had

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already been set up at the Deccan College. With the adoption of the constitution of India in 1950 and the setting up of the Republic of India the recognition of the importance of linguistic studies gradually manifested itself in the larger awareness of linguistic problems facing the country. While adopting Hindi as the official language of India the constitution provided under Articale 351 for the dcvelopment of all the regional languages and as the ultimate national language by incorporating within itself the manifold richness exhibited by these languages in their structures, vocabularies etc. Indeed one of the important tasks of the national Government in the work of this linguislic aspect was the redrawing of the map of the country by recognising the states on the principle of single-language unit.

In 1953 the University of Poona called a conferenee of educationists to discuss the question of the medium of instruction at the University level. Shortly thereafter another conference of linguists and educationists was organised by the Deccan College to consider among other matters two urgent and important matters i. e. (1) to make linguistics a more central subject in University Curriculum and (2) to preserve for scientific study the fast disappearing linguistic wealth in the shape of unrecorded speech forms and dialects through a new and thorough linguistic survey of the country. Among marginal problems discussed were facilities for training modern linguists since the formal courses offered at university level did not provide for such intensive and problem-oriented training. The main theme was of course the role that scientific linguistics could play in the matter of establishing linguistic competence and contributiong towards the realisation of the objectives outlined in Article 351 of the Constitution. In the Organisation of this Conference and the subsequent activities whtch the Deccan College initiated to fulfil ihe major recommendations arrived at the conference, substantial grants were provided by the Rockefeller Foundation of New York during the six years from 1954 to 1960 and thereafter by the university Grants Commission. The decade beginning with 1954 saw somewhat rapid development of linguistic studies in the country through establishment of university departments. Agra and Annamalai were the first, after Poona, to constitute such department in the shape of the K. M. Munshi Institute of Hindi and Linguistics and the Silver Jubilee Department of Dravidian Linguistics respectively .Similar departments were also started in other Universities like Sauger, Ahmedabad, Hyderabad, Mysore, Trivandrum and Baroda.[35] At present over twenty universities are active with departments of linguistics.

It was significant that following a conference jointly sponsored by the University of Poona and the Deccan College in 1958. The University Grants Commission supporteda study by the Linguistic Society of India to consider

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steps suitable to realise the objectives reached by this conference of Vice-Chancellors, educationists and linguists. The U. G. C. undertook to give top priority to such development and initially sanctioned the creation of posts each at Agra, Annamalai, Calcutta and Poona. On the recommendations made by the official Language commissdon the Govt. of India set up two central institutes for the training of teachers to teach Hindi and English at Agra and Hyderabad respectively, by using intensive methods developed jointly by linguists and language teachers. A special division in Deptt. of Education was created for devising scientific terminology in Indian languages but with special reference to Hindi at that centre and by some State Governments for a similar activity in the area of the regional languages. By establishing the summer and autumn intensive courses in linguistics disigned to supplement the normal teaching at the universites, the Deccan College jointly with the linguistic Society of India and various Indian universities, trained more than two thousand scholars in the modern tools and techniques of linguistcs. A great deal of new material from the four important families of languages spoken in India was subjected to scicntific analysis. Despite the expansion of linguistics departments in the universities these schools attracted large number of participants. In the Second half of the sixtees the Govt. of India set up a Central Institute of Indian Langurges as recommended by the Official language Commission under the Universrty of Mysore. This All-India institute marks the culmination of a remarkable development which is unparalleled elsewhere. The two centres of advanced study in linguistics at Deccan College Poona and Annamalai university attest to the fact that linguistics has become a major subject of instructions and research. The Central Institute of Indian Languages is to coordinate problm-oriented research while the Universities are primarily concerned with theoritical aspect of linguistics. We have to recover ancient mastery in linguistic Science.

While the universities will primarily concerned with the theoritical aspects of linguistics, since it is one of most fundamental branches now developing sophisticated approaches in world universities the Central Institute of Indian Languages will coordinate problm-oriented reseach. Once again a change is given in India for recovering its ancient mastery of a branch of learning which it gave to the world of scholarship and for a creative resurgence which alone can bring to fruition the dream of the framers of our constitution and unite the country in a strong and unbreakable conglomerate representing every phase and nerve of its costituent elements.

Among the Védāṅgas the Śiksā is counted first as it deals with the science of language. It covers the area of the Śikṣās and the Prātiśākhyas as well. All the Prātiśākhyas and the Śikṣās are the original source of

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linguistic analysis and phonetic researches in languages of the Indo-Aryan family. Structure and development of old Indo-Aryan, Middle Indo-Aryan and Modern Indo-Aryan languages are wholly based on these original sources. Each of the Prātiśākhyas and the Śikṣās is a hidden treasure and it deserves proper analysis on linguistic points of view. There are several Indian and foreign scholars who have already devoted themselves to critical analysis of oriental language such as :- (1) Theodor Aufrecht,[36] (2) Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar,[37] (3) P. C. Chakraxarti,[38] (4) Albrecht Weber,[39] (5) Siddheshwar Varma,[40] (6) Batakrishna Ghosh,[41] (7) R. Otto Franke,[42] (8) Franklin Edgerton,[43] (9) Henry T. Colebrooke,[44] (10) Ksitisha Chandra Chattopadhyaya,[45] (11) George Cardona,[46] (12) Louis Renou,[47] (13) Suryakanta,[48] (14) Barned A. Van Nooten,[49] (15) Vidya Nivas Mishra,[50] (16) W. S. Allen,[51] (17) K. V. Abhyankar,[52] (18) Gourinatha Shastri,[53] (19) Rama Shankara Bhattacharya,[54] (20) Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya,[55] (21) Otto Böhtlingk,[56] (22) George Bühler,[57] etc.

Scholars interested in the study of languages since the time immemorial have divided India linguistically into two distinct parts-(a) Dravidian and (b) Aryan. The idea behind this division seems to be to demarcate the differences in the speeches used in Aryan India and in Dravidian India, the former being largely influenced by the Aryan speech, viz., Sanskrit and the latter by the Dravidian speech. Though it is very difficult to perceive and find out the subtle differences in the Indian languages, it may be asserted that the spoken basic words used in these two areas are distinctly different from each other and bear no resemblance to each other at all. For instance the pronouns, verbs, adverbs and even conjugations, to a very large extent are similar in the languages used in the Dravidian India while a like similarity can be discovered among the languages used in Aryan India. The main languages spoken in Dravidian India, according to the philologists today, are only four in number - Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Kannada. The division of the area lying south of the Vindhyas linguistically into four regions seems to be largely due to its geography. The chain of mountains running from North to south, known as the Eastern Ghats have again divided South India and separated Malayalam from Tamil, and Kandada from Telugu The influence of Kannada and Telugu (which are grouped under the Dravidian languages) can be seen in Marathi, their next-door neighbour, to a very large extent, and also in Guajarati to some extent. It may also be noted that Central India which is the heart of Hindustan, would not have been able to have one single language with only varying dialectical differences, but for the fact that this area is free from mountainous obstructions and has free communication from one end to the other. Thus, the geography of India is

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more responsible for the linguistic divisions in the country than any urge and instinct of the peoole to keep themselves in separate language groups different from each other.

Science, just as it has conquered distance in other spheres, has also removed the obstacles provided by nature in our country, and with the facilities of free and quick communication from place to place and the urge on the part of the people to feel one, act one and speak each other's language the languages of India today are coming nearer to each other.

Cultural and political activity in the country is increasing every day and the movement for integration at various levels is now going on with great speed. The desire to have access to the literary treasures of other languagas though not in original but through translations – is also steadily on the increase. This again helps the Indian languages to come close together and influence each other in vocabulary, idiom and usage. Social customs, concept of religion and the central stream of Indian life contribute in no small measure to mutual benefit, understanding and growth when there is a common way of thinking, living and acting, there is every likelihood of the uuconscious assimilation of words by one another. Rich languages like English and Sanskrit provide ample evidence in this behalf.

For the purpose of integration of the Indian languages, we may consider three broad approaches. The first and the basic approach is social contact; the second and the most important is the contact of cultures which will influence the emotional upsurge of each other, and the third is politics and administration. India is marching forward in the second and third approaches with very great speed. If we take stock of the words absorbed in the Indian languages, it may be asserted that nearly 60 percent of the words are common derived mostly either from Sanskrit or Arabic or Persian or English. The number of these words is growing. A cursory glance at a polyglot dictionary will convince any casual reader that the pace of progress towards uniformity in vocabulary is very encouraging, and in the course of one or two decades it might be possible for our administrators, poets and men of letters to traval round the whole country without being conscious of crossing any language frontier.

While it is possible in the near future for these catagories of people to become one, associated with the whole of India, it is difficult to predict the time required for the increa ed uniformtiy of vocabulary in the sphere of social contact. It may, however, be asserted that owing to increased activity in education, the country will produce results which may give us opportunities to help our languages to draw themselves closer together in the future. It would have been easier for the Indian languages to record a greater uniform-

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ity in the matter of vocabulary and idiom if we had the good fortune of having a common alphabet. Ninety percent of literate Indians even today use more or less the same phonetic system for their alphabets. The characters alone are different.

It does not seem to be possible to remove this difference, yet it is quite easy to spread an additional common alphabetical system throughout India.[58]

There are two aspects of my address here-one national integration through the languages and linguistics and the other comprising comprehensive study and research in Indian Linguistics including oriental languages such as Sanskrit, Pali, Prakrit etc.

In regard to the matter I like to submit the following suggestions :-

(1) Study and research on the Prātiśākhyas, the Śikṣās and different Sanskrit grammars, including some Vedic grammars, such as (a) *Ṛktantra* of Śākaṭāyana, (b) *Atharvacaturadhyāyī* of Śaunaka, (c) *Pratijñāsūtra* of Kātyāyana (d) *Bhāṣikasūtra* of Kātyāyana, (e) *Sāmatantra* of Audavraji or Gārgya (f) *Akṣaratantra* of Āpiśali, etc.

(2) Field-work to preserve phonetic elements of modern dialects should be made.

(3) Teaching of linguistics should be made in all the Vidyāpīṭhas of the Rāshtriya Sanskrii Saṁsthāna.

(4) Every teacher of languages in secondary schools and colleges in general should be required to have an elementary knowledge of linguistics. Therefore a paper on linguistics shoule be compulsory in the Śikṣā-ṣāstri or the B. Ed. examination.

(5) The textbooks comprising elementary knowledge of linguistics should be published in every spoken language.

(6) Old and valuable books of foreign languagss should be translated into Indian languages.

(7) Old and valuable books of Sanskrit, Pali, Prakrit, Persian etc. too should be translated in each major language of modern India.

(8) The University Grants Commission seould provide teaching of linguistics in the Universities where the department for linguistics has not yet been started.

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These are some of the ideas, I thought, to be presented to the learned linguists, my friends and colleagues present here today. I, on behalf of the conference, and on my personal behalf, extend a most cordial welcome to all of you, specially the learned linguists whose research papers we are so eager to hear.

Thank you,

Notes and References.

1. *Raghuvaṁśam* 1.2 cd; 3 cd
2. *Taitti Prāti* – 9.4
3. *Taitti Prāti* – 3, 22
4. *ṚkPrāti* – 1, 2
5. *Taitti Prāti* – 5.31, 17.8
   Maitrā Prāti – 2.5, 5.33, 6.8
6. *Ṛktantra* – 1.4
7. *Taitti. Prāti* – 8.22, 10.20, 16.23
8. *Ṛktantra* – 2.6 and 10
   Bhāsikasūtra – 2.20 and 22
9. *Vāj. Prāti.* – 3.131
10. *Maitrā. Prāti.* – 9.1
11. *Vāj. Prāti.* – 1.123 and 149
12. *Vāj. Prāti* – 4.5, 8.50
13. *Maitrā. Prāti.* – 5.40
    Taitti. Ptāti. – 18.3, 19.2
14. *Ṛk Prāti.* – 1.15, 6.36, 11.17 and 26
15. *Taitti. Prāti.* – 5.38
16. *Vāj. Prāti.* – 4.125 and 160, 5.22,
17. *Vāj. Prāti.* – 4.16
18. *Ṛktantra* – 2.6.9
19. *Taitti. Prāti.* – 5.37 and 38, 13.16, 14.2, 17.6
20. *Maitrā. Prāti.* – 9.6
21. *Taitti. Prāti.* – 5.38 9.6, 14.10
22. *Ṛk Prāti.* – 11.65
23. *Ṛktantra* – 1.4
24. *Bhāṣikasūtra* – 2.19, 3.9
25. *Ṛk Prāti* (*vargadvaya-vṛtti*) 1.2

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26. *Ṛk Prāti* (*vargadvaya-vṛtti*) 1.2
27. *Vāj. Prāti.* - 8.35
28. *Ṛk Prāti* - 17.42
29. *Maitrā. Prāti* - 2.30, 5.38, 9.4
30. *Ṛk Prāii.* - 1.51
31. *Ṛk Prāti.* - 3.23, 6.43, 13.31
32. *Ṛk Prāti.* - 1.16, 13.39
33. *Vāj. Prāti.* - 3.10
34. *Taitti. Prāti.* - 5.40, 17.1, 18.2
35. The Spirit of India 253-61
36. *De accentu Compositorum Sanskritorum* (On the accent of Sanskrit Compound) by Theodor Aufrecht 1847 (In Latin) Bonn.
37. Development of Language and of Sanskrit, by R. G. Bhandarkar, *Wilson Philological Lectures,* 1877.
38. "Linguistic Speculations of the Hindus," by P. C. Chakravarti (*Journal of Department of Letters, Calcutta University,* 12 (1925)
39. *Die Pāṇinīya Śikṣā*, by Albrecht Weber 1958, *Indische Studien* Leipzig 4 pages 345–71 and *Das Vājasaneya Prātiśākhya* by Albrecht Weber 1858 *Indische Studien* 4, pages 65–160, Leipzig.
40. " An analysis of the meaning in Indian semantics," by Siddheshwar Varma, 1926, *Journal of the Department of Letters,* Calcutta University 13–2, pages 1–38.
41. " Pāṇini and the Ṛkprātiśākhya ", by Batakrishna Ghosh, 1934, *Indian Historical Quarterly,* 10, Calcutta, pages 665–70.
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44. " On the Sanskrit and Prakrit languages ", by Henry T. Colebrooke, 1803, *Asiatic Researches* 7, pages 199 – 231
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48. *Ṛktantram*, a Prātiśākhya of the Sāmaveda, critically edited by Suryakant, 1933, published by Mehar Chand Lachhman Dass.

49. " Pāṇini's Theory of Verbal Meaning," by Barend A. Van Nooten, 1969, *Foundations of Language*, Dordrecht 5, 242–55

50. " The Structural Framework of Panini's Linguistic Analysis," by Vidyanivas Mishra, 1964. *Proceedings of the International Congress of Linguists*, 9, pages 743–47

51. *Phonetics in Ancient India*, by W. S. Allen, 1963

52. A short *e* (*ardha ekāra*) and short *o* (*ardha okāra*) in Sanskrit by K. V. Abhyankara, *Annals of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* 38, 154–7.

53. " Study of the dialectics of *sphoṭa* " by Gourinatha Shastri, 1959, *Journal of Department Letters*, Calcutta University 29, 4, pages 1–115.

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55. *Pāṇini's Grammar and the Influence of Prakrit on Sanskrit*, by Vidhushekhar Bhattacharya 1933

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57. " A disputed meaning of the particles *iti* and *ca* ", by George Bühler, 1887 (*Wiener Zeitschrift fur die kunde des Morgenlandes, Wiener* 1, 13-20.

and

" The roots of the Dhātupatha not found in literature," by George Bühler, 1894 (*Wiener Zeitsehrift fur die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 8, pages 17-42.

58. Linguistic Integration (We shall unite).

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PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION SECTION

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By

HARNAM SINGH SHAN

Fellow-delegates and Friends,

I feel greatly honoured to have been called upon to preside over the Philosophy and Religion Section of the 31st Session of the All-India Oriental Conference being held today at the Universsty of Rajasthan, Jaipur. While expressing my sincere thanks for the honour done to me, I welcome you most cordially to this august assembly of experts on the subject.

It has often been the practice with the Sectional Presidents to present a survey of the work done in ihe field during the previous year or so. But as the learned experts gathered over here ard already in the know of the major contributions which have been made to this domain, during the last two years, I feel it unnecessary to give here a bibliographical account of the same. I have, therefore, thought it fit, like some of my learned predecessors in the Section, to say, instead, something about a burning topic of the day viz, RELIGIOUS TOLERATION, in the wider context or our present-day national life.

II

Religion, as you know. is a most powerful instrumenti n uplifting, enlightening and energising the human mind; and also in channelising it for the universal well-being and happiness. It strives for the awakening of the soul, the removal of ignorance and infatuation; and also for the attainment of the Ultimate Truth. But, inspite of these noble ideals, we find that the world has been frightfully torn, strangely enough, on account of various differences in the faiths and beliefs of the people.

The study and survey of the history of religion in India, however, shows that all her religious teachers and their teachings have striven, all along for harmony and concord in human society. They strongly advocated the principle and practice of tolerance which. I believe, leads to perfect peace and harmony in social and religious spherre.

From the earliest times of which we have any record, the sages of this blessed land have placed before its people the supreme ideal of mutual

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understanding, adjustment and toleration. The seers of the *Ṛigveda* have urged everyone in forceful words:

> Move in unison, speak in unison,
> Let your minds understand each other.
> Let your council be the same,
> Your thinking also of the same tune.
> Your wishes and hearts at one, harmonious state.

The Veda preaches harmonious living inspite of the difference of language and belief. In *Atharva veda* (XII. 1), we have unambiguous references to these differcnces, in spite of which the massage is of mutual good-will as all of us drew sustenance from one and the same Mother Earth.

In course of time, as was natural, differences arose with regard to religious practices, particularly the ritualism. One very powerful voice had had the courage of expressing dissent openly. But it was raised, I think, with the noble intention of reform. Thc rise of Buddhism seems to have been mostly misunderstood. It dose not appear to have started as a new and independent religion. The Buddha accepted thc fundamentals of the ancient Vedic religion with its belief in the theory of *Karma*, alongwith the resultant rebirth. His was only a protest against the ever-emphasis in the performance of the Vedic ritual as well as its utility and efficacy. On being called upon to perform some of the ancient rites, he replied:

> And as for your saying that for the sake of Dharma, should carry out the sacrificial ceremonies which are customary in may family and which bring the desired fruit, I do not approve of sacrifices; for, I do not care for happiness which is sought at the price of other's suffering.

In this, the Buddha was only echoing the truth which had already been declared by the author of the *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad*:

> Frall in truth are those boats, the sacrifices, eighteen in which the lower ceremonial has been told Fools who praise this as the highest good are subject again and again to old age and death.

The only aim of the Buddha, I think, was to do away with such useless ritual involving cruelty to life; and to return to the true Aryan principles. Thus, in a way, he adhered to the essential framework of the Hindu religion; and attempted to bring it into conformity with the voice of awakened conscience. That is the reason why, in course of time, the Buddha was gladly accepted by the most devout of the Hindus and acclaimed as an

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incarnation of Viṣṇu and has been counted as the ninth incarnation in this galaxy. The famous Sanskrit poet Jayadeva, author of *Gīta-govinda,* showers great praise on the Buddha as one who purified the Hindu Dharma by doing away with these sanguinary practices. He pays a glowing tribute to the Buddha in the following words :

> O you of merciful heart ! you denounced the Veda wherein the slaughter of animals is shown (as a path). You in the form of Buddha, O Hari, victory to Thee, O Lord of the world :

And it must not be forgotten that the Buddha did not disparage the entire Veda, But he criticised only the performance of bloody sacrifices.

In reality, he was a true representative of the essence of our religion, which is tolerance. While outside India, the teachings of the Buddha assumed distinctive forms in conformity with the traditions of those countries; here in India, the land of his birth it has been assimilated into its culture and has become its integral part. The Buddha never seemed to have felt that he was revealing a new religion. He was only repeating, with an emphasis, the true ideals of ancient Hindu civilization. The following sermon from the *Samyutta Nikāya* eloquently bears out what I have ventured to say. The Buddha, addressing a congregation, remarked :

> Even so have I, monks, seen an aneient way, an ancient road followed by the wholly awakened ones of older times. Along that have I gone, and the matters thet I have come to know fully as I was going along it, I have told to the monks, nuns, men and women lay-followers, even, monks. This Brahma-faring, *Brahma cariaya,* that is prosperous and flourishing, wide-spread and widely known, beco mes popular - in short, well made manifest for gods and men.

The teachings of the Buddha, in their pristine purity, revolted against ignorance and superstition, and the dread of some unknown powers. He therefore, steered clear of the discussions about the existence of God, because he scemed to have realised that theistic view generally fill men's hearts with intolerance.

III.

This great principle of religious toleration is the key-note of Indian culture, right from the Buddha to Guru Nanak who preached his universal creed of the Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood of man during the 15th–16th century A. D. in and outside India, with his historic trumpet-blast ;

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There is neither a Hindu
Nor a Mussalman
(But only Man).

Powerful potentates ruling over vast empires in this land of ours, never confused their personal religious faith with the faith of the subjects. They never seem to have tried to force their own religious views on their subjects-right from the days of Aśoka to those of Pṛthvīrāja III.

The famous Emperor Aśoka is rightly regarded as a great Buddhist; but only a tew seem to know what sort of Buddhist he was; Fortunately, we have definite means to know something real, something definitely true, about this great ruler, through his own inscriptions, commonly spoken of as his edicts In these documents which he got inscribad on rocks and stonepillars, throughout the length and breadth of India and even beyond the frontiers of India, he had laid bare the innermost recesses of his heart. The most remarkable thing about Aśoka is that while he himself was a most devout follower of Buddhism, he never made the slightest attempt to force his religious views on others. Throughout his inscriptions, we do not find a word about Buddhism. What he wanted his own people as well as the people in foreign lands to follow is a simple ethical code which may be easily called the ancient, traditional *Dharma*, as defined in the *Manusmṛti*, the most authentic Code for the Hindus;

This laudable trait in Aśoka's character, this principle of religious toleration, has been very boldly inscribed in his twelfth rock edict. Here we find His Gracious Majesty exhorting his subjects in the following inspiring words :

> His Sacred and Gracious Majesty the king is honouring all sects, both ascetics and house-holders; by gifts and offerings of various kinds, is he honouring them.
>
> But His Sacred Majesty does not value such gifts or honours as that how should there be the growth of the essential elements of all religious sects.
>
> The growth of this genuine matter is, however, of many kinds. But the root of it is restraint of speech, that is, that there should not be honour of one's own sect and condemnation of others' sects without any ground.
>
> Such Slighting should be for specified grounds only. On the other hand the sects of others should be honourd for this

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ground alone that, 'Thus doing, one helps his owm sect to grow and benefits the sects of others, too Doing otherwise, one hurts his own sect and injures the sects of others.' For whosoever honours his own sect and condemns the sects of others, wholly from devotion to his own sect (i. e. the thought : How I may glorify my own seet'), one acting thus injures more gravely his own sect on the contrary. Hence *Concord alońe is commendable* in this sense that all should listen and be willing to listen to the doctrines professed by others. This is, in fact, the desire of His Sacred Majesty, viz, that all sects should be possessed of wide learning and good doctrines and those who are content in their respective faiths, should all be told that His Sacred Majesty does not value so much (either) gift or honour as that there should be the growth of essential elements and breadth (of outlook) in all sects.

It has thus been made crystal clear that the essence of true religious teaching is the propagation of the principle of toleration.

IV

This noble truth taught by the Buddha was practiced throughout the later history of India When the sceptre fell from the hand of the Mauryas, Northen India passed into the hands of the Śuṅgas and Western India into those of the Sātavāhanas. Here again, we have monumental evidence to prove that the rulers of both these dynasties, though staunch followars of the Vidic religion, not only allowed perfect freedom of worshtp to the followers of other faiths but also actively extended their patronage to them. We have epigraphical evidence regarding several rulers of the Sātavāhama family. The Sātavāhanas, liberally donated villages to the Buddhist monks and got beautiful rock-cut monasteries, with beautifully painted interiors, constructed for them. Similary, some of the noblest ancient monuments of India, like the famous stūpas of Sanchi and Bharhut, were built during the rule of the Śuṅgas. It is either due to ignorance or a wilful distortion of evidence or owing to its incorrect understanding, that the emperor Pushyamitra has been described as a persecutor of the Buddhist faith.

V

Our next important epoch in ancient Indian history is the golden age of the Guptas which covers the fourth and fifth centuries of the Christian era. During this period too, we find the doctrine of religious toleration in

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the lime-light, The Gupta monarchs were personally devout worshippers of Viṣṇu, but we find that they liberally patronised not only other Brahmanical sects but also the Buddhist institutions with great gusto. One of the army offiicers of Chandragupta II donated a village, named, Isvaravasaka (purchased with the money provided by the royal househoid), and twentyfive gold *dinaras* to the community of monks residing in the grand monastery of Sanchi. At this very monastery was built a beautiful stonetemple. The emperor Narasimhagupta Bālāditya built a temple of the Budha at Nalanda, the grandeur of which has been describad by Hiuen Tsang in his account of Nalanda, Its turrets appeared as touching the clouds. Another Gupta emperor, Vainya Gupta, granted valuable land for the upkeep of a monastery and also to meet the needs of its monks at Gunagrahara, now in Bangladesh.

It was obviously due to the liberal patronage of the Gupta monarchs that we find the rise of top-ranking Buddhist scholars who produced epoch-making works in the history of Buddhist religious literature. The most notable amongst them was Vasubandhu, the author of the *Abhidharmakośa*, which is a veritablc encyclopaedia of Buddhist philosophy, and which proved most invaluable in the spread of Buddhism in Asia. This treatise is so erudite that it elicited praise not only from the Buddhists but also from non-Buddhists. The famous Sanskrit writer, Bāṇa, whlle describing in his *Harṣacarita*, the hermitage of the Buddhist saint, Divākaramitra, has remarked that even parrots of the hermitage explained its contents to one another, Vasubandhu wrote many other laarned treatises, which are a standing testimony to the fact that this flowering of the intellect was in no small measure due to the liberal and tolerant religious policy of the Gupta rulers.

Vasubandhu was by no means the sole Buddhist luminary of the Gupta age. There were several others. Another towering Buddhist philosopher was Diṅnāga, who is regarded as the founder of Buddhist logic. He was a formidable debater. He went to Nalanda where he challenged a Brāhmaṇa logician, Sudurjaya, to a religious discussion and defeated him. Diṅnāga is credited with the authorship of about a hundred treatises on logic, most of which have been presserved in Chinese and Tibetan translations. Such prolific literary activity and freedom of discussion was possible solely because of a government which was truly secular. It speaks volumes for the spirit of religious toleration of the people, when we find that Diṅnāga had mercilessly criticised an eminent Brāhmaṇa, the author of a famous commentary on the *Nyāya Śāstra*.

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Many other distinguished Buddhist teachers and scholars flourished during the reign of the Gupta. Mention must be made of a very eminent scholar who hailed from the very heart of the Gupta Empire i. e. Magadha. Buddhaghosha wrote extensively, and his works display his wonderful know-ledge of everything about Buddhism. He has written learned commentaries on the three *Piṭakas* and many other works, including the *Visuddhimagga*, in which there is something of almost everything in early Buddhist literature. The most noteworthy feature of his writings is the charming synthesis between the Brahmanical and Buddhist philosophical thinking which he brings about in a beautifully harmonious way. We may take, for example, thc verse from his *Paramatthamañjūṣā*, whieh is a literal rendering of the following verse of the *Bhagavadgītā*.

Just as a person
having discarded worn-out clothes,
puts on new ones;

Exactly in the same way does a corporeal being having
discarded the decrepit body
obtains other (new) one.

I have made this fairly long reference to Buddhist writers of the Gupta age, only to show how, under the tolerant rule of the Guptas who strove for the good of all, the various sections of the Indian populace, in spite of adhering to different religious faiths, lived in perfect harmony and peace.

Not only did the Guptas follow this golden rule of religious toleration, but their contemporaries, reigning in other parts of India, also followed the same course. The noble Chaityas and Vihāras of Ajanta, wtth their world-famous paintings were all meant for the use of the Buddhist monks; and yet these superb monuments of ancient Indian rock-cut architecture were built under the patronage of the Vākāṭaka monarchs who were themselves the most devout worshippers of Śiva. Another ruling house of about the same period, the Maitrakas of Valabhi, were, by and large, the devotees of Śiva; and yet they patronised Buddhism so liberally that their capital, Valabhi became as famous a seat of Buddhist learning as the more ancient Nalanda. So much so that the Chinese pilgrim. Hiuen Tsang, made it a point to pay a visit to Valabhi.

VI.

After the Guptas, we may take note of the famous Puṣpabhūti dynasty of Thanesar, thh most famous member of which, namely Harṣa-Vardhana has become inseparably associated with Buddhism. From all his official records, as well as from the testimony of his biographer, the famous poet Bāṇa, it is

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established beyond the possibility of doubt that he professed Savism; and yet he was so munificent in showering gifts on the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang and in honouring him, there is a general impression (though erroneous) that he was a Buddhist.

As I have said before, the fact is that in ancient India people, by and large, had a most liberal outlook. In whichever corner of India, we may cast our glance, the same scene meets our eye. Take the case of Kashmir, the home of Śaivism par excellence. Hiuan Tsang found in this land onc hundred Buddhist monasteries and 5,000 monks. The king, though not professing Buddhism, received the Chinese pilgrim with great honour and made suitable arrangements for his stay of two years. About a hundred years later, king Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa who build a magnificent temple os Viṣṇu, known as Parihāsa Keśava, also enabled his minister, Chankuna to build an equally grand temple of the Buddha. Such was the harmonious religious life of those days.

VII

There is, I think, a very erroneous and absolutely unfounded impression in certain quarters that the great Vedantist, Śaṁkara, was responsible for the banishment of Buddhism from India. That nothing can be farther from truth than such an impression, can be proved by irrefutable evidence.

The great philosopher Śaṁkara is generally placed in the 8th century of the Christian era. Whatever we know of the history of this country seems to give a smashing blow to this lie. We find that in that very century there was the great empire of the Pālas who were enthusiastic patrons of Buddhism. Not only did they bestow their patronage on the ancient Buddhist University of Nalanda, but they also founded other new seats of learning – some like Uddantapuri equal to Nalanda, some like Vikramashila were even more extensive.

In the Gangetic valley, ancient sacred places of the Buddhists, such as Buddha Gaya, Saranath and Shravasti continued to retain their former glory. We have epigraphic evidence to show that Mahārājādhirāja Govindaçandra an emperor of the Gahadavala dynasty, granted a number of villages for the maintenance of the monks living there and for the upkeep of there temples and monasteries.

VIII

Such was the spirit of tolerance in matters of religion in ancient India. It may appear unbelievable, yet it is a gospel truth that the Hindu kings and people alike had a tolerant attitude towards Islam even after having suffered grievously at the hands of Muslim invaders.

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After the Arab conquest of Sindh, early in the eighth century, we come across a very revealing incident recorded by the Arab historian Bhadhuri He tells us that the Hindus of Sindan rebelled against their Muslim ruler and overthrew and killed him; but left " its mosque for the Muslims to assemble in and pray ".

Another shining example of the spirit of religious toleration as prevalent in ancient India, is closely related to the sack of the famous temple of Somanātha in Gujarat by Mahamud of Ghazni. That grave act of sacrilege had wounded the feelings of Hindus. And yet in Vikrama Saṁvat 1311, a Hindu ruler of Saurashtra, made grant of land in the vicinity of that most sacred of Hindu shrines for the building of a mosque there.

IX

The first Sikh sovereign, Mahārājā Ranjit Singh (1780-1839), the Lion of Panjab (whose Birth-Bicentenary has just been celebrated), exhibited such a high level liberality and toleration through his career as the ruler of the nineteenth century.

He himself was a devout Sikh and his daily routine began with early morning prayers and his listeniug to recitations from *Guru Granth Sahib* in the afternoon. He never took any major decision to launch a campaign without seeking the guidance of that Holy Book of the Sikhs.

At the same time, he equally respected the Hindu as well as the Islamic faiths. Syed Waheed-ud-din tells us that a Muslim calligraphist who had spent the best part of his life in preparing a copy of the *Koran* came to Lahore after having failed to sell his work to the Muslim chiefs of India. Ranjit Singh paid a fabulous price for the work. When Fakir Azīz-ud-dīn praised him for his broadmindedness, the Mahārājā replied : " God wanted me to look upon all religions with one eye, that is why he took away the light from other ". He endowed liberally to the Sikh places of worship alongwith those of the Hindus and the Muslims. He made offerings to the Brahmins, the Sayyads and the Nihangs equally on festive occasions; and while distributing charity no discrimination was ever practised.

His country and army reflected the same liberal attitude, secular approach and spirit of toleration. His prime-minister. Dhian Sing, was a Dogra; his foreign-minister, Aziz-ud-din, was Muslim; his finance minister, Bhawanī Dās, was a Brahman; and his governor of Peshawar, Avitabile, was a Christian. Side by side with the Sikh generals-like Sardārs Hari Singh Nalwā and Shām Singh Attārīwalā-were Hindu, Muslim and Christian generals, such as Diwān Mohkam Chand, Mīan Ghaus Mohammed and Jean Baptiste

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Ventura of France. So, while the ruler was a Sikh, the Government was run by an elite corps comprising all communities.

One cannot imagine, I think, of a higher level of liberality and toleration. This is the way, the surest way, I believe, to the attainment of the much-needed national unity and integration in the present-day land of ours.

X

I thank you, my friends, for the very patient hearing you have given me, and I pray that the same old spirit of religious toleretion may once again pervade throughout our Motherland.

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TECHNICAL SCIENCES AND FINE ARTS SECTION

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By

SIDDHESWAR CHATTOPADHYAYA

Dear Friends and Colleagues,

Paying obeisance to the goddess Yaśoreśvarī, let me fiast express my deep sense of gratitude to the authorities of the All-India Oriental Conference who very kindly elected me president of this Section on Technical Sciences and Fine Arts The honour, I think, is more due to the subjects expected to be discussed here than to my humble self. Lifted up to this seat of honour, instead of being elated I feel myself most uncomfortably aware of the formidable distinction of my predecessors in this post. Friends, most earnestly do I request you not to take me even as nearing any one of those erudites and expect something new, or unknown to you from me. I simply like to share with you some of my views on a few subjects comprehended under this Section.

I do not like to miss this opportunity of mentioning that from at least the last quarter of the 16th century, there developed an intimate relation of Jaipur with Bengal. Jessore, now in Bangladesh, is my native district. The presiding deity of Jessore the goddess Yaśoreśvarī is still worshipped in the magnificient temple at Amber fort by the descendants of those priests who were brought here with the deity by Man singha. Relation between Jaipur and Bengal became more intimate through Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavism. Many Vaiṣṇava images installed by Bangali savants were removed from Vṛndāvana to Jaipur during the reign of Aurangzeb. Vaiṣṇava poet Sarasa Mādhurī, an inhabitant of Pandariwa in Jaipur, wrote many *Padas* (songs) on Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavism and Śrī-Caitanya. The chief engineer of this world-famous pink city of Jaipur, was also a Bengali named Vidyādhara. A keen student of architecture will not fail to notie the Bengali *Do-cōlā* (two thatched roofs) designs used as decoratives on many old mansions. The relation has never been broken. Dr. Srish Vidyanidhi the youngest son of Girish Vidyaratna was the family physician of Jaipur Raj. Meghnad Bhattacharyya, the elder brother of the renowned indologist Haraprashad Shastri, was principal of a college here and Kalikumar Tarkatirtha was an Adhyāpaka of Nyāya in the Raj College in the present century.

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The nomenclature of this Section appears to me a baffling one. It provides scope for discussion on both theoretical and fundamental aspects of all sorts of arts and technical sciences developed in the vast biogeographical region covered by the term Oriental. Thus, the scope of this Section is so big that beggars any limitation by a precise definition. The Section brings under one umbrella the apparently incompatible subjects from aesthetics to astronomy; from sculptupe to mathematics. The days of erudites in several branches of oriental knowledge have almost passed. Now are the days of specialisation. Friends, I thank that most of us are engrossed with particular branches of different subjects coming under this Section. So most, humbly do I suggest that let us try to turn this Section to a Forum to trace out the history of these subjects and make out their impact on the society and culture. Moreover, in the face of the modern science and technology, it is not enough only to dig out the buried treasures of the past, those obsolete coins which are no longer legal tenders. We are also to find out their utility-their relevance, if any, to our future progress, not only academic, but also material. None would deny that the present is built uphn the past and the future on the present. From this point of view, ours is the most important Section of this august Conference. The purpose of this Section will be best served if the participants can coordinate their findings and form a comprehensive view that is useful in the milieu of the modern fine arts and technical sciences. In short, I mean to say is : the past is to serve the present in some way or other.

I am an humble student of Indian drama and dramaturgy wiih a bit of superficial knowledge of allied subjects like rhetoric, iconography, ancient Indian history and fine arts. I do not think myself competent enough to guide the deliberation on all the papers dealing with various topics on fine arts and technical sciences that are going to bc presented here. My dear and respected friends and colleagues, most fervently do I ask for your indulgence for my limitations. I can also assure you thnt I am not going to burden you with bibliography of any topic coming under the purview of this Section, simply because if I know anything it is like that of a Jack. My humble self has been associated particularly with this Section of the Conference from its 21st session held at Srinagar in 1961. The number of participants then was small. But with joy and satisfaction I have been marking that the number is growing session after session. We cannot expcct a huge gathering here in this Section and the reason is not far to seek. In most of the universities of India, fine arts and technical sciences of the past are totally kept outside the scope of curriculum. A few universities have got the provtsion for teaching epigraphy, iconography, numismatics and art-history as group-papers in the department or departments of Sanskrit and Ancient Indian History, Culture and

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Archaeology. Sanskrit dramaturgy as one of the general subjects is taught without any relevance to drama proper, or its technicalities like mode of representation stage-craft etc. Plays in all languages are taught with an eye only on their literary aspects. Thus, the Masters of Arts in Sanskrit-Prakrit mainly, our universities produce, generally possess no primary grounding in any branch of fine arts and technical sciences. In their research career with any one of these subjects, they are to begin afresh. I would like to draw the attention of the authorities and scholars concerned to this aspect of our Sanskrit education, particulary when classical languages are passing through a very critical phase. From our own experience as teachers, we know that both quality and number of students in these departments are dwindling year by year. Without entering into the controversy regarding the method of teaching the classical languages, I take this opportunity of putting before you an humble suggestion that our syllabuses should be so reoriented that students of the modern age can find increasing interest and greater scope of research.

Long long ago, Mother Human Necessity gave birth to a twin. In infancy, they were of inseparable identity. In childhood, the twin sisters were baptised, one came to be known as Art and the other Technology. With the progress of human civilisation, they developed. It, however, took a long time for each to get gain a separate identity. Practically speaking, they have never been totaily separated. In a sense, each and every form of art involves some sort of technology and vice versa. But in a bit mature state, they came to be treated as separate entities and each disseminated into innumerable directions acquring individual designation. In short, this is the history of Art and Technology.

History tells us that up to the end of the mediaeval period, all branches of art and technology were inseparably related to religion in some way or other. The concept of grouping the contributions of human civilisation into secular and religious, is undoubtedly a modern one, at least in India. This is why each and every branch of art and technical science in this country was linked up with a particular Veda and received the distinction of Upa-Veda. Names of venerable sages also came to be associated with these branches as their propounders. In most cases this attempt of purification was certainly done long after the particular branch of art or technology became popular and thought to be useful in the society. It is a fact that something folk-form of yesterday becomes classical tomorrow. Certainly not the use of bow and arrow for hunting and defence, the use of all sorts of herbs and roots for alleviating or curing diseases of men and animals and the primary forms of dance-music-drama did spring up from the void in the imagination of a

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particular sage. All these evolved through ages. But it is also a fact that some one, or a group specialised that form of art or technology and systematised that branch. And later it came to be codified. We do not deny the contribution of individuals in the progress of human civilisation. We take those individuals or groups as belonging to a society and broadly accept that all branches of knowledge are social products. This is exactly what Jayanta Bhaṭṭa means (*Nyāyamañjarī*, Chowkhamba, 1936, p. 5) when he says: *ādi-sargāt prabhṛti vedavad imā vidyāḥ pravṛttāḥ saṃkṣepa-vistara-vivakṣayā tu tāṃs-tān ṭatra tatra kartṝn ācakṣate.*

In Indian civilisation, the Vedas have all along been occupying a supreme position of reverence in almost all aspects of social life. This is why the forms of art and technical sciences were tagged with the Vedas. This simply shows the social prestige of these branches of knowledge which developed through ages. The *Aitareya-brāhmaṇa* (VI. 27. I) in its *śilpa stuti* says:

Om / śilpāni śaṁsanti deva-śilpāni
eteṣāṁ vai deva-śilpānām
anukṛtīha śilpam adhigamyate hastī kaṁso vāso hiraṇyam
aśvatarī-rathaḥ śtlpam
. . . . ātma-saṁskṛtir
vāva śilpāni chandomayaṃ vā etair
yajamāna ātmānaṁ saṁskurute

Friends, I like to draw your attention to the following points noted in this extract :

(a) the *śilpa* is imitation; (b) the *śilpa*-s enumerated here include from dolls and clothes to chariots, but the *nṛtya* and *nyāṭa* are not mentioned; (c) last portion is the real *stuti*, here *śilpa* or art has been given the status as high as sacrifice.

It is astonishing to note that even at that remote past, the sage who systematised or collated the branch of knowledge had the imagination that the art is but the reflection of the culture of the society to which the artist belongs and the artist himself moulds or purifies his life style through art.

It will not be out of place to mention here that the abovc seems to be the earliest reference to *kaṁsa* which in English is rightly called 'bell-metal'. It is a mixed metal, i. e., an alloy of copper and tin (a scarce metal in India) the proportion being 80 : 20. What strikes us most in the extraction of these two metals from ores and their mixing. The above passage indicates the melting and moulding of this alloy and gold into toy-elephants and horses. Any way this enumeartion of art-objects in the *Aitareya-brāhmaṇa* seems to be a casual one and not exhaustive, as many other more popular

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forms of art have not been mentioned here. Buddhist and Jaina works on art and technology are generally found to be attributed to Buddha and Tīrthaṅkaras.

Śilpa seems to be the more ancient word to mean art and technology both. The use of the term *Kalā* in this sense came later. It is found in the *Ṛgveda* (8-47-17) to mean a small part of something and also sixteenth part of anything in other Vedic works. In the sense of any practical, mechanical or fine art, its earliest use is perhaps found in the *Kāma-sūtra* (I. 3. 1&16) of Vātsyāyana where 64 kinds of the same have been enumerated. In later literature, however, the term *Kalā-vidyā* is found to be used to mean art-forms like dance, music etc. Abhinavagupta while explaining the well-known verse of the *Nāṭya-śāstra* (GOS., I. 126),–*na taj jñānaṁ na tac chilpaṁ na sā vidyā na sā kalā...*; means by *śilpa* such arts as stringing of garlands, painting and preparation of cut-pieces used in the sets for stage (*śilpam-iti mālā-citra–pustādi-yojanam*), while the word *Kalā* he interprets as instrumental and vocal music, acting etc. (*kalā gītavādyādikā*). Thus, a distinction between *śilpa* meaning practical or mechanical art and *kalā* meaning fine arts like dance music etc., was drawn. This was certainly done long before Abhinavagupta. Poets like Kālidāsa and Śūdraka used the term *kalā* in the above sense-(cf. *gṛhiṇī ... lalite kalāvidhau* : Raghu. VIII, 63; and *iyaṃ raṅga praveśena kalānāṁ copaśikṣayā* ... in *Mṛccha*., Act I). This principle of division has been generally followed and in the Śilpa-śāstra, we generally get discussions on architecture, sculpture, paintings etc. The *Nāṭya-śāstra*, however, deals with the both. While describing the stage, its construction and decoration (GOS., II & III), the work deals with what we expect in the Śilpa-śāstra. Discussions in this *magnum opus* on various aspects and forms of Kalā-vidyā need no mention. Nāṭya practically involves many branches of *śilpa* and *kalā* both and the *Nāṭya-śāstra* rightly says: *taj jñānam etc.*, as referred to above.

Friends, I like to reiterate that no sharp distinction can be drawn between art and technologp from academic point of view. One involves the other. The art in its general sense, aims at oreating beauty and the main target of this beauty is said to be the rousing of aesthetic pleasure. Technology on the other hand, aims at the production of the things of utility and forms the subject-matter of what we call technical sciences. But it is really difficult, if not impossible, to find out an object of utility that calls for no sense of beauty. Prehistoric archaeological finds tell us that the motive of producing things of utility and of beautifying the same went on hand in hand. Among the papers expected here in this Section, only those on Āyurveda and Jyotirvidyā alone with Mathematics, I think, may be considered by some as having no relevance to art. But a critical operation successfully done on the body of a patient, or

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the curing of a serious disease we express in such terms as fine, beautiful or astonishing operation or treatment. The solution of a very difficult mathematical or astronomical problem is distinguished as astonishing or marvellous. Such uses cannot be brushed aside as totally metaphorical, a word that also involves art. These utile deeds and others alike, rouse a sense of satisfaction and wonder. These appreciative feelings of elegancc, wonder or marvellous one the key-note of what we call aesthetic ones. They involve the sense of what we call *camatkāra* in Indian aesthetics. Friends, it is known to you that this *camatkāra* is upheld by a school as the essence of *Rasa*, i. e., aesthetic relish. It can, however, be argued that in these cases thc number of connoisseurs is very few. In retort, can it not be asked that are we to determine the aesthetic value through voting ? Is the number of connoisseurs of modern abstract art and poetry very big ? In this connection, I like to draw your attention to the description of a connoisseur, i. e., *sahṛdaya* given by Abhinavagupta. It is the *Nāṭya-sāstra* that explains *Nāṭya-rasa* with an analogy of *anna-rasa*. Full satisfaction, certainly not from any material gain, is the basic element that rouses *Rasa*. It is known to you all that joy from any material gain cannot be equated with aesthetic delight and this point has been harped on by ancient Indian critics in connection with what they call *sādhāraṇīkaraṇa* in Rasa-realisation. The term *camatkāra* is an onomatopoetic one which we utter at full satisfaction from material gain also. But this is not due to the aesthetic joy, or rather I like to use the word bliss to distinguish it from the former. From the standpoint of all sorts of arts, the explanation of the term *camatkāra* by Abhinavagupta, I think, is the most suitable one. He says that it is the mental state (feeling) of one who is engrossed with the thrill of enjoyment of some, thing wonderful (*NS*. GOS., Vol. I, p. 279 : *bhuñjānasyādbhuta-bhoga-spandāviṣṭasya ca manaḥ karaṇaṁ camatkāra iti*). If one achieves this mental state on finding some physical feat, treatment like critical operation, or a mathematical solution, why should we not say that one enjoys *Rasa* ? And I think it is possible, at least not inpossible theoretically. In almost all cases the terms art and technology are used to designate the same thing from two different standpoints, the standpoint of beauty and that of utility rcspctively, the object remaining the same. Is not the Bharata-nāṭyam or Katthaka a physical feat from one standpoint ? A Persian tepestry or a Greecian urn is both a specimen of art and technology.

The distinction drawn between *Kalā* (dance etc.) and *Śilpa* (painting etc.) by Abhinavagupta. as shown before, is not also very clear. Dance and sculpture-painting are intimately related. Practically they are interdependent. The *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa* (Ed. Priyabala Saha, Baroda, khaṇḍa III. Vol.

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I, II / 4) explicitly states that without a knowledge of the *Nṛtta-śāstra*, the *Citra-śastra* is unintelligible (*vinā tu nṛtta-śāstreṇa citrā-śāstraṃ sudurvidam / jagato'nukriyā kāryā dvayor api yato nṛpa/*). Both are concerned with the imitation of reality. In a sense, art in general is imitation. But simple imitation is no art. It is imitation-plus, plus something more and that something more turns the imitation into art, a thing of beauty. This is the contribution of creative imagination and intuition. Abhinavagupta while explaining *nāṭyaṃ bhāvānukīrtanam* of the *Nāṭya-śāstra* (GOS., I 107) rightly says that simple imitation produces laughter (*hāsya-mātra-phalam*). He explains *anukīrtanam* as *anuvyavasāyātmakaṃ kīrtanam*. *Anukaraṇa* similarly, is *karaṇa*, i. e., creation the basis of which is the *anuvyavasāya*, i. e., consciousness of the previous perception of something, i. e., experience. Without entering into any philosophical discussion on the import of the term *anuvyavasāya*, we can take it as used here to mean re-creation. The renowned painting Mona Lisa by Leonardo Da Vinci is but the portrait of Mrs. Franncesco Zandi del Giocondo, i. e., an imitation. Similarly, the Rādhā of Kishengarh by Nihal Chand is an imitation, it is the portrait of Bani Thani. The two beautiful women have long been forgotten. But the two paintings, i. e., re-creations have come down to us as specimens of great art. Any way, the extant specimens of our ancient plastic art and painting amply testify the validity of the first half of verse quoted above from the *Viṣṇudharmottara*. We have come across not a single figure or icon of worship in any form of art that is not in a dancing pose expressive of some feeling and idea. That is why we take recourse to *dhyānas* or *sādhanas* describing the poses and postures, in identifying the Indian icons of deities.

Friends, I like to conclude this section by pointing out that Indian tradition pays equal honour to the propounders of all art and reagards them as Brahmavādins. It is known to you that from the standpoint of the philosophy of arts, there are three schools in India : (a) Rasa-Brahmavāda dealing with creative literature, (b) Nāda-Brahmavāda dealing with music and (c) Vāstu-Brahmavāda, that discusses architecture, sculpture, painting etc. All are Brahmavādas; a devotee of any of these forms, is a *yajamāna* who purifies or ennobles his self-*ātmānaṁ saṁaśkurute*, in the words of the *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa* as cited before. Indian tradition recognises all branches of art and technology as sacred knowledge (*śastra*). Not to speak of the art of culinary or the technique of perparing perfumes (*gandhayukti*), even theft was a *śāstra*. The *Daśakumāra-carita* and the *Mṛcchakaṭika* speak of the traditional propounders of the *Caurya-śāstra*. At least one work on this art has come down to us. It is the *Ṣaṇmukhakalpa* and the propounder is said to be Kārtikeya himself, From a manuscript belonging to the Asiatic Society,

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Calcutta, Dieter George who conducted his research work at the Government Sanskrit College, Calcutta edited and published the work with German translation and introduction from Marburg iu 1966.

I now propose to give a bird's-eye view on some of the subjects comprehended in this Section. Friends, it is known to you all that ancient Indian works on fine arts and Technical Sciences have come down to us mostly in the form of compendiums or compilations. It is a fact that these branches of knowledge developed through ages depending primarily on practice. They had never been subjects of pure academic discussions, or of general interest. So, from an early age the necessity was felt and attempts were made to codify these branches of knowledge into compendiums. Primarily perhaps, there were hand-books for each separate branch of knowledge, or of allied branches. The *Nāṭya-śāstra* is the best and perhaps the earliest specimen of this type of codification. Then came the Purāṇic and Āgamic works of encyclopaedic type like the *Agni-purāṇa* the *Garuḍa-purāṇa*, the *Viṣṇudharmottara* and the *Kāmikāgama* etc. the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* also belongs to this class. In this connection, I should refer to the Chapter XXIV of *The Cultural Heritage of India*, Vol. V, published by the Ramkrishna Mission Institute of Culture, Calcutta in 1978. Written by my esteemed friend, the renowned scholar Dr. Kalikumar Datta Sastri, the Chapter gives a comprehensive account of the Scentific Literature in Sanskrit.

Mānasāra, a later work on architecture and sculpture mainly, is a valuable compendium and belongs to ths first of the above mentioned two types. It is known to all that the great scholar Dr. P. K. Acharya devoted his entire lifc to a thorough and comparative study of this compendium. From him we have got six valuable works on Indian architecture including a critical edition with notes and plates of the *Mānasāra*.

The contribution of the polymath Bhoja-deva of Dhārā, in the field of preparing compendiums is the most outstanding. But following the *sūcīkaṭāha-nyāya*, I propose to take up the *Abhilaṣitārtha cintāmaṇi* first. The work, practically an encyclopaedia, is attributed to the Cālukya king cf Kalyāṇa Bhūlokamalla Someśvara (12 th cen. A. D.). The first part of this work (prakaraṇas I to IV) was edited and published By R. Shama Sastry as early as in 1926, from Mysore University Oriental Publications, Sanskrit Series no. 69. Another title of the work is said to be the *Mānasollāsa*. It is interesting to note that another *Mānasollāsa* (Vol. I, prakaraṇas I & II) attributed to the same Someśvara was edited by G. K. Shrigondekar and published from the GOS (no. 28, 1st ed. 1925, 2nd 1967), Baroda. From the arrangement of topics and method of treatment, it appears that the above two works are not from the same source. But owing to the want of further

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evidence, nothing can be said defintiely. Historians inform us that in the *Mānasollāsa*, Someśvara devoted 2500 verses on dance and music. It thus appears that there were originally more than one work. The similarity of titles, or the names of authors, or both confused the later scribes. Moreover there were at least three Someśvaras of the same later Cālukya dynesly alone. It is interesting to note here that many of the topics noticed by R. L. Mitra (Notices of Sanskrit Mss., Vol. III, p. 182) in a manuscript of the *Mānasollāsa*, are not found in any of the above two published works. Thus the confusion has become worse confounded. The restoration of thr work or works-a treasure of the different branches of ancient Indian knowledge is a desideratum, and this is why I am drawing the attention of scholars. Modern gourmands may find much interest and can experiment with the various methods of cooking meats of different animals including even rats (pra. IV) and also preparation of different varieties of beverage, as elaborately described in the *Abhilaṣitārtha-cintāmaṇi*.

History tells us that there were several Bhojas. But Bhoja, the most illustrious of Paramāra kings is generally credited with a number of valuable works ranging from grammer, literary criticism to various branches of science and technology. It appears that the entire treasure of Indian knowledge was ransacked and codified into several volumes by Bhoja. It is futile to enter into a controversy as to whether all those works were written by an individual or Bhoja was the general editor of a board, to use modern terminology, cosisting of the erudites of the period assembled in his university at Dhārā. In any case, Bhoja's vision and versatility deserve special credit. I am glad to mention here that prof. V. Venkatachalam, Head of the School of Studies in Sanskrit, Vikram University, Ujjain, took the initiative of holding two Seminars on Bhoja, one in 1970 and other in March of this year, both sponsored by the UGC The second Seminar from March 1 to 6, was undoubtedly a success, as it appears from the summaries of Papers presented. I shall be failing in my duty if I do not frankly admit here that though cordially invited personally by Prof. Venkatachalam, the Director of the Seminar, I could not attend the same simply owing to the want of time for which I am sorry. Prof. Venketachalam, however, was kind enough to send me the Summaries of papers presented and the Souvenir published on the occasion. As many as 52 papers covering various topics on scientific works or Bhoja were presented by scholars from diffetent states of India. It was undoubtedly a commendable multi-disciplinary Seminar and we hope that other universities and institutions will come forward and hold such Seminars or Symposia.

But friends, are we to remain satisfied only with ihe academic discussion on ancient Indian scientific and technical know-hows? Much has been

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written on ancient Indian architecture, painting and a bit on town-planning. In practice, on the other hand, we are following the modern western models and methods. In the field of architecture mainly of match-box type, we notice a poverty of design now-a-days. Moreover, the patterns of our newly built buildings housing many institutions and goverment offices, I think, are not suitable to toe climate of the country. Cannot the knowledge of our ancestors evolved through ages, be applied in this field to some extent? The methods of mixing and preparing colours, as laid down in such ancient works like the *Viṣṇudharmottara* and *Samarňāgaṇasūtradhāta* may at least be put to test by our mural-painters. It was Nandalal Bose who took the initiative in this field. The former work describes the preparation of a Vajralepa from buffalo-skin for the final polish of a painting and this also can be experimented by ous artists. It is also expected that some modern engineer should come forward and carry on research and experimentation jointly with capable Sanskrit scholars on the mechanical contrivances, as described in the works like the *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra* This, I think, is the only way to determine the real merit of these works. Modern Indians should know whether their forefathers did only spend their time on fruitless academic discussions, or did think something with their eyes wide open and had some practical sense.

Sometime in the fifties of this century, Girija Majumdar translated and published an ancient work *Upavanavinoda*. It forms a part of the Vṛkṣāyurveda. The book describes how to produce coloured cotton along with the plantation and maintenance of plants and trees suitable for a pleasure garden. Coloured cotton is a rare variety. So, the method prescribed in the said work also deserves a trial. It will not be out of place to mention here that one dedicated person named Kalicharan Sharma has invented a spinning wheel by which he spins cotton thread of 500 to 600 counts and also knows the entire intricate process of weaving the famous Muslin of Dacca. A refugee from Dacca, now settled at Khagra-saidabad in the district of Murshidabad and a confirmed bachelor, Shri Sharma has been working hard at the ripe old age of above 60 for training up some young men and women and restoring the lost glory of the Muslin and also to make it viable as a cottage industry with the assistance from Central and State Governments.

Patronised by the government, the indigenous medical science is gaining ground, of course very slowly. An interesting work entitled *Medicine: Its Magico-religious Aspects according to the Vedic and Later Literature*, has recently (1982) been published by Dr. G. U. Thite, Dept. of Sanskrit, University of Poona. The studies in *Nāḍī-Parīkṣā* (Sphygmology) of Dr. Sarvadeo Upadhyaya is said to be in the press. In West Bengal, two interesting and useful works each in 6 volumes, have recently been published-one

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the *Cirañjīva-vanauṣadhi* by Kaviraja Sibakali Bhattacharyya (Ananda publishers, Calcutta, Last Vol. 1388B. S.), and the other the *Bhāratīya-vanauṣadhi* edited by Dr. Ashima Chatterjee, Calcutta University. Prof. R. B. Chatterjee, a few months back, delivered an informative lecture on Indian Surgery : Past and Present, at the Asiatic Society, Calcutta. Prof. Chatterjee in his lecture did trace the history of how Indian Surgery was transported to Europe via Islamic sources. Prof. R. S. Singh, Institute of Medical Science B. H. U., with some research-fellows under his supervision, has been carrying on research on Āyurvedic and Unani systems of medicine. I am thankful to Prof. Singh as he took the trouble of sending me a few published research papers and abstracts of those going to be presented here.

It delights me to mention here the name of a work in Bengali, the *Ārya Bhārater Saṅgīt Cintā*, by my esteemed friend, the renowned musicologist Rajyeswar Mitra who is better known as Sārṅgadeva in Bengali literary circle. The book, published in 1982 from Calcutta is small in size, but very rich in contents. Another work written in Bengali, *the Prācīn Bhārater Gaṇit Cintā* (Calcutta, 1979) of Pradipkumar Majumdar also deserves mention here.

Among the new publications on Veterinary science, the *Hastividyārṇava*, a treatise on elephant-lore, deserves special notice. It was composed in old Assamese prose by Sukumār Borkāth under the patronage of the Ahom king Siva Singa and his queen consort Ambikā Devī in 1774 A. D. The manuscript was illustrated by two expert artists, named Dilbar and Dosāi, probably Muslims. The work was edited with introduction and English translation by Dr. Pratapchandra Choudhury and was published by the Publication Board, Assam from Gauhati in 1975. The work refers to an earlier one the *Gajendra-cintāmaṇi* by Śambhunātha. It contains 171 colour-plates and 80 monochrome plates and mentions 148 kinds of tuskers and 17 types of female elephants.

I should not miss this opportunity of paying homage to the memory of our late lamented teacher Prof. S. K. Saraswati and mention here his masterpiece the *Tantrayāna Art*, published by the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, in 1977, and the work in Bengali the *Pāl Yuger Citrakalā*, published in 1978 from Calcutta. The first one may be said to be a monumental work on the subject with profuse illustrative plates and expositions with an informative introduction. The second one is also so and deals with the paintings found in the manuscripts prepared during the Pāla period. Friends, I like to submit before you, particularly before those who are interested in the study of Buddhist Iconography, an observation of my humble self, or you may call it a

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problem. Buddhist deities are generally classified into five Kulas of five Dhyānī Buddhas, a theory propounded in the *Guhyasamāja-tantra*. But the *Ārya-mañjuśrī-Mūla-Kalpa* speaks of five, eight and ten Kulas. The work is believed to be written during the Pālas in Bengal. Are we not to take this work into account whiie discussing Buddhist Iconography of the period and region ? And this has not yet been done.

Statistics is said to be a modern and developing science. But the renowned statistician Prof. C. R. Rao publiseed a paper in the journal 'Science To-Day' on a topic "Statisticics in Ancient India." From a study of the story how king Ṛtuparṇa ascertained the number of leavcs and fruits of a Bibhītaka tree and how Nala verified it, as delineated in the *Mahābhārata* (III/72), Prof. Rao concludes that it is the method of Sample Survey of Statistics. The detailed discussion on the salaries to be paid from the exchequer and income to be collected from various sources, as we find in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kautilya, presupposes a knawledge in the statistical methods.

Friends, I think that discussions on the restoration and preservation of old manuscripts and other objects relevant to the past history and cultnre, come under the purview of this Section. Generally it is alleged that our forefathers were not careful enough towards the preservation of those valuable treasures. It is a fact that a substantial portion of that treasure has been lost. The reasons are many and I am not going to deal with those. I, however, like to refer here to a research paper entitled Ritual of Manuscript writteu by Dr. Kalikumar Dutta Sastri and published in the 19th volume (pt. II) of the journal Our Heritage. Dr. Sastri here has shown with what great care and religious devotion manuscripis were copied, compared, and also preserved in ancient India. Another great problem with which we are now confronted, is the method of editing and writing expositions. Very often subjective bias here, blurs the objective outlook of judgement. In a paper entitled "The Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa : Myth or Authentic works," recently published in the *Viramaniprasad Upadhyaya Felicitation Volume* from Pilani, my esteemed friend and colleague Prof. Anantalal Thakur has shown how unwarrantable emendations are made and conclusions on their basis are drawn even by renowned scholars. Any way, to err is human. I like to point out that our authors of the mediaeval periods also followed some principles in selecting readings while writing commentaries on ancient works. Mallinātha in the preface of his commentaay on the *Raguvaṃśa* declares that nothing baseless is going to be written (*nāmūlaṁ likhyate kiñcit*) and nothing unwanted is going to said (*nānapekṣitam ucyte*). Abhinavagupta at the prologue of the *Ābhinavabhāratī* speaks of ten principles he professes to follow in commenting upon the *Nāṭya-śāstra* and they are ;

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1. Acceptance of the best reading (*upādeyasya sampāṭhaḥ*) and this certainly implies scrutiny and judgement
2. noting down of the less important ones (*tadanyasya pratīkanam*), fairness deserves it,
3. clear exposition (*sphuṭavyākhyā*). a rare quality no doubt;
4. avoidance of self-contradiction (*virodhānāṁ parihāraḥ*), of the text,
5. completeness (*supūrṇatā*). And also,
6. following of the context (*laksyānusaraṇam*);
7. explaining away of the ambiguity (*śliṣṭa-vyakṭavyāṁśa-vivecanam*), of the text;
8. showing of the reasons for reiteration (*saṅgatiḥ paunaruktyānām*), in the text,
9. solution by removing possible doubts (*samādhanam anā* (*samā* ?), *kulam*), and
10. summing up (*saṁgrahaś ca vyākhyā-prakāro'tra samāśritaḥ*),

Of the above ten, the first, second and the fourth constitute the principle of editing and the whole is undoubtedly the best method of editing and writing expositions or commentaries on ancient works.

Friends, before concluding I crave your indulgence for all sorts of omissions or commissions done unwillingly in this address. I also thank you all for giving me a patient hearing. Let me follow the Indian tradition and say, this one *Brahmārpaṇam astu*

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SOUTHEAST ASIAN STUDIES SECTION

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By

SATYA VRAT SHASTRI

I am highly grateful to the authorities of the All-India Oriental Conference for electing me President of the Southeast Asian Studies Section. I have had the opportunity of visiting some of the countries of Southeast Asia and can claim therefore some personal knowledge of them. I was posted in Bangkok for two years as Visiting Professor of Indian Studies and had an occasion to work in two of its prominent Universities the Chulalongkorn University and the Silpakorn University. I had the occasion to study at close quarters the cultural life of the people of that land as also some of the neighbouring countries like Laos, Malaysia and Singapore. The contact of those and other countries of the region with India may well date back to early centuries of the Christian era. The Purāṇas mention ships from India laden with merchandize leaving for the ports in Suvarṇabhūmi which in all likelihood included Siam, Champa, Annam and so on and not only the island of Sumatra as some think. Gradually, Indian settlements would have grown in them, and, as the then immigrants would have penetrated further and further, the life of the local inhabitants got influenced more and more by them. The greatest evidence of the close links of the region with India is furnished by the large corpus of the Sanskritic words in its languages. The very word for language that is prevalent in most parts of the region is bhāsā; Bhasa Thai, Bahasa Malay and so on. The old language of Indonesia has a typical Sanskritic name of Kavi Bhasa. Prof. J. Gonda in his now well-known work *Sanskrīt in Indonesia* points to a large Sanskritic content in Indonesian languages. A similar attempt by William J. Gedney and the writer of those lines in the works : *Indic Loan Words in Spoken Thai*, a Ph. D. Dissertation submitted to the Yale University in 1947 and the *Studies in Sanskrit and Indian Culture in Thailand*, an independent study published recently trace a very large corpus of Sanskritic words in Tha. An attempt on similar lines on Bahasa Malay or Bhasa Khmer of Compuchia or Bhasa Lao would, if undertaken, produce similar results. Most of the languages of the region have incorporated into them a large number of words of Sankritic origin. The remark made by William J. Gedney with regard to Thai that there are as many words of Sanskritic origin in spoken Thai as there are

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words of Greek and Latin origin in spoken English may very well apply to most languages of the region. Since the writer of these lines has greater acquaintance with Thai, he can speak with greater confidence with regard to it. There are hundreds and thousands of words in Thai, a langnage entirely different from Sanskrit and Pali structurally belonging as it does to a different language-family, which owe their origin to Sanskrit and Pali. One may have to knock one's head a number of times to realize that the Thai word *phetch* found in such words as phetchburi is Sanskrit *vajra*. Similarly the names of places like Phiakphumphisai or Udumphonphisai are Sanskrit Vyāghrabhūmiviṣaya and Udumbaraviṣaya respectively or the peculiarly spelt word *aungchallee* is just Sanskrit *añjali*. In spite of all the change that has come about in the process of their assimilation in the new language some words have no doubt mysteriously kept up their Sanskritic form and pronunciation, e. g., the words *velā* for time, *karuṇā* for please, *prārthanā* for desire and so on. The whole landscape of Thailand is dotted with vestiges of Indian cultare. There are numerous temples of Hindu Gods and Goddesses, though in ruins, which are a perennial testimony to the presence in the region of the once all powerful Hindu religion. There are figures of the Hindu gods, Indra, Gaṇeśa and so on and Hindu demi gods the Yakṣas, the Kinnaras, the Kinnarīs and so on which adorn even the Buddhist monasteries. Among the Indian epics, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, it is the *Rāmāyaṇa* which is the best known to the people. It is known in Laos, it is known in Thailand, it is known practically everywhere in the region though the story differs in detail with local variations creeping in. Very rightly has a scholar said about it that if there is any truly Asian epic it is the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Scenes from this and the Purāṇas are found depicted on temple-walls, the entire story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* is found described in 178 excellent murals in Wat Phra Kaeo, popularly known as the Temple of the Emerald Buddha in the heart of Bangkok and 152 bas reliefs in Wat Pora Jetubon, the funerary temple of the ruling dynasty of Thailand. The mural paintings in the Vihara of Wat Nang Phya in Phitsanulok in northern Thailand and the marble panels as many as one hundred and fiftytwo relating the Rāma story after king Rama I's version in clockwise direction from Rāvaṇa's abduction of Sītā to the pursuit by Rāma, the fight among the demons and the monkeys as far as upto the catching of Rāvaṇa's friend, Sahasteja by Hanumān. Apart from the marble panels the wooden panels of the Ordination Hall of Wat Po represent a large number of episodes from the Rāmāyaṇa.

Hundreds of inscriptions in Sanskrit and Pali have been discovered in Southeast Asia. These from Combodia were collected and published in a volume by R. C. Majumdar. Similar attempts, though, perfunctory have

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been made by scholar like George Coedes and others. It will be a good idea if this work in the countries like Thailand could be undertaken more systematically. The writer of these lines has come to notice about 40 inscriptions in Sanskrit in Thailand during his sojourn there some of which were discovered much after Georgne Coede's work. The latest example is of the two inscriptions recently found from Prasad Panom rung in the Province of Buriram in the noatheast of Thailand. Since one Sanskrit inscription from there noted by George Coedes, two more Sanskrit inscriptions have been discovered from there. The second one only this year itself. The first one could well be the second part of the inscription noted by Coedes and in all probability be taken to complete it. Written in beautiful Sanskrit and in mellifluous style, it makes an excellent reading In the context of the Sanskrit and Pali inscriptions discovered from Combodia and discovered or being discovered from Thailand, a suggestion may well be put forward that it would be good if this vast literature could be studied from the point of view of its poetic beauty as well. So far only tardy attempts have made in this connection. No significant contribution in this direction is available upto now. The writer of these lines has tried in the beginning of his volume : *Studies in Sanskrit and Culture in Thailand* noted earlier, to present a detailed critical literary appraisal of the Sanskrit inscriptions of Thailand. A literary study on the same lines of the Sanskrit inscriptions of Compuchea which are far larger in number would well be worth undertaking to bring home to the scholarly community the poetic beauty of this form of literature to enable it to enjoy it. Though royal proclamations or account of land-grants or descriptions of regal exploits, the inscriptions contain in them excellent poetry which merits serious notice.

It has become almost customary for a President of a Section to present in his Address a survey of publications in his field from the previous session to the present one. While the writer of these lines occupies himself with this excercize he cannot but permit himself a few preliminary observations. Out of the nine countries comprising the region of Southeast Asia : Burma, Laos Thailand, Compuchea, Vietnam, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia and Brunei, the maximum literary activity has taken place only in Burma, Thailand, Malaysia and Indonesia. Only a handful of books were produced in Singapore and these too on subjects of trade and industry only. Compuchea has been too ravaged by strife to think of any literary activity. Vietnam, though recovering from long drawn out war, is still far from a stage where serious literary activity worth any consequence can flourish. Laos and Brunei are too small to yield anything significant to any researcher. In Malaysia and Indonesia too the literary activity has come to be far too much centred on

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Islam, Law, Politics, trade and industry, administration and such other disciplines. It is in Burma and Thailand alone where literature on humanities has come to be produced, quite a significant proportion of it on Buddhism, the predominant religion in these countries and on much lesser extent on secular subjects. Among publications in the field of Buddhism in Burma may be mentioned: *Kammtthan tārā a thut ra khran a kron* by Sobhana Mahāthera on the practice of the form of Buddhist meditation called Kammatthana, *Buddhe e ānapana bharana Kammatthān kyan naññ* by U Aon Mret on the practice of Anapanasati form of Buddhist meditation, *Mran mā nuin nam Theravāda Buddhabhāsā cac tam* by Ashin Paññindabhivamsa on the history of the development of Theravāda Buddhism in Burma, *Mahavijjodaya Sang-ruih Chui rui Kyam* by Ashin Tin Thi Lan Puññānanda on the exposition of Abhidhammatthasamgaha, a compendium of Abhidharma philosophy according to Theravāda Buddhism including the text in Pali, *Vum am bhi Āe Abhidhamma* by U Kyo Thvat, a eollection of lectures on Abhidharma philosophy of Theravāda Buddhism, *Buddha lakkhanā to myā* by Mrat su mre lat on the identifying marks of a Buddha, *Buddha nok pa kambhā lū sā myā* by Takka Suel Mrat Su on the general history of the spread of Buddhism, *A khre pru patthan tā rā to* by Ashin Janakabhivamsa, an introduction of Patthana, a canonical text of Theravāda Buddhism. Works on Buddhism published in Thailand area: the Commentary *Paṭisambhidāmagga* Canonical Text of Theravāda Buddhism Mahānāma, *Phutthawipatsamā* by Sawet Piamphsngsan on Buddhist meditation, *Khruarg namatsakān lae lo mu būchā* by Phloenphit Kamran on the styles of altars and materials used in worship for specific Thai Buddhist rituals. Apart from the study of Buddhism in its purely religious aspect there have appeared in the period under review a couple of good studies particularly in Thailand on its evaluation in relation to social development. Of these mention may be made here of *Sāsanā kae panha Sangkhom* by Udom monkhon on the proposed solution of social problems in Thailand through the use of Buddhist principles, *Phāwanā kap Kanrapchai Saugkhom* by Phra Pracha Prasannathammo on the application of the principles of Buddhist meditation to Thai social development. There is a tradition in Thailand to issue cremation volumes in honour of important people when they die. Some of these volumes provide very good research material on Buddhism apart from the biographical account of the crematee. Of these mention may be made here of *Phra Thammathetsanā*, cremation volume for Phra Thammapanyabodi (Kittisan Thera) which comprises three Buddhist discourses and a biography of the crematee and other similar works. Of other works connected with Buddhism mention may be made of *Kanfurnfu Phraphutthasatsana noi semai Ratnakosin ton ton* by Atchara Kanchanomai on the revival of Buddhism during the early Bangkok period,

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Lak Kan suksā wichai sunlapā phra phom kansāsom phra phim lae kantang khlong phra phim by Prakot Buabut on the collection and classification of Thai Buddhist amulets, *Palimakhon phra kruang* by Mon Chanthanakhon on Thai Buddha images and amulets, *Arhan Kelasa nhan Amerikan sāsanā pru kha ri* by Ashin Kelas, on the reminiscances by a Burmese monk on the practice of Buddhism by Burmese in the United States, *Bhvai tan chop to ra mahāther krī myā* by Maymyo Mui kraññ on the decoration and titles of distinction conferred on Buddhist monks in Burma.

Some nice inter-religious studies have also made their appearance in the period under review which cannot but deserve notice here, e. g. *Latthi lae nikai* in Thai by M. R. Kurit Pramaj on the comparative aspect of Buddhism, Sikhism, Islam and Hinduism, *Nipphan khu dindaen Khong Prachao Ongdica sung pen anatta* by Prasan Sethanan on the concept of God in Buddhism, Christianity, Hinduism, Islam, Judaism and through scientific enquiry, *Nolokhit ruang pratyā kansuksā Thai* by Amphon Phongsaitha on the educational philosoyhy from the point of view of major religions.

Significant contribution to studies in early history has taken place in many countries of the region. Some of the more noteworthy publications in them on the subject may well be recorded here as under : *Kuntaca, Srivijayā and Suwarnabhumi* by Dr. Abdul Rehman Saleh which deals with, as should be clear from the title itself, with the history of Kuntala, Srivijaya and Suwarnabhumi, the early kingdoms of South Sumatra, *Rasi can to mran mā ruira* by Ne Aon Mran which has for its subject matter the description and the history of the Burmese seasonal festivals, *A rhe ton arha* by U Sin Lhuin which traces the histosy of Southeast Asia from the earliest times. Of the studies on sculptures and temple architecture and inscriptions may be mentioned the works *Arca-arca di Sumatra pedazaman purba* by Satyawati Suluman on the sculptures of ancient Sumatra and *Proyāk Pelita Restorasi candi Borobudur*, a report on the restoration of the Borobodur Temple in twelve volumes one out of which has made its appearnce in the period under review.

In the field of Language studies the few works that have appeared are : *A Khre pru Sadda* by Asin Janakabhivamsa which is a commentary by Kaccāyana's Pali grammar, and *Phāsā lae Phāsāsāt* by Wilawan Khanitthanan on language and Linguistics.

In the field of biography a couple of good attempts have been made in the countries of the region, e. g. *Atthuppatti thū ṇuin nam khrā ā Buddhasāsanā pru mya* by Min Yu Way which gives biographical account of eminent non-Burmese Buddhists including Allen Bennet (Ananda Maitreya), Anton Gueth (Nyantiloka) and Salvatore Cioffi (Lokanatha), *Mahārāt chāt chāi*

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by Prakhop Choprakan which gives biographies of nine Thai kings, *Walthd Luangtha* by Phraeyuramai which includes extracts from the works of the author in addition to giving his biography, *Ve bhu cha ra to theruppattu nhan chak myā* by Lu men Han Pyañ ma nā which describes the life and teachings of Weibu Sayadaw (1896-1977) a Burmese Buddhist Abbot, *Mahagandharum cha ru to Arhan Janakabhivamsa* which deals with the life and teaehings of Janakabhivamsa, a Burmese senior Buddhist monk.

In the field of Sanskrit only some two or three attempts take place. One is : *Rasa ca pe e Rasa* in Burmese by U Rvehe Aon which examines the literary conventions used to express sentiment in Sanskrit literature. The second is a history of Sanskrit literature in Thai by Pranee Lapanich and the third is a thesis *Ṛgvedaprathamamaṇḍalasya samālocanātmakam adhyayanam* (1-75 sūktāni) a critical study of the first Maṇḍala of the Ṛgveda (Sūktās 1-75) submitted this year, 1982, through the medium of Sanskrit for Vidyāvāridhi (Ph. D.) degree of the Sampurnanand Sanskrit University, Varanasi by a Thai scholar, Chamlong Sarapudnuke.

The survey as given above shows that literary acttivity in the fields of religion, philosophy, art and architecture and ancient history is on in parts of Southeast Asia which are comparatively peaceful and which have not been swept off their moorings by the so-called modernism which turns man into a machine.

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WEST ASIAN STUDIES SECTION

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By

N. S. GOREKAR

Learned Delegates & Distinguished Guests !

I feel like, in the beginning, expressing my deep gratitude and sincere thanks to the Executive Council of the All-India Oriental Conferance for having elevated me to the high academic office of the President of the West Asian Studies Section this year. I should also like to recall that in the past also the All-India Oriental Conference has done me a similar honour by electing me once the President of its Islamic Studies Section in 1968 held at the Sanskrit University of Varanasi, and then in 1978 of its Arabic-Persian Studies Section organized under the auspices of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute of Poona. To preside over such a gathering of eminent Indologists, Arabicists; Iranologists, Islamicists or rather the orientalists, it requires a person of versatile knowledge and extraordinary erudition. I am painfully aware of my limitations, yet the love and affection shown in my election has impelled me to accept very gracefully the stewardship of this Section. And conscquently, I bow down before you, Ladies & Gentlemen, and in all earne-stness and humbleness, I seek your co-operation and crave for your indulgence at every stage of this high academic responsibility.

Ladies & Gentleman ! West Asia, the birthplace of the great world religions like Brahmanism, Zoroastrianism; Buddhism, Judaism, Christianity and Islam, and the homeland of the monumental civilizations such as Sassanid, Byzantine, Greek and Arabian, is surrounded by five great oceans. It is a connecting link between the East and the West, and a meeting ground of three continents namely, Asia, Africa and Europe.

West Asia as a matter of fact, is a vital region for the interplay of historical forces, interaction of cultural tendencies, growing in the major countries of Asia or rather the entire world from fairly very early times. It is on account of its geographical position that West Asia has been the cradle of different civilizations and various cultures. And obviously as a consequ-ence, it has shaped or rather moulded the human mind under differant circumstances, new environment and fresh atmosphere from time to time. In the past the Egyptians, and Babylonians and the Parthians had not only

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conquered it but controlled and contributed a great deal to its cultural treasure while they held sway. Even now, the American and the Soviet Powers are desperately engaged in acquiring spheres of influence and bases of strategy in this oil-cum-mineral rich area, They are not only avoiding very shrewdly wars and confrontations in their homeland but silently and quietly creating tension and confusion in this region only to gain power in case war breaks out between these Powers-capitalist West and socialist East.

It must be recalled here that West Asia owing to its strategic position has played an important role in influencing the history of mankind in all aspects in true perspective, and thus affecting all the peoples of the world. Secondly, on account of its being great marketing centre in addition to its natural resources, like oil bases and mineral treasures, West Asia has become a region of great attraction and significance for the Two Great Powers. And as a consequence, the struggle of the big Powers for this strategic region has resulted into power-rivalry for their conflicting interests. It must be mentioned here that these Powers for their vested interests and selfish motives. partly by giving false assurances administrating justice to the peoples of this region, and partly by appreciating their cultural heritage allowing to their liking and taste. As a matter of fact they are just exploiting the cultural treasures of this region for their personal gains. In the field of investigations the intellectals or the orintalalists no doubt, have produced enough literature but almost all their works are replete with distortion of fact and disfiguring the important personalities of the East. And in this way, the orientalists have magnified the lapses and shortcomings of the West Asian peoples in their cultural contribution to the mankind at large. And thus instead of appreciating their cultural contribution they have underestimated them either by distorting or by disfiguring the peoples of this region. Again, in the domain of commerce, both the Blocks are so diplomatically pushing their merchandise in this area that they are turning the peoples of this area lethargic and inactive, any subsequently, involving them in luxurious life and making them indulged in sports and frivolity.

Ladies & Gentlemen! I must say whether it is an Iran-Iraq confrontation or it is a Palestinian problem, whether it is an Afghanistan issue or it is an Indlan Ocean strategy, all such tensions, confusions, or confrontations in this araa are the creations of these two Great Powers, since both of them are trying their utmost to keep this region engaged in confrontation and war, so that in this way their interesrs could be safeguarded, and thus gain influence either through trade channels, or through diplomatic planes, or through intellectual investigations. It must be remembered that in the recent past century the West Asian intellectuals understanding the game of these Powers

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initiated Islamicization movement to get rid of their designs. And hence Ziya Gokulk of Turkey, Taha Husain of Egypt, Saiyed Jamalud-Din of Afghanistan, Shaikh Abdul-wahab of Hejaz and Allama Muhammad Iqbal of India started the pan-Islamic movement with the main object of universal brotherhood among the peoples of this area. This movement though basically was initiated with the noble object in mind but was mis-represented by the vested peoples belonging to these Blocks and thus ended in chaos and confusion. It left its good or bad impact on all the major countries of the world. India was no exception to it. It could be recalled that India - Arab relationship is very old, and with the advent of Islam it became more and more strengthened. The Islamicization or Arabicization or Semiticization movement influence the entire world in a short span of one hundred years leaving its impact on all aspects of the life of the peoples. It is rightly mentioned that the Western culture is but a child of the Islamic culture. India being so closely connected with this region from very ancient times and being very close and near to this strategic area, was tremendously influenced. Firstly, beacuase the Muslim population in India was the largest though it is a secular country, based on democractic principles and socialistic values. India being a neutral country having its foreign policy based on mutual respect and mutual understanding with a motto of freindship with all and enemity with none, of course, with justice and dignity. India through centuries has become a multi-religious, multi-cultural, multi-lingual, multi-communal and multi-racial, has siezed the situation in view of the vital and strategic position of the Indian Ocean. Historically, culturally and politically, there has been a long and traditional friendship between Indian and West Asian peoples which is indeed based on ever stregthening cultural bonds and not on the shaky foundations of diplomatic campaigns and political adjustments. It is on account of intellectual and cultural exchanges in different branches of its traditional and philosophical lore and learning and the study of Arabic Persian and Turkish, Avesta-Pahalavi, and Hebrew in our academies and universities as a part of the curricula and disciplines of our academies and universities the respect and understanding has not only maintained but is on the increase and enhancing. And through historical forces and cultural contributions India has moulded and changed its culture and has taken the shape of composite culture with secular attitude and cosmopolitan outlook. In this connection it must be stated that India has achieved most of the cultural contribution from the West Asian region either through traders like Sulaimanut-Tajir, or through Sufis like Khawajah Moinud-Din Chishti, or through monarchs like Muhammad bin Qasim, or through travellers like Ibn Batuttah, or through intellectuals like Abu Raihan al-Biruni, or through the harbingers of unity like Amir Khusrau, has been so great that India has assumed a

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place of importance and significance among the nations of the West Asian region. Presently, Indian leaders, particularly our inspiring Prime Minister is expected to lead the Asian and African nations. Looking to all the factors India is participating on a larger scale in the industrial and technological development and intellectual and literary growth of this area on mutually beneficient terms.

It is in the fitness of things or rather it is essential and desirable that the study and research in West Asian history and culture, philosophy and religion, and Art and architecture as well as other social sciences should not only be introduced but promoted on firmer footing. The study of languages particularly Arabic, Persian and Turkish, and Avesta-Pahalvi which are already in the curricula of the major universities in India be not only encouraged but properly studied against the background of Indian history and culture. And it is in this fashion that Indian and Asian peoples will come closer and understand each other in a better way and appreciate their cultural heritage viewed in this light of historical factors aud forces. India is expected to give a lead to the West Asian nations in their struggle for nationalism and international understanding and collaboration, it is therefore essential and desirable that the West Asian history and culture in their proper perspectives are introduced in our Indian universities though the Jawaharlal Nehru University at Delhi and the Muslim University at Aligarh have already established these departments. It it therefore, highly desirable that these disciplines and languages be studied for proper understanding the history and culture without the help of the adapted or translated works of the orientalists –American or Russian, who have distorted the facts by magnifying the lapses which are negligible. In this connection it must be started that the International Conference on Orientalists and Islam has shown that these orientalists or rather intellectuals belonging to both the Blocks have not only done harm but distorted the history and culture of the East.

In conclusion, I must say that India is advancing to occupy a significant place in the community of Asian nations and playing a vital role in leading them to advancement in industrial growth and cultural understanding. The scholarly world is looking forward to India for the lead and hence it is for the scholars and writers to reconstruct the history and culture in the context of our original treasures and not to depend on the works produced by the orientalists, and thus present a correct picture of our past history and culture. However, it is expected from the scholars that while doing this gigantic task of presenting the glorious past history and culture the language they would be using be such as free from all prejudices and predilections.

Ladies and Gentlemen : I would like to make a few suggestions ;

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(a) West Asian Studies be introduced in relation to Indian history and culture in all the major universities and be eneouraged; (b) Language courses in Arabic, Persian & Turkish be revised and made job-oriented; (c) Language course in Arabic and Persian in particular be revised and made job-oriented; (d) UGC facilities be made available to the scholars and teachers in the academies and universities for pursuing their research and studies in India as well as abroad; (e) Research facility be provided for the scholars in almost all the universities; (f) Seminars and conferences on national as well as international level be organized in major Indian universities and also abroad for mutual understanding and appreciation.

Ladies & Gentlemen : I must now end my address with a vote of sincere thanks to you for your patient hearing, and say good-bye to you till wc meet again at the next session of the august body.

Adieu & Thank You.

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RAJASTHANI LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE SECTION

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By

BHOLA SHANKER VYAS

Distinguished Scholars and Fellow-Participants,

I deem it a great privilege of mine of having been asked to preside over the Section of Rajasthani Language and Literature on the auspices of the 31st All-India Oriental Conference being held at Jaipur. The organisers of this Conference really deserve congratulations for instituting a separate section of Rajasthani Language and Literature, where learned research papers relating to Language, Literature, folk-lore, folk-art and local culture are going to be read.

India is a beautiful 'Prism' through which one can view that most colourful human life with its luxurious rainbow-like beauty, and each province and each region of this wonderful land has contributed to its composite texture of integrated culture. While viewing this rainbow, one would really visualise the most colourful art of Rajasthani culture expressed through its melodious rhythm of linguistic intonation, powerful grandeur of bardic literature, transcedental tone of devotional songs, romantic experience of erotic poetry, and superb vigour of national patriotic poetic compositions thriving for human emancipation from exploitation.

This province of arid deserts, lofty vales and high peaks, green meadows and dense forests exhibits her beauty of nature in different aspects and colours. Here one can visualise a running film of the different stages of the histroy of our dynamic culture and can experience oneself how this secular culture of India has emerged assimilating many an element like pre-Aryan, Aryan, Iranian, Abhir-Gurjar, Arabic, Turkish and Mongolian cultures in the ancient and mediaeval life of our history. The colourful dress and artistic ornaments of men and specially of women, the enchanting sight of ceremonia rituals, fairs and festivals, rhythmic flow of folk-songs, and her measured beats of folk-dances and echoing melody of instrumental music is a special feature of this land, a superb artefact of the great creative artist, the Almighty. It would exhibit how this beautiful 'lahariya chuneri' has been

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woven out of several colourful threads of different culturas blending into one composite piece of a glittering 'Tafetta'.

Linguistically and culturally, though erroneously considered to be a part of 'Madhyadesa', Rajasthan has its own separate entity as such and its linguistic culture is quite different from that of Western Hindi culture. It is a separate linguistic region and Rajasthani though divided into Western and Eastern Rajasthani forms with its developed dialects like Marwari, Mewari, Dhudhari, Harati and Malvi, is an expression of feelings and sentiments of a separate composite linguistic community as such. It has enriched a lot even to the linguistic structure and literature of neighbouring dialects and languages like Braj, Khariboli and Gujrathi. Rajasthan has been a cradle of Braj poetry and the eastern region of this province is Braj-speaking. There are also islands of 'Nathdwara' and 'Kankroli' where one can still hear the sweet sonorous Braj as a living dialect in the streets and temples of these towns. This language deserves all help from the Government and the local life in order to preserve the local Rajasthani fervour of Indian culture from dying out from the danger of fast developing industrial and materialistic life of modern age. It is gratifying that the administration of this province as wll as the Central Government has accepted Rajasthani as a seperate language and has accorded to it its proper dignity at the Central and provincial acedemies and at the All India Radio. The Board of Higher Secondary and the Universities of Rajasthan are worthy of our thanks for giving this language and literature its proper place in the academic carriculum. Still more has to be done with caution that no such step be taken by Rajasthani-zealous writers and others which may be detrimental to the cultural and emotional integration of secular and democratic India.

Rajasthani language bears testimony to the fact that this region has been a place of convergence of several clans and tribes viewed culturally, anthropologically and ethnologically. The lexical stock of Rajasthani language is throbbing with such elements, and one can even perceive some influence of them on the phonological as well as morphological structure of this Indo-Aryan language, a sister language of Hindi and Gujarati, and a cousin of Sindhi, Lahanda, Punjabi and Dogri. It is actually the real representative of Śaurasenī Prakrit, which emerged as Nagar or standard Apabhraṁśa due to the influence of Abhirs and Gurjars having settled themselves here as early as the second and third centuries of the Christian era. Rajasthan has contributed a lot to the development of literary linguistic style of Apabhraṁśa, old Gujarati and old Hindi and it would not be out of place to mention with modesty that the history of 'Juni Gujarati' and 'Purani Hindi' is nothing but the history of old Rajasthani literature. Hemachandra

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is the earliest writer of Rajasthani and since then we find a continuing flow of literary activity handed down till today giving vent to the sentiments and feelings the pulsating consciousness of the 'Rajasthani social millieu' during different ages of our history.

The Jain poets of Rasa, phague and charchari kāvyas and epic-prabandhas, the mystic and social revolutionary poet-saints of 'Viahnoi', 'Jasnathi', Dadupanthi, Niranjani, Ramsanehi, Charandasi and other similar sects, the Charana poets and other royal bards and proteges of feudal princes of mediaeval age, and the 'saguna' bhakti have contributed a lot and enriched Rajasthani literature with their valuable artefacts.

Meerabai, the foremost poetess of mediaeval Rajasthani, considered as a common literary heritage of Hindi. Rajasthani and Gujarati has been termed as 'the cuckoo' of Rajasthani poetry, whose melodious notes are still echoing in the mango-groves of the Indian literary tradition. Her devotional songs represent the longing of a feudal lady for her emancipation from the exploitation of feudal family structure Sociologically it is the voice of 'women lib' in a feudal mediaeval age. Its utmost devotion to Lord Krishna, the supreme soul, as the devotion of a devoted spouse to her lord is symbolically a quest of individual soul for a union with the supreme consciousness as such. The tinklings of the belts of her dancing feet are still being heard on the lips of the damsels of this region, both rural and urban, and her lyrics are an example where the demarcation line of classical and folk poetry disappears. The texture of her songs is mature like that of classical lyrics but also throbbing with the unstable spontaneous beauty like that of romantic folk lyrics, The feelings of different moods of love, the pathetic pangs of seperation, the winking lope of meetings with the lover, the annihilation of self-consciousness at the time of her union with the supreme Lord, Krishna incarnate, still transmit an experience of joyful transcendental beauty in the hearts of even a modern man and woman living in an age of pure materialistic outlook. She uses a mature but unlaboured artistic device of metaphors and symbols, of local natural fervour and. classical tone with the texture of classical music blended with the notes of folk music. Her language is lucid and flowing like an autumnal rivulet of Rajasthani meadows.

It would not be worthwhile here to narrate the development of medieval literature of Rajasthani languege in details, but I would like to emphasize the fact that the Rajasthani poets and creative prose-writers have always been portraying the 'spirit of the age' in its dynamic perspective with the advent of different ages. Rajasthani has specially contributed to the development of mediaeval prose literature. A special literary style of

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historical 'khyat' and 'vat' types of prose has developed here and writers like Muhnot Nainsi and Achaldas Khinchi have become immortal due to their compositions.

As we approach the dawn of modern era, we find the master artistic personality of Misrana Kavi Suryamalla, the composer of a voluminous historical epic *Vamshabhàskara*, and an anthology of heroic couplets *Veer-Satsai*, where he has exhibited his zeal and fight for freedom from the British yokes symbolically and stands as an harbinger of the message of the Indian war of independence of 1857.

The modern literature of Rajasthani is also rich quantitatively as well as qualitatively and poems, novels, short stories, dramas, essays, critical articles and research papers have been published by the creative writers and scholars of Rajasthani. It would not be possible here to narrate the contribution of these modern writers in detail but mention may be made to poets and creative writers like Chandra Singh, Kanhaiyalal Sethia, Satya Prakash Joshi, Narain Singh Bhati, Rawat Saraswat, Vijainad Dotha, and scholars like Suryakaran Pareek, Narottam Das Swami, Motilal Monaria, Kanhaiyalal Sahal and so many others.

We have outlined the development of language and history of Rajasthan and Rajasthani till today in a nutshell, but it would not be out of place here to mention that the folk literature of this land is equally important for a student of Indian literature. The folk literary tradition has always prompted the Rajasthani writer to experiment with the new themes, motifs, as well as the technical devices since the days of Narpati Nalha the composer of *Visaldevras* and Jain poet of Rasa Kāvyas upto the poems of modern Rajasthani poets, which are being heard during Kavi Sammelanas today and are also receiving a wide publication. This folk literarure is immense treasure house for the future poets and creative artists of Rajasthan and shall prove to be a valuable source for new innovations in handling the content and theme as well as technical device of their artefacts expressing even the modern life and consciousness of Rajasthan, which would be a rich contribution to our national integration for moulding the life of this modern secular and democratic India.

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CLASSICAL SANSKRIT SECTION

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By

B. R. SASTRY

I express my deep sense of gratitude to the authorities of All-India Oriental Conference for electing me President of Classical Sanskrit Section. The term Classical Sanskrit comprises in itself the vast Sanskrit literature including the Epics and Purāṇas, fully or mostly conforming to the linguistic norms of Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī, in contrast with the Vedic Sanskrit. It mirrors thousands of years of glorious heritage reflecting the Indian aesthetic genius in literary form, past and present Classical Sanskrit literature is not just a thing of the past. It is a continuous stream of literary beauty enriched even today by writers of calibre and talent. The historian of Classical Sanskrit literature, casting off the wrong notion that Sanskrit is a dead language, has to take into account the fact that Sanskrit has been and is still a pliable and vibrant medium of literary expression in India, which phenomenon unfortunately, is not so prominently highlighted.

Modern Sanskrit literature has risen to the occasion displaying an awareness to suitably react and represent modern Indian thought. It is evolving and absorbing new ideas and vocabulary of free India's changing social set-up. Sanskrit literature has got relevance to the present Indian society as well as world society.

The creative genius of Sanskrit poets must be channelized towards this end, viz. social good, including permeating spirit of dedication, discipline and hard work in the Indian nation. Universality and tolerance must be the guidelines of this neo-Sanskrit literature.

Switch on the Radio and listen to Sansktit News broadcasts. Read a few lines from a modern Sanskrit magazine. One does not fail to come across new expressions, words and compounds, old words beaming with new samantic nuances, naturalized foreign words, etc. All this shows that Sanskrit has got immense potential to adjust itself to new environs and that it has always been a harmonious golden blend of old and new.

During the short period of the two years 1980–1982 it is gratifying to note that Sanskrit studies and creative work in Sanskrit have made great strides in their respectixe fields.

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(A) Research Institutes :

1. *Mysore Oriental Research Institute* :

Under the Directorship of Dr. H. P. Mallidevaru, an authority on Śaivāgama literature the Post-Graduate Department of Sanskrit has taken up the project for critically editing Śaivāgamas with the financial assistance of the University Grants Commission. *Vātūlāgama* with the Sanskrit commentary (Vols. I and II) has already been published. Similarly the *Vīrāgama* is being edited. The publication of all the Śaivāgamas, when completed will surely add to the richness of Indological literature. The Institute has already published seven volumes of the Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS in the Institute. The publication of the remaining ten volumes is eagerly awaited by Sanskritologists. Works published (i) *Saṅgīta Rāghava* (ii) *Śivaliṅgasuryodaya* (iii) *Sāṁkhyasūtravṛtti* (iv) Praudha devaraya's *Brahma sūtravṛtti* (v) *Anubhavasūtra* of Maggeyamayi Deva.

The Institute has started a programme of microfilming all the important Sanskrit MSS in Karnataka with the aid of the Ford Foundation and the Government of India. A Dictionary of Alaṁkāraśāstra project has been completed. Its publication is awaited by students and scholars of Alaṁkāra Śāstra.

2. *Oriental Institute - Baroda* :

The critical edition of the *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa* was completed by the Institute in 1975. In the Gaekwad Oriental Series the Institute has published the following works :

(1) *Trichā Bhāskara* by Bhaskaracharya edited by R. G. Sathe.

(2) *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharatamuni, Vol. I Baretext, chapters 1 to 7 with Abhinava Bharati on Adhyaya VI only. Edited by M. Ramakrishna Kavi, 1980.

(3) GOS. 168; A descriptive Bibliography of printed texts of the Pāñcarātrāgama, Vol. II by H. Daniel Smith.

The project of preparing the critical edition of *Viṣṇupurāṇa* is in progress.

The project " The Prābhākara Khanda of Skandapurana " jointly by Dr. S. G. Kantavala and R. N. Mehata is also in progress.

3. *Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* :

The Mahābhārata (Epilogue) Department has undertaken the preparation of a cultural Index. This work is in progress.

4. *The Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Iustitute-Poona.*

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The Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Sanskrit on Hisiorical Principles - The Second volume (Part I and II) like its predecessor is a monumental reference work for scholars.

5. *All India Kashi Raj Trust : Varanasi*

It has already published Vāmanapurāṇa, and Kūrmapurāṇa. Matsyapurāṇa A study by V. S. Agarval, Garuḍapurāṇa - A Study by N. Gangadhar Greater Rāmāyaṇa by Dr. V. Raghavan, Bṛhasapati Saṁhitā of the Garuḍapurāṇa and Mānavadharmaśāstra 1 - IV and Bhaviṣyapurāṇa L.-Sternbach are scholarly productions. Nāradapurāṇa - A study by Dr. K. Damodaran is a fine contribution to Puranology.

6. *Adhra Pradesh Government Oriental manuscript Library and Research Institute : Hyderabad*

The monumental work " Laghuśabdārtha Sarvasvam " by Paravastu Venkatarangacharyulu is an encyclopaedia of Indian culture. When published it is hoped, this work will be a very valuable reference work to scholars.

7. *Rashtriya Sanskrit Samsthan - Delhi*

A premier Institute under the auspieces of the Ministry of Education and Culture, Government of India has the following projects under various stages of development in its net work of Vidyapithas in different parts of the country.

1. Kashmir Śaiva Darśana and Kośa–Sri Ran Bir Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapith Jammu.
2. Darśanakośa - Delhi
3. Āgamakośa on
   - (*a*) Vaikhānasa
   - (*b*) Pāñcarātra — Tirupaṭi
   - (*c*) Śaiva
4. Veda Bhāṣā Kośa

(b) Panjabi Sanskrit Dictionary - Allahabad

The Samsthan confers the highest research degree Vidyavāridhi on research scholars. It is gladdening to note that about twenty unpublished valuable Sanskrit MSS, have been edited by Vidyā-Vāridhi research scholars of this Institute.

8. *B. J. Insitute of Learning and Research - Gujarat*

The critical edition of Bhāgavatapurāṇa undertaken by B. J. Institute of Learning and Research is eagerly awaited by scholars.

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9. *Sahitya Academy – New Delhi*

It has undertaken publication of Encyclopaedia of Indian Literatures It is hoped this monumental work will be published soon and will serve as a highly useful reference work for scholars.

10. *Deva Vani Parishad – Delhi*

It has two publications to its credit – 1. प्राचीनसंस्कृतमहाकाव्यविमर्शः (December 1981) and अर्वाचीनसंस्कृतम् (15th July 1982) containing critical essays numbering 8 and 5 respectively on modern Sanskri Kāvyas. The essays are by different critics including Dr. Ramakanta Sukla, the chief Editor himself. All the essays in Sanskrit are highly scholarly and analyse the poetic talent expressed in the Kāvyas according to traditional as well as modern norms of literary criticism. The effort of the देववाणीपरिषद् in offering to sahridayas such clusters of critical essays in Sanskrit is really worthy of emulation.

(B) Universities

(1) Poona University-Centre of Advanced Studies in Sanskrit, Poona organised an international seminar on "Studies on the Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini" from 9th to 14th July, 1981. The Seminar met in eleven sessions. The proceedings of the Seminar constitute a highly valuable contribution to the Paninian Studies.

The Centre under the Directorship of Prof. S. D. Joshi, has published over eighty research papers, majority of them belonging to Sanskrit grammar,

(2) Delhi University : Delhi – Dr. Satyapal Narang has undertaken a big project "Pada Index of Classical Sanskrit poetry sponsored by the University Grants Commission. About 1000 works are proposed to be used in this project. This work, when completed it is hoped will be a reference work on the lines of Bioomfield s Vedic Concordance. Dr. Narang had already published Kālidāsa Bibliography. (Eastern Book Linkers)

(3) Punjabi University :– Dr. D. K. Gupta's Padmacandra Kośa is a comprehensive Sanskrit Dictionary useful for students and scholars a like. (vol. I, Meharchand Lachmandas, New Delhi,)

(4) Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi :– Dr. R. S. Singh with his deep knowledge of Āyurveda, Unani and other allied subjects has brought out a number of articles relevant to Āyurveda, Botany, etc. His articles "Contribution of Unani Materia Medicas to the Identification of Vedic plants with special reference to Usana" opens new grounds

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in this important but not sufficently explored branch of Indian Medical Seience-(Indian Journal of History of Science, 16 (1) 41-46, May 1981 Sardar Patel University.)

(5) Sardar Patel University : Dr. Mrs. C. P. Shukla who had published a number of works on Alaṁkāra Śāstra won the first prize for his article " Treatment of pathos in Kālidāsa's works " at Kālidāsa Samāroha, Vikram University. The Sanskrit Department has undertaken a project on Sanskrit Prahasanas.

(6) Kasi Vidyapith, Varanasi : Dr. Shukla's essay " Quintessence of the Dhvani theory of Ānandavardhana " is a masterly exposition of the Dhvanisiddhānta. His " Daśarūpaka Vivaraṇa " critically edited (1982) is a welcome addition to the study of Sanskrit dramaturgy.

(7) Saurashtra University : Rajakot - A eritical study of Navasāhasāṅkas carita" by R. S. Joshi throws new light on Padmagupta and his poetic faculty. Dr. M. V. Joshi in his " A fresh Interpretation of Durgās saptaśati " throws new light on the cult of Durga.

(8) Karnataka University:- Dharwar-Dr. K. Krishna Murthi, the wells known authority on Dhvanyāloka has presented to the scholar of Alaṁkāra Śāstra a critical edition of Dhvanyāloka giving a definitive text, free from inaccuracies of tbe earlier edition. Bhāmaha and Buddhist Logic" by Dr. Krrshna Murti (Prajnaloka, Gorakhpur) throws new light on Bhāmaha's Kāvyālaṁkara.

(9) Ahmadabad University :- T, S. Nandi has published Sāradīpikā by Guṇaratnagaṇi, a commentary on the Kāvyaprakāsa of Mammaṭa (Ullasas I to 6) with an appendix Bālachittānuranjani by Narahari Sarasvathi Tirtha (Ullasas iv and v). Published for the first time this work is a sclorarly addition to Kāvyaprakāśa studies.

(10) Kurukshetra University : Haryana-The Institute of Indian Studies has published Kurukṣetramahākāvya by Degvekar and a critical edition of Meghadūta Ṭīkā by Dr. G. M. Bhattacharya. The Institute's annual publication Prācijyoti, a digest of Indological srudtes is a lawdable work useful for research scholars. Fourteen volumes of Prācijyoti have already been published.

(C) Creative Work

(1) Dr. Satyavrat : Dr. Satyavrat, a Sahitya Academy prize-winner has several kāvyas to his credit. In Thai Deśa Vilāsam, his latest Kāvya, he describes in seintillating Sanskrit the cultural and social life and

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enchanting beauty of Thailand. The poem contains Dr. Satyavrat's English translation as well as the Thai translation by Her Royal Highness Mahachakrisirindhorn, The Princess of Thailand. Description of foreign countries by Indian scholars in Sanskrit opens new vistas in Sanskrit literature.

(2) Pandita Vishnu Kanta Shukla :- His स्फटिकमाला is a callection of 108 stanzas in Āryā metre (Sudhakamala Granthalaya, Muzaffarnagar, U. P.) along with Hindi Translation. Each stanza in this mālā is full of wit and wisdom, vigour and beauty, I quote one stanza :—

चण्डीं दुर्गां सीतां राधां प्रकृतिं सरस्वतीं लक्ष्मीम् ।
दृष्ट्वा स्मृत्वा नारीमबलां त्रदन्ति बुद्धिरहिताः ॥

After seeing Chandi, Durga, Sita, Radha, Sarasvati, Laxmi and Prakriti, it is only the fools who say womau is weak (अबला) If only the author has included in the stanxa an ouistanding powerful women of modern India.

(3) Dr. Ramakanta Shuka :- Rajdhani College, Delhi :- भूतले भाति मे भारतम् is a khaṇḍakāvya containing 108 stanzas extolling the greatness and beauty of the multifactcd culture of India. One is really touched by the patriotic fervoer with which this poem overflows. The refrain chanes as per the metre.

भूतले भाति मेऽनारतं भारतम्; भूतले भाति तन्मामकं भारतम् ।
पुस्तरे शङ्करं मृत्तिकालोष्टके विघ्नराजं गणेशं हृदाभावयद् ।
जीवनं कष्टजुष्टं सदा यापयद् भूतले याति मेऽनारतं भारतम् ॥

Visualising Lord Śaṁkara in stone and Vighneśvara Gaṇeśa in clod and cheerfully passing the sorry-packed life, my Bhārata ever glows on the earth!' This kāvya is furnished with English and Hindi translation by the author himself.

Dr. Ramakanta has another work to his credit जय भरतभूमे । in defferent metres, the refrain changing according to metre. जय जय जय भरतभूमे; दिव्यं मम भारतम् । etc. In this poem the author describes the fauna and flora, culture, history, etc. of India with intense love for the mother country.

(4) Abhiraja :-Dr. Rajendra Misra – His पराम्बाशतक contains 104 stanzas (the first 99 being in भुजङ्गप्रयात metre). The स्तोत्र is highly devotional and philosophical, with the prasādaguṇa pleasing the sahṛdaya.

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यदीहा समग्रा ध्रुवं पूरिता स्याद् भवेन्मानवो राबणो वा बलिर्वा ।
करोत्यास्तिकं तं सदिच्छा विधातस्त्वमेव त्वमेव त्वमेवाम्ब पाहि ॥

"If all the wishes of man were fuifilled, he would be Ravana or Bali. It is the non-fulfillment of his desires that makes man a theist. Mother protect me.

Dr. Rajendra Misra composed गज़ल् also in Sanskrit. His Srnskrit name for गजल is गलज्जलिका He himself explains the term गलज्जलिका as follows :- गलन्नि जलानि नयनाश्रूणि यस्यां सा गलज्जलिका । मया अभिनव-मुत्प्रेक्ष्यते । ज्ञात्वा विपश्चितः प्रमाणम् ।

Dr. Misra's नवाष्टमालिका contains nine Aṣṭakas in praise of आशुतोष, Mother Durga, etc. It is evident that the author was inspired by आदिशङ्कर's work also while composing these स्तोत्र's

(5) Dr. P. K. Narayana Pillai :- His विश्वभानु a Mahākāvya comprising 550 stannzas in 21 cantos on the life and work of Swami Vivekananda is highly enjoyable and instructive with a charming style.

(6) Dr. C. R. Swaminathan :- His कर्णाभरण depicts the life of Karna, the Mahābhārata hero fram a modern point of views. His ध्वस्तकुसुम is a wark full of pathos. An I. A. S. Offlchr dies of an accident even before he reachds the place where his beloved is waiting to marry him. The characterization of the hero and his beloved is highly impressive.

(7) N. G. Suru :- Umara Śataka is a metrical translation of thh Rubaiat of Omar Khayyam. The author has suceeded in bringing out clearly the philosophy of omar Khayyam and his poetice harm in this translation.

(8) Dr. D. Arkasomayyaji's :- (Andhra pradesh) श्रीमत्प्रसन्नाञ्जनेयं नाम हनुमत्संदेशम् consists of 700 Mandākrāntā verses divided into ten Sargas. This work is based on the Sundarakanda of Valmiki Rāmāyaṇa. Dr. Somayaji's Sanskrit is mallifluous, chaste, simple and enahancing. The author gave an English translation also in the text.

किं सुस्वापं भजति किमु वा सुष्ठु भुङ्क्ते हनूमन् ?
मामुद्धर्तुं कथमिव मतौ तर्कयन्नस्ति रामः ।
एवं पृष्टे समभिहितवान् तामहं देवि ! राम-
स्त्वामेवाहर्निशमतितरां संस्मरन्नस्त्यति त्वाम् ॥

"Does he has good sleep? Does he eat with an appetite? What steps does he intend to take to rescue me out of my plight? Being asked thus, I told her 'Mother, Rama has been incessantly thinking of you

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alone, day and night May I add. more than how much you have been thinking of him. (T. T. Devasthanams, Tirupati)

(9) G. S. Swami's Śrī Rāmānujacaritam describes in simple Sanskrit the life of Śrī Rāmānujacārya.

(10) Ramakrishna Bhat. :- His काव्यमञ्जरी is collection of his poems in two parts (MLBD, Delhi).

(11) Candrasenaḥ : Durgadeśasya Yuvarājaḥ, is a sanskrit adaptation of Shakespeare's play, Hamlet by Professor S. D. Joshi. The author has made some changes in the original story suitable to social conditions in Indian Society. The drama was staged at International Seminar on Pāṇini, Poona, 1981.

(12) Sri Annambhatta Venkata Suryanarayana (Hyderabad). He has published Śrīrāmacandrastotra and Śrīveṇkaṭeśvarastotra. These inspiring stotras are composed in simple facile and chaste Sanskrit. They are overflowing with devotional fervour. Sri Suryanarayana has succeeded in bringing the devotional literature to the doorsteps of common man with his easily understandable style.

संसारबन्धनाशाय सर्वारिष्टनिवारिणे ।
दुष्टशिक्षणदक्षाय रामचन्द्राय मङ्गलम् ॥

(13) Dr. Nalini Paradkar's (Hyderabad) Tulasīmānasanalinam is a translation into Sanskrit of the Ramachritamanasa of Tulsidasa. This work is true to the original. Dr. Nalini Paradkar's Sanskrit is characterised by simplicity, clarity and beauty.

(D) Some Publications

(1) " A comparative study of Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa and Ramkain in the North of Thailand " (being a Ph. D. Thesis submitted to Delhi University) by Mr. Pichit Akhanich and 'Lao me Rāmkathā (लाओमें रामकथा) by Mrs. Kamala Ratnam are valuable contributions to the ever increasing study of the spread of Rama story abroad.

(2) History of Mushikavamsa by Dr. N. P. Unni is a study in English of Mushikavamsa, a historical kāvya in Sanskrit dealing with the history of a small kingdom of North Kerala (9th to 12th cent. A. D.) This historical kavya has not attracted the attension which actually deserves Dr. Unni has made a thorough and comprehensive study or this work in nine chapters with an exhaustive Introduction.

(3) The third volume of Select writings by Prof. R. N. Dandekar the doyen of Oriental Research named " Exercises in Indology " (1981)

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consists of thought-provoking essays on the Mahābhārata, Vedic Mythology and some other topics of Indian cuture.

(4) A History of Rūpaka in the Alaṁkāraśāstra by Dr. Bisvanath Bhattacharya in 8 chapters together with two Appendixes open new avenues in the study of Alaṁkāraśāstra. (Chowkhamba Bhavan, Varanasi).

(5) Dr. Krishnakanta Shukla – महाकवी रत्नाकरस्तदीयं हरविजयञ्च (in Sanskrit) in eleven chapters is an indepth study of हरविजय from a modern point of view. The author's effort to restore the poet's work to its original glory deserves commendation. Dr. Krishnakanth Shukla's Sanskrit style in this work is simple, racy aud matter of fact. The masterly exposition of Ratnākara's work at the hands of Dr. Shukla, it is hoped, will serve as a model to research scholars who choose Sanskrit as medium of expression.

अमरकोश का कोशशास्त्रीय तथा भाषाशास्त्रीय अध्ययन. Dr. Kailas Chandra Tripathi has given a comprehensive history of lexicography in Sanskrit as well as analysis of the vocabulary in Amarakośa from the point of linguistics Dr. Kailas Chandra has added new dimension to the study of Amarakośa, (Chowkhambha Vidya Bhavan, Varanasi)

(7) Dr. Jayakishan Prasad's संस्कृतसाहित्य की प्रवृत्तियां in fifteen chapters is a new addition to the existing histories of Sanskiit literature. Dr. Jayakishan has interpreted Sanskrit literature as a continuous flow of Indian thought in its manifold forms and literary beauty keeping in view the changing social conditions of Indian society from age ta age (Vinod-pustak' Mandir, Agra).

(8) Mohammad Israil Khan's "Brahmā in Purāṇas" and "some geo graphical Panamic Texts on Brahmā" (Gaziabad, 1981) are the result of Dr. khan's dedicated research in Puranas, Dr. Mohammad Israil Khan had already published some work on Hindu Gods and Goddesses.

E Works Edited :-

(1) 'Abdadūta of Krishna' Sri Chandana, ed. Sri Bhagavan Panda, It is based on Kalidasa's Meghaduta. The author describes the river Reva, etc. as lying in the route of the cloud to Lanka.

(2) 'Sahityakaumudī' of Baladeva Vidyabhushana with Kṛṣṇānandī Sanskrit commentary, ed. Dr. B. M. Avasthi, Kendriya Sanskṛt Vidyapith, Allahabad.

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(3) ' Dattātreya Yoga Śāstra,' ed. Dr. B. M. Avasthi.

(4) ' Nāṭyaśāstra ' (complete) critically edited by Sri Baladeva Upadhyaya and Batuknath Sarma is an authoritative addition to Sanskrit dramaturgy and Alaṁkāra Śāstra. (Chowkhamba Orientalia, Varanasi)

(5) ' Kṛṣṇnābhyudaya ' by Lokanātha Bhaṭṭa. Edited for the first time from a palm leaf manuscıipt, Sarasvati Mahal Library, Tanjore by N. N. Sarma, Eastern Book Linkers.

(6) ' Śivapurāṇa ' Ed. J. L. Sastri,

(7) ' Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharata ' with Abhinavabhāratī of Abhinavagupta vol. I, Ed. R. S, Nagar, Parimal Sanskrit Series. (8) ' Kūrmapurāṇa ' ed. J. L. Sastri, Tr. and Annot. G. V. Tagare. (9) Vidyānātha's ' Pratāparudrīya ' with Ratnaprabhā of Kumāraswāmin, Ed. Tr. into Hindi, Madhusudan Sastri, Varanasi (10) ' Mattavilāsaprahasana ' of king Mahendravikrama Varma, Ed. and Tr. Micheel Lockwood and A. Vishnu Bhatt, Madras, 1981. (11) Mammaṭa's ' Kāvyaprakāśa ' with there commentaries, Ed. Goparaju Rama, and Jagannatha Pathak, Allahabad. (12) ' Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki ' Ed. Lokeshchandra Facsimile, edition of the oldest manuscript dated Samvat 1076, 2 vols, Satapitaka Saries, New Delhı, 1982 (Indo Asian Literature) (13) 'Alaṁkārakaustubha of Kavikarṇapūra' with commentary by Lokanātha Chakravarti, Ed. Shivnath Bhattacharya; Parimal Sanskrit Series, 1981

(F) Commemoration Volumes

(1) Ancient Indian Culture and literature-Pandit Ganga Ram Comm. Vol., Ed. Dr. Mohan Chand. It consists of scholarly articles by 35 eminent Indologists on a number of topics like literary criticism, Epigraphy etc. The past of India is looked at and assessed from new points of view. (Eastern Book linkers.)

(2) Mm. Professor Kuppuswami Sastri Birth Centenary Commem. Vol. Part 1 encluding a kavya on this life.

(G) Publishers

Nag Publisher, Delhi have undertaken the publication of all the Purāṇas along with English translation afresh. The work is in progress. Scholars would welcome the publication of this Series as the Purāṇas are in great demand but not easily available. Purāṇas are attracting the attentlon of Scholars for frefh study.

" Glimpses of Indian Philosophy and Sanskrit literature " by Prof. Dayanand Bhargav contains 32 articles on a wide range of topics

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of Indology from Ṛgveda to Mehatma Gandhi bringing out the special features of Indian culture in their historical perspective.

(2) *Motilal Banarsi Das*

Puranic Encyclopaedia is a voluminous dictionary, originally composed in Malayalam and later translated into English by its author Sri Vettam Mani himself. Information about Purāṇas, Epics and the various fields of ancient Indian culture are exhaustively explained in this work.

In " The Rise of the Religious Significance of Rāma " Dr. Whaling France has analysed the emergence of Rāma-cult from the earliest time through Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa, Adhyātmarāmāyaṇa and Tulasī Rāmāyaṇa. This work is a scholarly contribution to the study of Rāma.

There Sanskrit plays-Abhijñāna Śākuntala, Mudrārākṣasa and Mālatī-Mādhava by Coulson Michael, with Exhaustive Introduction and translation in English. (Hermonds worth-MLBD. Delhi.), Humour in Kālidāsa : Gayatri Varma, Delhi 1981; Meghadūta-How it strikes a contemporary, Culcutta 1981, Kālidāsa-A study by Sanyal, Kamal Kumar, Tr. by Probad Ganguly. Calcatta, 1982; Rasārṇavasudhākara, A study by Vijayan, K. Trivandrum, 1981; Appointment with Kālidāsa by G. K. Bhat, Ahmedabad, 1982 : A comprehensive dictionary ot Kālidāsa (based on stylo-linguistic principles, Allahabad 1981); Sri Gangaram's Encyclopaedia of Indian Literature, Delhi, 1982; Essays on Indology by H. S. Ursekar, Parimal Publications These are only a few of the numerous research works published.

The MLBD News Letter

The MLBD News Letter is a monthly bulletin published by the well known Oriental publishers Motilal Banarsi Dass, New Delhi. This bulletin announces the latest publications of not only Motilal Banarasi Dass but also the publications of other publishers in India. This Journal published from January 1979, no doubt, proves highly useful to research scholars of Sanskritology and Indology.

(H) Outside India

(1) *Australia :*

Professor Schwartz's research into Greek Indian and Roman-Indian relations from Alexander, the Great upto the 6th and 7th century A. D. is quite significant.

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(2) *Belgium*

Professor Sharpe (RV. Ghent) has completed his very important Kālidāsa Lexicon. Dr. K. V. Lawrne's work (projeet of) " The topographical names in the Vedas, Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas " contains wealth of information on ancient Indian culture.

(3) *Canada :*

Dr. Warder's Indian Kāvya literature vol. I, II and III, Dr. V. K. Chari's structure and rhythmic Sanskrit dramatic theory (The Adyar Library Bulletin 1980); Dr. T. Venkatachari's critical edition of Sāhitya Kaṇṭakoddhāra – are of high value to scholars of Sanskrit.

(4) *China* :

Ji Xialin's Preliminary study of Rāmāyaṇa Bālakāṇḍa, (Chinese translation), Abhijñānaśākuntalam (a Chinese translation, revised); Jinkimmi's Sanskrit grammar Pāṇini sūtra; Meghadūta (a Chinese translation and History of Sanskrit literature; Zhao Gwo Hua's Nalopākhyāna – these are some of the works published in China.

(5) *Federal Republic of Germany* :

Dr. M. S. N. Murti has edited Kālidāsa's Kumārasaṁbhava with the commentary of Vallabhadeva (Saradaversion); H. Becherts " Remarks on Four Buddhist Sanskrit works composed in Sri Lanka; R. Sohnen's Die Sage Rāmāyaṇa are some of the important publications from the scholars of this country.

(5) *France :*

Filliozat's Quotations of Ratnāvalī in Abhinavabhāratī (Sternbach Felicitation Vol. pp. 259-265); Maria Claudie Porchar's " On Prahelikā", Saver's Pou's Ramakerti; The Khmer Ramayana – these ase valuable contributions to Indology.

(7) *G. D. R.* :

Roswitha Reichart in his work on " Bhavabhūti's Uttararāmacarita " has tried to show the relation of Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra with Bhavabuti's poetic art as revealed in Uttararāmacarita. Wolfgang Morgenroth's paper on " The position of Sanskrit poetry within the cultural heritage of India " and Proceedings of the Fourth World Sanskrit Conference held at Weimer entitled " Sanskrit and World Culture " are highly valuable for students and scholars of Indology.

(7) *Hungary* :

Dr. Gyula Wojtilla at present a visiting Professor of Hungarian language and literature in the University of Delhi translated Jayadeva's

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" Gītagovinda " and Kālidāsa's Ṛtusaṁhāra into Hungarian. One of the chief characteristics of these translations is the fact that the translator used the same original Sanskrit metres. (Vaṁśastha, etc.) in the Hungarian translation. Thus the rhythm, cadence and verbal jingle of the original are found in the translations also, Dr. Gyula Wojtilla deserves congratulations for this new experiement. " Classical Sanskrit drama and its Western parallels ", and " The Agricultural Terminology in Sanskrit " by the same author are noteworthy contributions to Indological Studies.

(8) *Mexico* :

The National Autonomous University of Mexico has published the Proeeedings of the first and seeond Congresses of ths Latin American Association of Sanskritists held at Sao Paulo, Brazil in 1980 and 1982 respectively. These proceddings appeared under the most appropriate title संस्कृतसंस्कृति. Dr. Juan Miguel De Mora's " Reminscences of Dr. Sternbach and a paper on " The Opposites in Sanskrit Texts " are informative and interesting. Dr. Juan Miguel De Mora's translation into Spanish of Bhavabhūtiś Uttararāmacarita with an exhaustive Introductory study of Sanskrit theatre and an essay on Bhavabhūti is a valuable addition to the study of Bhavabhuti. Dr. Nicholos's paper on " The influence of India on Japanese culture" throws new light on the subject. (Prometes, Revistre Uruguayede culture Vol. II)

(9) *Yugoslavia* :

Pañcatantra, with a critical Introduction was translated by Zdrovka Matisic (1981). A translation of Select Sanskrit Texts by a group of scholars is a noteworthy publication.

(10) *Netherlands* :

Dr. L. A. Van Daalen's work entitled Vālmīkis Sanskrit (Brill, leiden, 1980) deals with the so-called epic irregularities in the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki, The author of this publication has reopened the pro's and con's of the northern and southern recensiod of this important text.

(11) *United Kingdom* :

J. L. Brockington's Vālmīki's proverbs; " The Syntex af Rāmāyaṇa " I K-Peter's English translation of Āryasūri's Jātakamālā; Bimal K. Matilal's " Rāma's moral decisions" and John D. Smith's (Cambridge) " The two great Epics " constitute scholarly contribution to Sanskrit Studies.

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(12) *U. S. A.* :

Professor Robert P. Goldman has published the English translation of the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki (Vol. 1). Universtty of California at Berkeley, USA. The translation of Mahābhārata into English at the University of Chicago could not make the expected progress due to the sad demise of Prof. J. A. B Van Buitenen.

(I) Simplification of Sanskrit Teaching Methods

(*1*) *Grammer* :

Pāṇinis Aṣṭādhyāyī, the most papular Sanskrit Grammar is based on अनुबन्ध, अनुवृत्ति and other technicalities. Some students who want to study Sanskrit find it difficult to follow this grammar, because of some intricacies. For such students Sanskrit grammar, free from all distracting and taxing elements, must be written. This type of simplified grammar must use the traditional grammatical terminology also to the utmost degree so that students may not be out of touch with the prevelant gramatical system. ŚABDADIPIKĀ : The present author has published a compre hensive Sanskrit grammar in Sanskrit on modern lines for the use of high school, college, and Pāṭhaśāla students. This grammar is received with approbation by students and scholars alike. (Amarabharati Prakasan, Hyderabad).

A new Sanskrit Grammar in English by Mr. David Teplitz represents a new approaeh to learning Sanskrit that has been proven in a class room setting as well as in its intended application as an independent self study course." (P. Tulsi Publishing House 68/2276 Gurudvara Road, Karol Bagh, New Delhi) "Vyalkarana Saurabha" by Dr. Kamalakar Misra published by NCERT Delhi is another laudable effort at simplification of Sanskrit grammar.

NCERT : Text books to introduce students to Sanskrit language and literature with as little strain as possible on the part of the students are directly needed. In this connection much work has been carried on at NCERT, Delhi. Group discussions and research have gone into the making of the Sanskrit text books published by this Institute. It is also desirable that the books published by a common autrority like after minor changes here and there as required regionally be prescribed for High Schools, Intermediate Colleges, etc. throughout India : Moreover, Sanskrit being the unifying language of our country; it won't be inappropriate to have the same text books for Sanskrit studies through out India, at last at High school level.

The council has undertaken the project of publishing 6 supplementary Readers like Pañcatantra retold for High Schools.

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It is preparing tapes for model recitation of Sanskrit verses, Vedic poetry, geyas, etc. and charts for teaching Sanskrit grammar.

Such efforts as these may be called Foundation of Sanskrlt Teaching and are of great significanee for the promotion of Sanskrit learning on modern scientifie lines.

(J) Modern Literary Criticism

1) Dr. Rewa Prasad Dwivedi in his Kāvyālaṁkāra-Kārikā has followed the traditional Kārikā-vṛtti method for the exposition of various aspect of Alankarasāstra. The learned author's approach to Alaṁkāraśātra is charaterized by freshness and novelty. Some of his views are not in complete consonance with the well-established age-old theories of literary criticism. But it is a fact that much sarious thinking has gone into the making of this work.

2) In काव्यसत्यालोक by Dr. Brahmanand Sharma has investigated into सत्य or Reality as expressed in different lines in Sāhitya.

The traditional Alaṁkāraśāstra must be enriched by the interpratation of new teachinques adopted by the creative writers in Sanskrit and other languages of the modern world.

(K) Neo-Sanskrit Literature

Social welfare, restructuring of our society on the principles equality, liberty and ethos - these are only a few aspects the modern Sanskrit literature must be seriously concerned with. The creative genius of Sanskrit poets must be channalized towards this end, viz. social good inculcating a premeating spirit of dedication, discipline and hard work in the Indian nation. To sum up : A new approach to social problems breathing the spirit of universality and progress must be the guide lines of modern Sanskrit literature.

बोम्मकण्टचन्ववायस्य रामलिङ्गस्य शास्त्रिणः ।
प्रस्तुतिः सुरभारत्या भूयादेषा सतां मुदे ॥

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SELECT PAPERS

VEDIC SECTION

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE COMMENTARY PRĀTIŚĀKHYA-JYOTSNĀ

By

SUNANDA R ABHYANKAR

Prāṭiśākhya-Jyotsnā is a commentary composed by Rāmacandra Pandita-son of Siddheśvara Paṇḍita in the 1739 th year of Śaka era. In the colophon of the manuscript of *Prātiśākhya-Jyatsnā*, there is some important information about the author of *Prātiśākhya-Jyotsnā*,[1] The colophon of the manuscript reads–

अंकाग्निसप्तकु १७३९ मिते शक-ईश्वरवत्सरे
इष शुक्लदशम्यां श्रीसिद्धेश्वरतनूभुवा ।
रामेण रचिता प्रातिशाख्यज्योत्स्ना समर्पिता ।
इति श्रीमद्विद्वन्मुकुटरत्न-श्रीसिद्धेश्वरयोगिवरसूनु-रामचंद्रपंडित-विरचिता
ज्योत्स्नाख्या प्रातिशाख्यविवृतिः समाप्ता ।।

Though *Prātiśākhya Jyotsnā* remained unpublished for many years the commentator Rāmacandra Paṇḍita and his '*Jyotsnā*' commentary were well known to the scholars–both to the traditional commentators like Bāla-kṛṣṇa Godase[2] and modern scholars like A. Weber.[3]

The Commentator Rāmacandra Paṇḍita was a scholar of Vedas and expert in different kinds of recitals of the Vedic Text. He was also a scholar of Sanskrit Grammar. We get this information from a very rare and old Marathi Book named as *Rāmacandra Paṇḍita ūrfa Bābā Mahārāja Hyāñcā Itihāsa*, composed by Śrinivāsa Paṇḍita - the grandson of Rāmacandra Paṇḍita in *Śaka* 1774 and copied in Śaka 1785[4].

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1. A detailed note on the life and works of Rāmacandra Paṇḍita is in preparation.
2. *Prātiśākhya Pradīpa Śikṣā* composed by *Bālakṛṣṇa Sadāśiva Godase* mentions *Jyotsnā* twice in *Śikṣā–Saṁgraha*; ed. by Sri Yugalakiśora Pathak, Banarasa Skt. Series, 1888 pp. 305, 306.
3. See – a – A. Weber, *Cat. of SK. MSS* - Vol. 2 p. 54 No. 1463.
   b – A. Weber – *Indische Studien* – Vol. 10 Part 3, p. 433, 436.
4. This book was published at Jñānasāgara Press, Kolhapur in the year 1885 A. D.

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We get the same information in another *Bakhara* type biography of Siddheśvara Mahārāja named as - *Sri Guru-Gītāmṛta* written by the same author of *Itihāsa* i e. Śrinivāsa Pandit and copied by Ghalasasi Dattātreya in Śaka 1834[5].

In this paper I propose to introduce the special features of *Prātiśākhya Jyotsnā* as well as to point out the contribution of Rāmacandra Pandit as a commentator to the Interpretation of *Vājasaneyi Prātiśākhya*.

In the very beginning of the commentary Rāmacandra Pandit has explained the purpose of composing a commentary on the *Vājasaneyi Prātiśākhya* in the following words.

कात्यायनकृते प्रातिशाख्ये वाजसनेयके ।
माध्यंदिनानुसारेण ज्योत्स्नाख्या विवृतिर्लघुः ।
क्रियते सुखबोधार्थं मन्दानां रामशर्मणा ।

With this purpose in view the commentator adopted a different style for commenting on the *Vājasaneyi Prātiśākhya*. He conceived certain sub-topics and re-arranged the entire *Prātiśākhya* into them and then composed his commentary. This style somewhat resembles that adopted by Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita in his *Siddhānta Kaumudī*. Thus, Rāmacandra Pandit did not accept the *Adhyāya*-wise arrangement of the original *Vājasaneyi Prātiśākhya* but he made topic-wise arrangement by selecting the concerned *sūtras* from different *Adhyāyas* of the *Vājasaneyi Prātiśākhya* and re-arranged the whole *Prātiśākhya* in *Prakaraṇa*-wise arrangement like *Siddhānta Kaumudī*. The title of the different *Prakaraṇas* (Chapters) given by Rāmacandra Pandit are following—

(1) *saṁjñā-paribhāṣā-prakaraṇam*, (2) *svarasandhi-prakaraṇam*, (3) *sandhi-svara-prakaraṇam* (4) *visarga-sandhi prakaraṇam*, (5) *vyañjana-sandhi-prakaraṇa* (6) *sāmānya-vikārāḥ*, (7) *svaralakṣaṇam*, (8) *pada-lakṣaṇam*, and (9) *krama-lakṣaṇam*.

Thus for example in the '*Saṁjñā-paribhāṣā-prakaraṇam*' following *sūtras* occur. They have been taken from the 1st and 8th *adhyāyas* of *Vājasaneyi Prātiśākhya*[6].

saṁjñā-paribhāṣā-prakaraṇam

1.1, 2, 18; 8.34-36; 1.10; 30; 8.1-13; 1.44, 46, 55-58; 8.14-31;*
1.59; 48; 8.45, 46, 1.34, 36-41, 62-71, 73, 74, 76-84, 43, 49-54,

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5. This manuscript was published by Siddheśvara Govind Patil at Kolhapur in the year *Śaka* 1887 (=1965 A. D.)

6. For the order of the Prātiśākhya-sūtras, I have followed the text of *Śuklayajuḥ-Prātiśākhyam* ed. by Mrs. Indu Rastogi, Varanasi, 1967.

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75, 89, 35, 141, 42, 151, 152, 146, 147, 158, 133–137, 144, 143, 153, 154, 159, 92–98, 160–168.

Rāmacandra Paṇḍita has brought the *Sūtras* belonging to a particular topic together and then systematically discussed and explained them one by one in his *Prātiśākhya Jyotsnā Vivṛti*. By doing so he became successful in removing one of the incongruities in the *Vājasaneyi Prātiśākhya* regarding the subject *varṇasamāmnāya*.

In the *Vājasaneyi Prātiśākhya* there is an incongruity about the subject *varṇa-samāmnāya* – which has been rightly noted by V. Varma. "In the first chapter without the specification of *varṇa-samāmnāya* the author says '*upadiṣṭā varṇāḥ*'. This leads us to think that the subject is not going to be dealt with any more. On the other hand the same subject is dealt with elaborately in a later chapter namely the 8th. The commentator *Uvvaṭa* also is silent about this incongruity."[7]

Rāmacandra Panḍita has removed this incongruity by re-arranging the order of the *sūtras* of the topic - *varṇa-samāmnāya* in *Vājasaneyi Prātiśākhya* His discussion on the topic *varṇasamāmnāya* begins with the *sūtra* '*athāto varṇasamāmnāyaṁ vyākhyāsyāmaḥ*' (8.1) and concludes with the *sūtra* – '*upadiṣṭā varṇāḥ*' (1.34). The *sūtras* and taken from different parts of the *Vājasaneyi Prātiśākhya* but are systematically re-arranged.

The description of the topic *varṇa-samāmnāya* alone can indicate the significance of the re-arrangement of *sūtras* of *Vājāsaneyi Prātiśākhya*.

This re-arrangement of *Vājasaneyi Prātiśākhya* is also very convenient for the reader because it helps to read the explanations of the *sūtras* of a particular topic at one place.

Another peculiarity of the commentary composed by Rāmacandra Paṇḍita is that while commenting on *Prātiśākhya sūtras* he has very minutely taken into consideration each and every word of the *sūtras*. His observations are also very minute. He gave one and the same justice to all *sūtras* whether they may be simple and small or complicated and lengthy. For example – there is a small *sūtra*-'*athaikam uttaraś ca*' (4.49) which means "henceforth the words (the preceding) and the folowing (vowels) become one (are to continue in the following)". Rāmacandra Paṇḍita brings out the meaning suggested by '*ca*'. The presence of '*ca*' suggests thar the word '*pūrvaḥ*' is

7. *Critieal studies on Kātyāyana Śukla–yajurveda Prātiśākhya* by V. Varma, Madras, 1965. p. 69.

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to be understood. According to him '*atha*' is meant for *adhikāra*. The *sūtra* thus shall mean that the '*pūrva*' and the '*uttara*' vowels will have elision[8].

This interpretation of the above small *sūtra* will also show the style of the auther as *Jyotsnā* commentary i. e. - He takes into consideration each and every word in a *sūtra* while explaining the *sūtra*.

In the case on of lengthy *sūtraṣ* also Rāmacandra Paṇḍita notices every word carefully and gives systematic explanation of it. He has taken into consideration all the possible alternatives and explained them fully. Thus in the *sūtra* - '*pibā somam* ...... (3. 130) there is a list of 78 words in which the original short vowel appears in the lengthened form. In the phrase '*pibā somam*' the original words are '*pibā soman*' but the *a* in *piba* is lengthened. In the commentary the commentator has explained the peculiarities of all such examples.

While commenting on the *Prātiśākhya-sūtras* the words like *ca, iti ca* or *iti* which for a common reader bear little importance are also not ignored by Rāmacandra Paṇḍita. He states that by using these words, inclusion of some extra examples is suggested. There are some places where the words like *ca* and *iti ca* are used in the *Prātiśākhya-sūtras* and Rāmacandra Paṇḍita while commenting on these words has given some additional examples[9]. It is the commentator who has discovered all such additional examples and has thus made some addition to the *Prātiśākhya-sūtraṣ*. Let us give a few examples. (1) The *sūtra* - '*juṣāṇaś cānadhvani*' (4. 81) would mean that the final *o* in the word *juṣāṇo* remains as it is, when it is followed by the initial *a* of words other than '*adhvan*'. For the explanation of this meaning Uvvaṭa and Rāmacandra Paṇḍita have given the illustration-*juṣāṇo apturājyasya*' (VS. 5/35). But *Uvvaṭa* has apparently overlooked the presence of *ca* in the *sūtra* and made no comment on it[10]. But Ramacandra Paṇḍita has noticed it carefully and given full justice to the word *ca* in the *sūtra* 4.81, by mentioning an additional illustration viz. '*Śukro ayāmi te*' (VS. 27/30). The

8. Rāmacandra Paṇḍita on *sūtra* 4.49.
अथेत्यधिकारे। उत्तरः, चकारात् पूर्वः, द्वौ वर्णौ एकमादेशमापद्येते।

9. i) चकारस्यानुक्तसमुच्चयार्थत्वाच्छुक्रः। 4.81
ii) इति शब्द एवं जातीयकान्योदाहरणप्रदर्शनार्थः। तेन अश्वानिव। 3.151
iii) इति च इति अनुक्तसमुच्चयार्थम्। तेन जातः पतिम्। 3.38
iv) इति च इति एवंविधान्योदाहरणसूचनार्थम्। तेन अधिवक्ता। 3.101
v) इति च इति चकारोऽनुक्तसमुच्चयार्थः। तेन यच्छ देवा युवम्। 3.130

10. Uvvaṭa-*bhāṣya* on 4.83, *Śukla Yajurveda Prātiśākhyam* ed. by Virendra Varma, Varanasi 1975. p. 263

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example given by Rāmacandra Paṇḍita is quite appropriate, because the final *o* in the word '*śukro*' remains as it is when it is followed by *a* which belongs to a word other than '*adhvan*'.

Thus the commentator Ramacandra Paṇḍita has added one more word to the *Prātiśākhya* - '*juṣāṇaś cānadhvani*' (4. 81) viz. '*Śukro*'.

Few more cases of additional illustrations cited by Rāmacandra Paṇḍita are mentioned in the following table:

Sūtra	Meaning of the Sūtra	Extra examples supplied by Rāmacandra Pandit
1) 3.151 '*gṛhān aimi asmān ariṣṭebhir iṭi.*	The final 'n' of *pūrvapadāntīya* remains as it is in these 25 word groups.	*aśvān iva* (VS. 34/6)
2) 3.38 vājapatiḥ pārśvyam iti ca.	The *Visarjanīya* of the following words–*vājapatiḥ, vāsaḥ, edidhiṣuḥ, antaḥ-pārśavyena. antaḥ pārśvyam* dose not becom *s* or *ṣ*.	*jātaḥ patih* (VS. 23/1) (The *visarjanīya* in the '*jātaḥ*' also does not become *s* or *ṣ*
3) 3.101 – '*aśvasya vājinaḥ iti ca*'.	In the combination of '*aśvasya vājinaḥ* the final vowel in '*aśvasya*' is not lengthened.	*adhi vaktā* (VS 16/5) (final vowel of 'adhi' is not lengthened.)
4) 3.130 *pibā somam sādanyam iti ca.*	In the combination of following words the short vowel in the first word (*pūvra - padāntīya*) is lengthend e. g. *pibā somamā* (Sam 26/4)	*yaccha devā - yuvam* (VS. 37/16) Here, the *a* in the word *deva* is lengthened.)

Thus on the basis of all these examples it can be concluded that Rāmacandra Paṇḍita made his personal contribution by supplying extra examples of additional words to the *Vājasaneyi Prātiśākhya sūtras.* Moreover these cases also point to the minute observation and carefulness on the part of the commentator while interpreting the *Prātiśākhya Sūtras.*

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The commentator Rāmacandra Paṇḍita apparently adopted at places the readings which differ from those accepted by the earlier commentators viz. Uvvaṭa and Anantadeva. This leads us to surmise that the author might have accepted these readings either on the authority of certain manuscripts or of the then available oral tradition of *Vājasaneyi - Prātiśākhya.* It is also possible that the author, keeping in view the intended meaning might have amended them. Whatever may be the case, it is a fact that there are some variations accepted by the commentator Rāmacandra Pandita and he has justified them in the light of his interpretation and the illustrations. This also is a very important contribution of Rāmacandra Pandit to the study of *Vājasaneyi-Prātiśākhya,*

Here is an example where Rāmacandra Paṇḍita has accepted a reading of *Prātiśākhya - sūtra* which differs from the reading acccpted by the earlier commentators.

In the case of *sūtra* 2. 25, the reading accepted by Uvvata is '*kṛṣṇo mṛgasaṁyoge*'. While interpreting this *sūtra* Uvvaṭa says the word '*kṛṣṇaḥ* is *ādyudātta* when it is used in the sense of a 'deer'. Examples given by Uvvaṭa are '*kṛ́ṣṇo ' si*' (VS. 2/1) and '*kṛ́ṣṇo rātryai*' (VS. 24/36). He further gives the reason why the word '*mṛgasaṁyoge*' is used in the *Prātiśākhya Sūtra.* He says that when the word '*kṛṣṇah*' is used in the sense of colour it does not become *ādyudātta* e. g. in '*śvā kṛṣṇāḥ*' (VS. 24/40)[11].

Rāmacandra Paṇḍita however takes the reading of the same *sūtra* (2.25) as '*kṛṣṇo*' *mṛgasaṁyoge*' (i. e. *amṛgasaṁyoge* for *mṛgasaṁyoge*). Rāmacandra Paṇḍita's interpretation of this rule is–the word '*kṛṣṇaḥ*' becomes *ādyudātta* when it is not used as an adjective of (any) animal e. g. '*kṛ́ṣṇo' si*', '*kṛ́ṣṇo rātryai*'. Rāmacandra Paṇḍita has also given the reason why the word '*amṛgasasaṁyoge*' is used in this *Prāti. sūtra.* He says the word '*kṛṣṇaḥ*' does not become *ādyudātta* when it is used as an adjective of an animal e. g. '*śvā kṛṣṇaḥ*'[12].

11, Uvvaṭa on *kṛṣṇo mṛgasaṁyoge* (2.25)

कृष्णशब्दः (मृगसंयोगे =) मृगवचनः आद्युदात्तो भवति । यथा 'कृष्णोऽस्याखरेष्ठः' (वासं २।१), 'कृष्णो रात्र्या०' (वासं २४।३६) । मृगसंयोग इति किम् ? 'श्वा कृष्णः०' (वासं २४।४०) । अत्र कृष्णशब्दो वर्णवचनः वर्णविशेषाभिमतत्वात् ।
[See – Vāj. Prāti. ed. by Vīrendra Varma p. 119.]

12. Rāmacandra Paṇḍita on *kṛṣṇo'mṛgasasaṁyoge* (2.25)

कृष्णशब्द आद्युदात्तः स्यात् पशुवाचकस्य विशेषणं न चेत् । 'कृष्णोऽसि' (वासं २।१), 'कृष्णो रात्र्यै' (वासं २४।३६) । अमृगेति किम् ? 'श्वा कृष्णः' (वासं २४।४०) । अत्र श्वा इत्यस्य कृष्ण इति विशेषणम् । [See – *Jyotsnā*]

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We may notice some peculiarities of Rāmacandra Paṇḍita's interpretation of the present *sūtra*.

1) Because of different reading (*amṛga* for *mṛga*) Rāmacandra Paṇḍita's interpretation differs from Uvvaṭa's interetation.

2) Rāmacandra Paṇḍita has taken the word '*mṛga*' in the sense of any animal *paśu* in general and not a particular animal, viz., 'deer'.

3) Rāmacandra Paṇḍita has taken the word *saṁyoge* to mean an adjective and not to mean in the sense of *vacanaḥ* as interpreted by Uvvaṭa.

4) Naṭurally Rāmacandia Paṇḍita's explanation of the examples differs from that of Uvvaṭa. Even though the examples given by both the commentators for the explanation of this *sūtra* are the same, the explanation of them given by Rāmacandra Paṇḍita is different.

It may be incidently noted that the example *kṛṣṇo rātryai* is also given in *Siddhānta Kaumudī* on *phiṭsūtra - kṛṣṇasyāmṛgākhyā cet*[13]. The *Siddhānta Kaumudī* gives an explanation of this *sūtra* which more or less agrees with that of Uvvaṭa.

Pratijñā Sūtra Pariśiṣṭam

After completing the commentary on *Vājasaneyi Prātiśākhya*, Rāmacandra Paṇḍita wrote a commentary on *Pratijñā Sūtra Pariśiṣṭam*, which is the first supplimentary work on *Vājasaneyi Prātiśākhsa*[14].

The portion of this *Pratijñā Sūtra Pariśiṣṭam* together with Rāmacandra Paṇḍit's commentnry was editcd by *A. Weber* in 1871[15].

In *S. Y. Prāṭisākhya* of Banaras edition the *Pratijñā-Sūṭra Pariśiṣṭam* is included but it is accompanied by a commentary of *Anantadeva Yājñika*. This *Pratıjñā Sūtra Pariṣiṣṭa* is divided into three *kaṇḍikās* or small sections[16].

At the very beginntng Rāmacandra Paṇḍita has said *Atha etacchākhopayuktā dharmā likhyante*. It seems to mean then that in Rāmacandra *Pandita*'s opinion *Pratijñasūtra-pariśiṣṭa* is a work defining the rules belonging to the *Mādhyaṁdina* School of *Śukla Yajurveda*. In this regard Rāmacandra Paṇḍita's commentary on-*Pratījñāsūṭra pariśiṣṭa* is a very important

13. *Siddhānta Kaumudī* ed. by Panaśikar Vāsudeva and published by Nirṇayasāgara Press, Bombay, 1915. p. 624-25.
14. This *Pratijñā Sūtra Pariśiṣṭa* is a different work than the *Pratijñā Pariśiṣṭa* included as the third *pariśiṣṭa* in eighteen Pariśiṣṭas of Kātyāyana.
15. See - Abhandlungen der Berliner Akedemie der Wissenschaften Phil. histon. klasse 1871 by A. Weber p. 69. ff.
16. See - *Kātyāyana Ś. Y. Prātiśākhyam* ed. by Yugalakiśora Pāṭhaka 1888, Banaras p. 401-431.

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contribution to *Mādhyaṁdina* authority. It throws light on the tradition of Ś. Y. Mādhyaṁdina school as for as the stating the information about accents and pronuciation are concerned.

While explaning the rules of *pratijñā sūtra pariśiṣṭam* Rāmacandra Paṇḍita has not divided the *sūtras* in separate section like *Anantadeva.* He simply explained them one by one. The portion of first three *Sūtras* is just like an introductory portion.

The *sūtras* 4-8 describe the topic named as *svaraprakriyā*. This topic has been referred to the *sūtra - hastena te* (VP. 1.124) in the *svaraprakaraṇa.* Thus in this portion of *svaraprakriyā* the indications of accents like *udātta, anudātta* etc. are given with the help of the actions of hand. The *sūtras* 9-15 give information about the peculiar pronunciation of semivowels-especially the pronunciatian *ja* for *ya* is given in detail. The peculiarity of pronouncing the consonant *sa* is also given and then in the last few *sūtras* the peculiar pronunciation of *anusvāra* as '⌄' is described with its three kinds :

Rāmacandra's commentary on these *sūtras* of *Pratijñā sūtra pariśiṣṭa* supplies detailed explanation with many illustrations and references from various *śikṣās*. No doubt, it is very useful to understand the peculiarities of pronunciation of all these letters in regard to *mādhyaṁdina* authority.

At the end of the *Pratijñā-sūtra pariśiṣṭa*, Rāmacandra Paṇḍita quoted few verses from *Yājñavalkya śikśā*[17] and commented upon them. The verses refer to the way of indication of final syllables and final *anusvāra* and *visarga* following *udātta, anudātta* or *svarita* with the help of particular movements of fingers. e. g. - the final m of a word is indicated by forming a fist of all the five fingers. The explanation of such unique indications was badly necessary since they are peculiar to *Mādhyaṁdina saṁhitā* only.

Aṣṭavikṛtilakṣaṇāni

After completing the commentary on *Pratijñā sūtra pariśiṣṭa*, Rāma candra Paṇḍita has written his commentary on an anonimous sanskrit text giving definitions of eight modes of recitation of Vedic verses (*Aṣṭavikṛtis*). He starts his commentary with the word - *atha jaṭādyaṣṭa-vikṛtīnam lakṣaṇāni likhyonte* : and at the end of his commentary he says - '*evaṁ prakāreṇa aṣṭau vikṛtīḥ paṭhet*'. Rāmacandra Paṇḍita has not clearly mentioned the title of the original text. This original text along with the commentary of Rāmacandra Paṇḍita is elsewhere called *Aṣṭavikṛtilakṣaṇāni*[18].

17. *Yājañalkya śikṣā*
18. See - *Vedavikṛtiilakṣaṇasaṁgraha* ed. by K. V. Abhyankar and G. V. Devasthali B. O. R, I. Pune 1978 p. 23-32.

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In the Banaras edition of *Ś Y. prātiśākhya* this text is entitled as *jaṭadi vikṛtilakṣaṇam*'[19].

The original Sanskrit text on which Rāmacandra Paṇḍita has commented has a great similarity and even identity. with some verses founded in a text called *Vikṛtivallī* ascribed to *Vyāḍi.*[20]

This identical portion deals with the definitions of eight modes of recitation (*Aṣṭavikṛtis*). Rāmacandra Paṇḍita has quoted only these eight kārikās from *Vikṛtivallī* which define *aṣṭavikṛtis.* In *Vikṛtivallī* these verses appear as kārikās 5 and 21–28. The verse No. 22 however appears to be given earlier than the verse 21 in our text, commented by Rāmacandra Paṇḍita. Moreover 22nd verse in the *Vikṛtivallī* appears as follows :-

माला मालेव पुष्पाणां पदानां ग्रथनी हि सा ।
आवर्तन्ते त्रयस्तस्यां पदमाला प्रकीर्तिता ॥

Rāmacandra Paṇḍita reads this verse wilh some variations –

माला मालेव पुष्पाणां पदानां ग्रन्थिनी हि सा ।
आवर्तन्ते त्रयस्तस्यां क्रमव्युत्क्रमसंक्रमाः ॥

This origional text on which Rāmacandra Paṇḍita has commented is also seen in a *pariśiṣṭa* given under the title *Vikṛtikaumudī*[21] in *Vedavikṛtilakṣaṇasaṃgraha.*

The work *Aṣṭavikṛtilakṣaṇāni* alongwith Rāmacandra Paṇḍita's commentary was first edited and published by G. Thibaut, together with another text viz. *Jaṭāpaṭala* in 1870[22]. It was again published in the Banaras edition of *Ś. Y. Prāṭiśākhya* edited by Y. Pathak in 1888[23]. After 90 years i.e. in 1978 *Aṣṭavikrilakṣaṇāni* with Rāmacandra Paṇḍita's commentary found its placc in *Vadavikṛtilakṣaṇasaṃgraha*[24] compiled and edited by K. V. Abhyankar and G. V. Devasthali and published by B. O. R. I. Pune.

Rāmacandra Paṇḍita has selected 18 *kārikas/sūtras* for explaining the eight modes of recitations and their definitions. The first verse is taken from *Āditya - Purāṇa*[25] as an introductory one. The second *kārikā* whieh gives the names of eight kinds of recitation is the same as the 5th verse in *Vikṛtivallī.*

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19. *Ś. Y. Prātiśākhyam* ed by Yugalakiśora Pathaka, Banaras 1888. p. 471–494.
20. *Vedavikṛtilakṣaṇasaṃgraha* ed. by K. V. Abhyankar and G. V. Devasthali contains the complete text of *Vikṛtivalli*. p. 1.
21. *Vedavikṛtilakṣaṇasaṃgraha* on p. 21–22.
22. Das Jaṭāpaṭala ed. by. G. Thibaut, Leipzig 1870. p. 36 FF.
23. Sse Foot–Note 19·
24. See Foot–Note 18.
25. This has been said by Rāmacandra Paṇḍita in his commentary.

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Tne verses/*sūtras* 3 to 11 cannot be traced back to their original source. In this portion Rāmacandra Paṇḍita has given a detailed description and explanation of the first mode of recitation namely *Jaṭā* which is the oldest of the *vikṛtis*.

This portion explaining the first *vikṛti* has a great similarity with *Jaṭāpaṭala* of Hayagrīva,[26] which deals only with this first *vikṛti*. While describing the *Jaṭā*-type of recitation other author e. g. Madhusūdana-Maskari on *Aṣṭavikṛtivivṛti*[27] have given illustrations from the ṚV. But Rāmacandra Paṇḍita has given all the illustrations from *Ś. Y. Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā*.

In this portion (*kārikās/sūtras* 3-11) there is also some discussion on *krama*-type of recitation and the commeutator has given some details of *krama* also. The five kinds of *krama*, the euphonic change in the word while reciting the verse in *krama* type of recitation is discussed because *krama* is the basic kind (*prakṛti*) of all these eight kinds of recitations.

The sphere of grammar and the scope and limitations of *prātiśākhya* are also discussed in the original text and explained wite illustratios by Rāmacandra Paṇḍita remarks in general that the discussion done in respect of the *Jaṭā*-type of recitation is valid also for the other modes of recitation like *mālā* etc., as far as the euphonic changes etc., are concerned. He says *Jaṭokta eva śāstrārtho mālādi-saptavikṛtiṣu bodhyaḥ*[28]. From this remark we come to know that '*Jaṭā*' is of basic importance and the knowledge of the *Jaṭā*-type of recitation is necessary for the remaining other types of recitations also.

The portion that follows seems to be almost identical with *vikṛtivallī* 21-28, where definitions of the remaining modes of recitations viz. *mālā*, *śikhā*, *rekhā*, *dhvaja*, *daṇḍa*, *ratha* and *ghana*, are given.

A noteworthy feature of the description of *ratha*-type of recitation is that Rāmacandra Paṇḍita has given three varieties of it[29] which are not mentioned in the originl text as well as the other writers of this subject.

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26. See – a) *Vedavikṛtilakṣaṇasaṁgraha* on p. 49 FF.
    b) *Das Jaṭāpaṭala* by Thibaut on p.
27, See – *Vedavikṛtilakṣaṇasaṁgraha* on p. 74 ff.
28. See – *Jyotsnā* – अयमेव हि शास्त्रार्थः सर्वासु विकृतिष्वपि ।
29. Bālkṛṣṇa Sadāshiva Goḍase clearly refers to Rāmacandra Paṇḍita's *Jyotsnā* commetary for the three kinds of *Ratha*-type of recitation. See–*Prātiśākhya–Pradīpa Śikṣā* in *Śikṣā-Saṁ.raha* ea. by Yugalakisora Paṭhaka, Banaras 1888. p. 305, 306.

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Finally Rāmacandra Paṇḍita describes two types of *ghana* (28th verse of *vikṛtivallī*) and concludes his commentary on *Aṣṭavikṛtilakṣaṇāni* with the words –

Evam prakāreṇa aṣṭau vikṛtih paṭhet.

In this paper an humble effort is made to introduce the *Jyotsnā* commentary of Rāmacandra Paṇḍita and to point out its special features.

Although *Jyostnā* commentary was known to the Western Scholars from as early as 1870 unfortunately it remained unpublished. There are only two Published commentarias on *Ś. Y. Vājasaneyi Prāiiśākhya* viz. those of *Uvvaṭa* and *Anantadeva*. Even on the background of those two commentaaies *Jyotsnā* commentary has its own importance. The topic-wise re-arrangement, introduction of new illustrations to the *Prātiśākhyā Sūtras*, and some new intepretations are the special features of this commentary. We must appreciate the carefulness and mintute observations of the commentator. I am editing critically this text and hope to complete it soon. *Pratijñā Sūtra Pariśiṣṭa* which is a very useful work for the student of *Prātiśākhya* which although published previously has become very rare and therefore it is also being edited by me alongwith Rāmacandra Paṇḍita's commentary on the eight modes of vedic recitation (*Aṣṭavikṛtilakṣaṇāni*).

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THE NAKṢATRAKALPA AND THE ŚĀNTIKALPA

by

S. S. BAHULKAR.

In this paper, I intend to diccuss the problem of the relative chronology of the *Nakṣatrakalpa* (=*NK*)[1] and the *Śāntikalpa* (=*ŚK*)[2].

Before proceding to the discussion, it is necessary to give here a brief account of these two *Kalpas*.

The *NK* and the *ŚK* are counted among the five *Kalpas* ' ritual texts ' of the *Atharvaveda* (=*AV*)[3]. Those five *Kalpas* are: the *Saṁhitāvidhi* (i, e. the *Kauśikasūtra*), the *Vaitānaśrautasūtra*, the *NK*, the *Āṅgirasakalpa* and the *ŚK*. Both the *NK* and *ŚK* presuppose the knowledge of and rely upon the *Śaunaka* recension of the *AV* (=*AVŚ*) and the *Kauśikasūtra* (*KauśS*) as well[4]. Both the texts deal with ritual prectices related to the constellations, they consist of prose and metrical passages. The metre of these passages is genarally corrupt and resembles the archaic or epic style rather than the classical one—a common characteristic of the ancillary literature of the *AV*.

Besides being mentioned as one of the five *Kalpas* of the *AV*, the *NK* is counted also as the first *Pariśiṣṭa* of the *AV*. (=*AVPari*), and there it is characterised by the designation *Kṛttikārohiṇī*[5]. The *NK* enumerates the twenty-seven constellations beginning with *kṛttikā* and mentions the deities presiding over them, the objects affected by the constellations, the omens and portents, divination and ritual practices related to the constellatons, the *mantras* in praise of the deities presiding over the constellations

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1. The *Pariśiṣṭas of the Atharvaveda*, ed. by *G. M. Bolling* and *J. Negelein*, Leipzig, 1909, pp. 326; also the edition in Devanagari script, ed. by Ramkumar Ray, Chaukhamba Orientalia, Varanasi, 1976, pp. 1–30.
2. This text was partly published in the Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association, Vol. xxxv pp, 77–127, 1904 and in JAOS, xxxiii, pp. 205–18. The former part is the second chapter of the text and the latter, the first.
3. पञ्च कृष्णा भवन्ति ।
नक्षत्रकल्पो वंतानस्तृतीयः संहिताविधिः ॥
तुर्यं अङ्गिरसां कल्पः शान्तिकल्पस्तु पञ्चमः ॥ *Caraṇavyūha*, *AVPari*, 49.4.7.
4. We know that when a certain text cites the *mantras* by their pratikas, It presupposes the collection of these *mantras*, i. e,, the *Saṁhiiā*. Moreover, the text belongs to the tradition of that *Saṁhitā*.
5. *Caraṇavyūha*, *AVPari* 49-4.9.

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(*nakṣatradaivatāḥ mantrāḥ*), and the ritual of *nakṣatrasnāna* etc. The *nakṣatradaivatāḥ māntrāḥ* in the *NK* (= *AVPari* 1. 37-41) are also found in the *ŚK* (II. 7-11).

The *ŚK* consists of two *Adhyāyas*. It describes the worship and propitiation of V*ināyakas* and of the planets; it contains verses for invitation to and in praise of the constellations, ceremony for averting the evil effects of portents, and the ritual of *Mahāśāntis*.

In connection with the *ŚK*, G. M. Bolling observes: "It presupposes a knowledge of the *Atharvan Saṁhitā* in the *Śaunaka* recension and also of the *Kauśikasūtra*. Its dependence upon the latter text is evidenced, not only by the fact that it cites (15. 5; 18. 2) by *pratīka* the *mantras* of *Kauśika* 97.8, but also by a very consistent maintenance of the Kauśikan tradition of the manipulation of the hymns that not infrequently extend even to verbal correspondences. This cannot fail to strenghten the credit of our text for the treatment of such hymns as are not rubricated in the *Kauśika* Such hymns are found especially in the nineteenth book of the *Saṁhitā*, upon which our text draws freely in a way that shows its advance from the standpoint of the *Kauśika*, a fact that is evinced also in its greater elaboration of ceremonies common to both texts"[6].

As regards the mutual relationship of those two texts, in point of time, Bolling furthrr says: "Our text (i. e. ŚK) seems to have drawn upon the *Nakṣatrakalpa*, though perhaps the relations of the two texts may better be explained by the assumption of a common source"[7]. Elsewhere he points out that the list of the *dakṣiṇās* is evidently drawn from a metrical source which (or a reproduction of which) is found in the *Nakṣatrakalpa*, 47-50[8]." Bolling thus suggests that the *NK* is anterior to the *ŚK*. This suggestion of Bolling has somehow failed to invite attention of scholars till this day. As such, I have taken it up.

It is already stated that the *NK* and the ŚK presuppose the knowledge of the *AVŚ* and the *KauśS*. Here we must see the extent of the *AVŚ*, the valgate, which was at the basis of the employment of the *mantras* in the *NK* and the *ŚK*. It is generally accepted that the *KauśS* presupposes the knowledge of only the first eighteen Kāṇḍas of the *AVŚ*, for, except a few hymns occurring in the nineteenth *Kāṇḍa*, the hymns and *mantras* from the last two *Kiṇḍas* are absent in the *KuuśS*. Therefore, it seems that the last

6. G. M. Bolling, *The Śāntikalpa of the Atharvaveda*, Transactions.. (See note 2 above), p. 80.
7. G. M. Bolling, *loc. cit.*
8. G. M. Bolling, Ibid.
8. G. M. Bolling, *ibid*.

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two *Kāṇḍas* (i. e. *Kāṇḍas* XIX and XX) were compiled in a later period, i.e., sometime after the compostion of the *KauśS* was completed[9]. We have already seen that the *ŚK* employs a unmber of hymns from the nineteenth *Kāṇḍa* by their *pratīkas*. Thus the *AVŚ*, which forms the basis of the employment for the *ŚK*, consisted of at least nineteen *Kāṇḍas*. The twentieth *Kāṇḍa* was obviously compiled for the purpose of the *Śrauta* ritual; it doses not come within the scope of the *ŚK*. It may therefore be accepted that the *ŚK* was composed sometime after *Kāṇḍa* XIX was composed and added to the main corpus of lhe *AVŚ* consisting of eighteen *Kāṇḍas*.

Now, we shall turn to tue *NK*.

In the *NK*, we find that the hymns *AVŚ* XIX. 7and 8 have been cited in full (*NK*, *AVPari* 1. 11. 1-5 and 26. 1-7)[10]. The hymns are in praise of the *nakṣatras* and the same appear to have been designated as *nakṣatrastutis* in the *NK* (*AVPari* 1. 42. 4). This text employs by *pratīkas* some of the hymns from *Kāṇḍas* I-XVIII (*NK* 23. 4; 36. 1, 2, 4). The hymns from the *Kānda* XIX, excepting the two mentioned above, are neither cited by *pratīkas* nor are given in *sakalapāṭha*. This fact shows that the *NK* was composed and incorporated in the ancillary literature after the composition of the *KauśS* was campleted, but, before the compilation of *Kāṇḍa* XIX of the *AVŚ*.

It naturally follows therefore that the *NK* is anterior to the *ŚK*.

Here, by the word *NK*, we generally understand the whole of the text of the *NK* which is counted as the first *Pariśiṣṭa* of the *AV*. But a question arises: is the entire text of the *NK* a homogeneous one? or is there any reason to suspect that the materials, which were collected for the composition of the *NK* hail from different sources, of somewhat individual character, and that there not properly worked over by the redactor?

In this connection, it is significant to note that the *NK* bears one more name, viz., the *Kṛttikārohiṇī*. But this fact alone would not suffice to

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9. The *Atharvaveda Saṁhitā*, English translation by W. D. Whitney, ed. by C. R. Lanman, Vol. II, reprinted by Motilal Banarsidas, 1962, p. 896. For a detailed discussion, see my doctoral thesis *Bhaiṣajyāni in the Kauśikasūtra* (a typed copy available in Poona University liabrary), 1977, p. 52.

10. Bolling and Negelein opine : "It seems that this *Pariśiṣṭa* originated in the Paippalāda school and that this is the reason for its citation of *AV* XIX 7 and 8 in full", op. cit. p. 8. But the hymn *AV* XIX. 7 is not found ln the Paippalāda recension, at least in the Kashmir recension. Some other *mantras* cited by *pratīkas* are found in the *AVŚ* only. This evidently shows that the *NK* belongs to the *AVS*.

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prove that there existed two different works, namely, the *NK* and the *Krttikārohiṇī*. In the tradition of the *AV*, the *KauśS* is known by one more designation, i. e., the *Saṁhitāvidhi* and these are two titles of one and the same work. We find some other evidences which would strengthen our suspicion. The *Caraṇavyūha* of the *AV* (*AVPari* 49. 4. 7-9) counts the *NK* as one of the five *Kalpas* of the *AV*. Again, while enumerating the seventy two *Pariśiṣṭas* of the *AV*, it mentions the *Kṛttikārohiṇh* as the first *Pariśiṣṭa* among them. One, who does not have the knowledge of the ancillary literature of the *AV*, would here naturaally think that the *NK* and the *Kṛttikārohiṇī* are two different works.

Secondly, a further evidence in support of this assumption is the internal evidence furnished by the *NK* itself. The 36th section of the *NK* ends with a passage *yo abhyu babhruṇāyasi* taken *ad verbatim* from the *KauśS* 46. 55. The words at the end of this passage *abhyavakāśe saṁviśaṭi* are quoted twice in the *KauśS* and the *NK* as well[11]. The repetition of the final words marks, as we know, the end of a chapter or of the whole text. In the case of the *KauśS*, it denotes the end of chapter V of that text. The repetition of these words in the *NK*, provided, it is not merely a scribal mistake, would indicate either the end of the chapter or of the entire text. Anyway, here we have some ground to suspect that the sections 1-36 of the *NK* form one part and those beginning with section 37 and ending with seetion 50, the other. The 37th section begins with the *mantras* in praise of the deities presiding over the constellations (*nakṣatradaivatāḥ matrāḥ*) which are also found in the *ŚK* 1. 7. 11. There is also considerable difference between the contents and the composition of these two parts. The first part emumerates the constellations, deities presiding over them, the omens and portents, divination and the ritual connected with them. This part is metrical and prose as well. The second part cites the *mantras* mentioned above (i. e. the *nakṣatras*- common to both the *NK* and the *ŚK*), and the ritual of *nakṣatrasnāna*. This part is completely mertical. At the end of this part, the *mantras* in praise of *Śakadhūma* are cited in full. This is an appendix to the text. The colophon at the end tells that these mantras are borrowed from the *Paippalāda* recension of the *AV* which are emloyed by the *pratīka, yad rājānam*.....at *NK* 24. 3.

This appendix indicates that the first part (i. e sections 1-36), though belonged to the *AVŚ*', borrowed the *mantras* from the *Paippalada*, their being current in the ritualistic tradition of the *AVŚ*.

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11. Out of twelve MSS collated by the editor, three MSS omit the repetition.

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What is more significant is that the second part of the *NK* is hardly related to the *AVŚ* proper. The mantras cited therein cannot be traced to any known Saṁhita of the Vadas. Besides these *mantras*, this part employs the *Sāvitri*; the Śāntisūktas the Mahāvyāhṛtis, verses in praise of waters, *pavitramantras* and the *nakṣatrastutis*, without mentioning the actual mantras meant by there designations. Most of these mantras may be considered as commonplace Vedic literature, particularly of the recensions of the *AV*. They need not be treated as belonging to the *AVŚ* exclusively. Therefore it may be inferred that the present text of the *NK* consists of two different parts. We may further coajecture that the first part was originally designatcd as the K*ṛttikārohiṇī* because the title of the text seems to have been given after the initial words k*ṛrttikā rohinī*[12]...The secound part may be called the *N*K proper. Thus when we say that the *N*K is anterior to the *Ś*K, it means, strictly speaking, the first part of it, viz., the original text of the K*ṛttikāro-hīṇī*.

Now, it is rather difficult to ascertain whether the second part also is anterior to the *ŚK*, The *nakṣatradaivatāḥ mantrāḥ* are cited in full in both the texts. We further find that the verses beginning with *kṛttikābḥiḥ pāyasam* ... i. e. the verses describing the offerings to the constellations are summarised in prose in the *ŚK* (II.13ff). At the end of this section, the verses *nakṣatrā-ṇāṁ yathā somaḥ*...is cited in a corrupt form. One cannot assume that such kind of prose in the *Ś*K was the original one and that the metrical portion was an afterthonght; the metrical portion in the *NK* must have been repro-duced in the *Ś*K in a corrupt manner,. We can therefore say with quite an amount of certainty that the entire text of the *NK* is anterior to the *S*K Bolling has rightly pointed out that there are three strata in the present text of the *S*K[13]. According to him, these strata are: the text proper, the twentyeight *ślokas* of the *āvāhāna* and the *nakṣatradaivataḥ mantrāḥ* The last two portions must have been borrowed from different sources and must have been rubricated in the ritual of *Śanti*

Conclusions :

(1) The chronologibal sequence of the *AVŚ* and the *N*K may be stated as follows :

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12. A similar case is found in the *Carakasaṁhitā*, where the names of the chapters are given after the initial words, For instance, the second and the third pādas of the *Rasāyanādhyāya*, are called *Prāṇakāmīya* and *Karpracitīya*.

13. G. M. Bolling; op. cit. p. 90.

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AVŚ (*Kāṇḍas* I-XVIII)
|
KauśS
|
NK (*Kṛttikārohiṇī*)
|
AVŚ (*Kāṇḍa* XIX)
|
KŚ

(2) The present text of the *NK* presents two strata, the former may be called as the *Kṛttikārohiṇī* and the latter, the *NK*.

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MṚNMAYAṀ GṚHAM IN *ṚV* VII 89 IN COMPARISION WITH THE THEORY OF BLACK-HOLES IN THE MODERN SCIENCE

By

J. A. BHATT

It is sald that the *Ṛgveda* is a very old book of knowledge so far as the whole world is concerned and that it contains the ultimate truth. Moreover the view that Ṛgvedic age was an age of childhood of humanity is very strongly uprooted nowadays. In *Ṛgveda*, we can know about Ṛṣis, deities' certain individualities of Ṛgvadic times and *Dāna-stutis* etc.

Moreover the view that all the *Ṛcs* of the *Ṛgveda* are not meant for sacrifice is indisputable. Ancient as well as modern scholars have shown in their typical way that some *Ṛcs* of the *Ṛgveda* which, probably can be said of very aneient times as compared with the others, suggest some other meaning than that is generally expected from the words by the human beings, i. e. they hint at an *Anubhūti* which seems unreconcilable at the first sight; some of the modern scholars have tried to show that there is symbolism in the *Ṛgveda*, and if it is so, there is bound to be more than one meaning in the text of the *Ṛgveda*. Pandit S. D. Satavalekar, when criticizirng about the analogy with respect to the birth of Ṛshi Vasiśhtha in *ṚV* VII. 7–33, says that the scholars of the new generarion should try to understand and explain in their own way, the hidden meaning that the hymn contains.

In short, it can be said that there are some hymns in the *Ṛgveda* which contain such type of meaning and references in it, tbat it requires to understand, an extra ordinary power of understanding and presupposes a special background of individual *Anubhūti*. The seience of sacrifice is not the point at issue, but some hymns about which, it is said by Sāyaṇācārya that their usage in the sacrifice is lost are important for the matter at hand. Some of these, probably ancient hymns seem to be very closely concerned with the modern space science or that of Astronomy. The names of the sages in *Ṛgveda* are the same as that of the stars. Nearly, four decades ago i. e. in 1935-36, Shri Hiralal A. Shah presented a research paper which is published in the *Annal of B. O. R.I.* Vol. XVII on ' Vedic gods ' has proved that *Ṛgveda* contains valuable fact about Astronomy. He has shown that some of the Ṛgvedic gods are stars in the space. He says : " But the mcntion of them as shining ones, lustrous as couveyed by the sense of *div* to shine in the word ' Deva ' used for gods, would naturally invite our attention to the starry realm

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for a solution of the enigma " (Page-101 • Vedic gods) The science of sacrifice also, so to say, is a science ot space in the end. Before a year or two Pt Veersen Vedāshrami of Indore has published a book 3 *Main Current Problems* i. e. (1) Air pollution (2) Abnormal weather (3) Drought, and has shown their solution through science of yajña. On the other hand Rev A. Esteller S. J. has written on the Ṛgveda-saṁhitā-Palimpsest and its complete Deciphering code. Even Yāska notes the name of Kautsa as an opponent who believes that mantras of *Ṛgveda* have no meaning. That proves that *Ṛgveda* was considered so much ancient in the times of Yāska also, that some of the scholars were not in touch with the tradition of its interpretation, and so some scholars tried to expound the meaning of some of the words of the *Ṛgveda.* But even Yāska has not shown the etymology of all the words. It can be sald, many of these words were very well-known in his times. And such being the case, the later generations have lost the full possible advantage of Yāska's intelligence; as the result of which, the text of the Ṛgveds has inscreased its antiquity as well as its value so far as we are concerned. So in modern times, origntal as well as western scholars of various branches of knowledge have tried to reach the hidden meaning of the mantras of the *Ṛgveda*; e. g Ernest G. Meclain has published a book in 1978- *The Myth of of Invariauce* -which shows the origin of the Gods, Mathematics and music from *Ṛgveda* to Plato. Antonio T. de Necola's has written a book *Four Dimensional man* - a book on the philosophical methodology of the *Ṛgveda.* In short, an age of expounding of the hidden meaning or a new interpretation of the words of the *Ṛgveda* has already started. In a way, it can be said that Lord Vedas reveal themselves to the modern scholars also and here is a proof of the same manner.

A deep study of the hymn 89 of VII maṇḍal of *Ṛgveda* shows that there is a speech or an experience of a space-traveller during his travel in the space. John Taylor a modern scientist has shown in hts book *Black-Holes* that a star whose gravity is increased too much, starts to be smaller and smaller and in the end, it turns into a black-hole, which attracts any object that is near it; and that even a ray of light cannot get out of this black-hole. It marauds every near object and it seems to the on-seer that the speed of the object approaching the black–hole becomes slow, as if that object is freezing; even time becomes standstill in the Black-hole.

Ṛv. 7.89 gives such an experience of a Ṛṣi approaching a Black-hole which is said there as *mṛṇmayaṁ gṛham.* Shri H. L. Hariappa opines in his *Ṛgved:c Legends thraugh the ages*-that this hymn suggests a sea-voyage of a seer and so there is said about a whirlpool in the sea. From this suggestion

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itself we can say that the sea mentioned here is the sea of cosmic water i. e. space. Thus the whirlpool here, is the Blaek-hole. Moreover the word Ṛṣi is formed from the verb *ṛṣ* to move or to see according to *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* and Sāyaṇa. So, here in this hymn, the Ṛṣi, a space traveller gives message to god Varuṇa in his own typical way by chanting Ṛcs of the hymn, that he is being driven towards the *mṛnmayaṁ gṛham* i.e. a Black-hole; so Varuṇa may pull him back by his powers or he may loosen the fetters of the clutches of the Black-hole, as it is said there *mṛlā sukṣattra mṛlaya.* Varuṇa is said to be the knower of unknown deeps and Black-hole can be said nothing but an unknown deep of the space.

Pt. Veersen Vedāshrami opines that the waves that are produced by the chanting of *Ṛcs* can make changes in the atmosphere. in the same way we can say that the space-traveller *Ṛṣi* gives message to Varuṇa, the knower of the Black-hole and a helper to him, by the waves produced by the chanting of mantras. The words *mṛla* and *mṛlaya* that are used here in this hymn, have similarity of pronunciation and meaning too with the English word ' Maraud ' which means to plunder, to take away or to pillage. The seer prays here to Varuṇa to take him away back by force from the clutches of the *mṛnmayaṁ gṛham.*

There are reasons to believe that Ṛgvedic language is a language of an age when all human sects of ancient world were residing together in a place. Learned scholars have shown similarity between some Latin-Greek-German words with the words of Ṛgvedic language and tried to prove this fact. So it is not unlikely that *mṛlaya* has the sense of ' maraud '. The weapon of Varuṇa is said to be *paśas* or fetters; these can be the waves that can aftect in the space. Dr. Keith gives a view that *mṛnmayaṁ gṛham* means a grave. Some schelars say that it is ' a house of clay ' and thus a clay-vessel in which the bones of the burnt dead body are collected. But from both of these meanings, we can say that there is a symbol of death, and so, *mṛnmayam gṛham* means death. Moreover from a psychological point of view, we can say that the death is nothing but a psychological black-hole of a human being.

Varuṇa is called *Su-kṣatra* in this hymn, *kṣatra* means here power or supremacy or dominion. In this way, Varuṇa is a controller deity who has a good power over a special part of the space around the black-hole or *mṛnmayom gṛham. Su-kṣattra* may mean here a sgecial dominion that is said as ' Super-space ' by John Whiller and Varuṇa is a controller of superspace. The seer is driven with transverse clutches towards the special space. That is left back by the black-hole. The transverse type of clutches are said to be *tṛṣṇā* in this hymn. So the seer prays here to Varuṇa, that he

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may not go into the black-hole caught, in its transverse clutches, and that, he the powerful controller of the special space may draw him back from the fetters of *tṛṣṇā*.

Adrivaḥ is an epithet of Varuṇa here, Sāyaṇa explains it is Vajrin i. e. having a weapon named Vajra. Prof. John Taylor in his book *Black-holes* shows a way to use the power of the Black-holes; where, he says that an object should be impended in a spring. (*Black-holes-page* 90). This is nothing but a kind of weapon against the power of the black-hole.

In this third *Ṛc* of the hymn, the seer says that due to the lack of understanding, (i. e. unknowingly) he is progressing towards the opposite direction (*pratīpaṁ jagamā*); and in *ṚV* 7.89.4, the seer says that, to the seer standing in the cosmic waters- *apāṁ madhye tasthivāṁsam*- the transverse clutches of Black-hole-*Tṛṣṇā* have affected; while in the last *Ṛc*. he prays to Varuṇa that if unknowingly, he has violated the rules of gods, God Varuna may not be angry with him. In this way a space-travel is suggested in this hymn.

We hope that the modern scientists may find out from the *Ṛgveda* what they are trying to prove hard so far and hope that *Ṛgveda* may be useful in the future scientific research programme to prove the possibility of the interplanatary communication.

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DREAMING SLEEP AND DEEP SLEEP IN THE VEDIC LITERATURE

By

G. V. DAVANE

The Upaniṣads which are the most ancient treasures of philosophical information, are also very rich in psychological material. They deal with mind and its variour aspects in details. They give a detailed analysis of the three mundane states of the mind. Their analytical distinction between the dreaming condition and the deep-sleep condition of the mind is superb. One would like to find out if the earlier Vedic literature viz. the Saṁhitās and the Brāhmaṇas had already attempted a psychological study of these two conditions of the mind. Here is an attempt to note down the ideas about the dreaming sleep and deep sleep in the Vedic literature and to trace their development upto the principal Upaniṣads.

I. Saṁhitās of the Veda

(a) *The Ṛgveda* : In the *Ṛgveda* the word *nidrā* occurs only once, in VIII. 48, 14 मा नो निद्रा ईशत मोत जल्पिः । Sāyaṇa explains this as follows :- " स्वप्ना अस्मान् बाधितुमीश्वरा मा भूवन् । " Thus here the word denotes troublesome sleep. The word *svapna* occurs several times in the sense of something barmful. In II. 15, 19 Indra is said to have overpowered Cumuri and Dhuni with *svapna*, beguiling sleep. in order to destroy them. X. 162,6 supposes that some evil-minded person might beguile a woman -probably a pregnant woman-by means of *svapna* or *tamas* (darkness).

Svapna is often called *duḥsvapna* evil dream and various deities are invoked to avert it. In VIII. 47, 15 the Dawns are requested to consign all *duḥsvapna* to Trita Āptya. In X. 86. 21 Vṛṣākapi is addressed as *svapna-naṁśana*, destroyer of dreams. VII. 55 is a hymn consisting of 8 stanzas. According to the Anukramaṇi the deity of the first stanza is Vāstoṣpati and of the rest Indra. Modern commentators like Prof. Wilson and Professor Gtiffith call this hymn ' a sleep-song '. In stanzas 2 and 3 the dog is asked, to sleep – नि षु स्वप In the 5th a wish is expressed that the mother, the father, the dog, the lord of the locality, all kinsmen and all people around should sleep. In the 6th the poet says, " We will close the eyes of each one, as one shuts a mansion ". In the ¯th he says, " We will lull people to sleep through the thousand-horned bull ". While introducing this hymn Sāyaṇa

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gives an accouut from the *Bṛhaddevatā* VI. 11-13 according to which Vasiṣṭha entering Varuṇa's house at night is prevented by a barking dog. Vasiṣṭha recites stanzes 2 and 3 to lull it to sleep. Sāyaṇa also notcs another tradition as 'कथासु परिकल्प्यते ।' According to Prof. Wilson it is from the *Nītimañjarī* Vasiṣṭha could not get anything to eat for three days. On the fourth night be wanted to steal away some eatables from Varuṇa's store-house. He recited the 7 stanzas in order to lull to sleep tbe watch-dog and other people in the house. Thus this hymn is meant to induce sleep, may be, deep sleep; but even here the reciter wants others to be asleep so that he may accomplish his selfish purpose. Thus even this hymn does not refer to deep sleep for repose. Same is the case with Khila II. 14 where 'Svapna' is requested that all people should be lulled to sleep and the singer alone should keep awake. X. 164, which is known as *Duḥsvapnaghna* has been addressed to Manasaspati, who has been asked to go away. By *manas* evil thought seems to be meant. The hymn seems to hint at the psychological cause of a dream when it says : "बहुधा जीवतो मनः ।". Thus 'Svapna' is understood as something bad and 'duḥsvapna' is abhorred the most. Whenever forms from the root *svap* are used they denote sleep as a waste of time or as laziness. V. 44.13 clearly says : अनुब्रुवाणो अध्येति न स्वपन् ।. 'One who recites the text daily can learn it and not one who sleeps.'

(b) The *Yajurveda* also supposes 'Svapna' to be something bad. Sleep is associsted with committing of mistakes. In VII. 2 Soma is called *jāgṛvi* ever watchful, implying that one who sleeps is negligent of his duties. XXX. 7 says, जागरणं भूत्यै, स्वप्नमार्त्यै । 'Waking is for prosperity, sleep for affliction' In XXXIV. 55 the five sense-organs and the incoming and outgoing breaths are called *saptarṣis*, ever staying in the body without *svapna* or negligence. The seven are describad as coming to the heart of an embodied being during sleep. Prāṇa and Apāna are called *asvapnajau*, 'not born' of svapna i.e. entirely devoid of laziness. In this sense only are the forms of the root *svap* used in the *Taittiriya*- and the *Kapiṣṭhala-saṁhitās*. Since this Veda is purely of sacerdotel nature, it looks upon sleep from the point of view of the sacrifice only. According to the *TS* VI. 1, 4 the sacrificer, who has been initiated for sacrifice, is not to sleep. In VI. 1, 5 Agni is requested to be a watchful guardian of the sacrifice. So also in the *KS* I. 15 : अग्ने त्वं सु जागृहि वयं सु मन्दिषामहे ।

These Saṁhitās interpret certain ritualistic actions in the language of sleep, symbolically. When the fire is getting dim and requires to be stirred *TS.* V. 2, 2, 6 calls this awakening of the sleepiug Agni. *KS.* V. 4, 10, 5 lays down that too many sticks shouid not be piled upon the fire, the fire being

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now called a sleeping lion. KS. V.8 narrates a myth about the origin of night. According to this myth earlier there existed day only and there was no night. When Yama died, his sister Yamī could not control ber grief and went on crying ceaselessly. The gods created night in order to give her some consolation.

(c) *The Sāmaveda*: The Saṁhitās of this Veda do not contain any peculiar notion about dream or sleep. As in the *Yajurveda*, here also sleeping is looked upon as a negligence in one's duty. The light which the worshippers of Indra see is called *jāgṛvi* 'watchful' implying that sleeping is negligence.

(d) *The Atharvaveda:* Sleep and dream have an important place in the magic and incantations of this Veda. IV. 5 is called *Svāpanam* a sleep-charm. Part of it is repetition of VII. 55 from the *Ṛgveda*. The first stanza (*Ṛv.* VII. 55, 7) says, "we will lull people to sleep through the thousand-horned bull". The meaning seems to be that the same sun, who inspires people to work, puts them to sleep when it sets. According to Prof. Aufrecht this hymn is intended to lull the whole house-hold to sleep, while a young maiden is expecting a secret visit from her lover; but Prof. Lanman feels that the use of many forms of the plural does not warrant this interpretation. There are many hymns called *Duḥsvapnanāśana* 'averting of evil dreams'. IV. 46 is addressed to Svapna. The god Svapna is described as neither living nor dead. Varuṇānī is mentioned as his mother, and Yama as the father. He is called as the son of the sister (the wives according to XIX. 59) of gods. The Dream-god is them requested to protect the singers from all evil dreams and to transport these to their enemies. Similar are the contents of XVI. 5. There *Duḥsvapna* is called the son of destruction (Nirṛti) misery (Abhūti), disappearancc (Nirbhūti) and defeat (parābhūti). In IV. 46 Svappa is addressed as "अन्तकोऽसि मृत्युरसि ।". The sleeping condition, when all organs stop working outwardly, one comes close to the condition of death. No wonder if the poet calls svapna as death. Even Homer calls sleep and death as 'feathered twins' in his Iliad: Shelley and Tennyson also call sleep and death as twin-brothers

Duḥsvapna being transported to rivals is a very common idea in this Veda and recurs at several places. In XIX. 56 the Ādityās are said to have transported the whole evil dream to Trita Āptya, at the bebest of Varuṇa. Trita Āptya was already associated with evil dream in the *Ṛgveda* VIII. 47,15. XIX. 59 refers to Svapna as born in असुरस्य योनि. This god is described as moving alone in a chariot and his nature is incomprehensible-

नैनं विदुः पितरो नोत देवा येषां जाल्पिश्चरत्यन्तरेनम् ।

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Neither the manes nor the gods can know him, though their talk is often about him. XVI. 6 even makes a distinction between जाग्रत् दुःस्वप्न (Evil dream, while awake) and स्वनें दुःस्वप्न (Evil dream, while in sleep). XIX. 56,5 clearly says, "अस्वप्नेन सुकृतः पुण्यमायुः ।". By not having svapna, the performers of good deeds enjoy a holy life.

Thus throughout the *Atharvaveda* also Svapna or sleep is looked upon as something bad and there is no allusion to sound sleep.

II. *The Brāhmaṇas*

In the Brāhmaṇas Yajña has become the centre of all thoughts. Henee sleep and dream also are thought of in connection with sacrifice only. They know that negligence in the performance of sacrifice can be committed during sleep also. Hence they request the deities to remove all such sin, that they might have committed while awake or while asleep (*Tāittirīya Br*. II. 6, 6, 1; *Tāṇḍya Br*. I. 6 etc.). Foilowing the sacerdotal Yajurveda the Brāhmaṇas also emphasise the rule that a sacrificer, who is initiated should not sleep during some prescribed periods e. g. *Tāṇḍya Br*. X. 4, 3 warns that be should not sleep when the two Atirātra yāgas are going on. Before sleepipg the sacrificer has to hand over the sacrifice to the charge of the deity Agni. (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* III. 2. 2. 22 and 23). The *Chāndogya Brāhmaṇa* 69. 27 advises a Brahmacārin not to sleep during day. The *Gop. Br*. I. 2, 2 says that if the Brahmacārin can control his sleep at the proper time, then it is not transferred to a boa. When he is sleeping they soy, "स्वपितु मैनं बोबुध्यथ्" Let him sleep. Do not awaken him. In the *Jaiminīya Br. Upaniṣed* IV. 1. 1. 2–6 Varuṇa is invoked to protect a sleeping sacrificer with an armour prepared out of various hard motals. In the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* IV. 5, 2 Soma is described as entering human beings in sleep. In general the Brāhmaṇas also teach that keeping awake leads to prosperity, sleeping to misery e. g. [*Taitt Br*. I. 4, 14, 1–भूत्यं जागरणम् । I. 4, 14, 2–अभूत्यै स्वप्नम् । *Śāṅkh Br*. XVII. 9; also remarks ज्योतिर्वै जागरितम् । तमः पाप्मा रात्रिः ।

In the *Tāṇḍy Br* XII. 5, 18 there is a Sāman called Tvāṣṭrī Sāman It can be called a sleep charm, because the daughters of Tvaṣṭṛ lulled Indra to sleep with this Sāman.

Following the Yajurveda the Brāhmaṇas also interpret some ritualsitic actions in terms of sleep. In the *Śāṅkh Br* I. 4 the act of covering fire with a piece of hide is looked upon as lulling Agni to sleep and removing the piece as awakening Agni. So also the *Śat Br* III. 2, 2, 21. In *Śat Br* I. 6, 3, 41 Agnīṣomīya offeeings are looked upon as the eyes of the sacrifice. In X. 5, 2, 11 and 12 the two persons in the eyes are described as forming a couple. The

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reason why a sleeping person should not be awakened is given as thereby these deities are like.y to be disturbed.

A psychological analysis of dream and sleep is, for the first time, attempted in the Brāhmaṇas. The fact that all other organs merge in Prāṇa during sleep is given in the *Jaim. Br.* III. 1, 1, 4. *Jaiminiya Br* III. 1, 2. 5-8 explains the same by saying that Prāṇa temporarily devours other organs. The same fact that all organs merge in Prāṇa during sleep and come back when a person is awake is vividiy explained in the *Śat Br* X. 3, 36. This Brāhmaṇa also gives the etymology of the words 'svapiti' and 'svapna' in X. 5. 2, 14 as follows:-तस्यैते प्राणाः स्वाः । स यदा स्वपित्यथैनमेते प्राणाः स्वा अपियन्ति । तस्मात् स्वाप्ययः । स्वाप्ययां ह वै तं स्वप्न इत्याचक्षते । 'These organs are his (Prāṇa's) own. When he sleeps, these organs, his own, merge in him. Hence it is going back of one's own. This going back of one's own is what they calls as sleep.'

So far there was no reference to deep sleep. It is the *Śat Br* that think of deep sleep for the first time. In X. 5. 2. 11 it speaks of the two persons in the eyes forming a couple and remarks–तौ हृदयस्याकाशं प्रत्यवेत्य मिथुनीभवतः । तौ यदा मिथुनस्यान्त गच्छतोऽथ हैतत्पुरुषः स्वपिति । तद्यथा हेदं मानुषस्य मिथुनस्यान्तं गत्वासंविद इव भवत्येवं हैवेदमसंविद इव भवति । दैवं ह्येतद् मिथुनम् । परमो ह्येष आनन्दः । 'During this sleep the two are described as if losing consciousness of everything else (असंविद) This reminds us of the description of Suṣupti in *Bṛhdāraṇyakopaniṣad* IV. 3.21. Though here the word Suṣupti has not been used, it is obviously the condition of Suṣupti'.

III. *The Āraṇyakas.*

The Āraṇyakas simply add a few more examples of the ritualistic actions being symbolically interpreted in the frame-work of sleep. Like the Brāhmaṇas they preach that the sacrificers and the priests must be ever vigilent and never neglegent e. g. *Taitt Ār* I. 27 उत्तिष्ठत । मा स्वप्त ।. The *Ait Ār* II 4. 3 just mentions three abodes of the soul, which, according to Śaṁkarācarya are the three states of mind.

IV. *The Principal Upaniṣads*

The principal Upaniṣads have made a remarkable advauce in the ideas about dream and deep sleep, They give a very interesting and psychogically scientific analysis of dream e. g. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* II 1, 17–यत्रैष एतत्सुप्तोऽभूद्य एष विज्ञानमयः पुरुषस्तदेषां प्राणानां विज्ञानेन विज्ञानममादाय य एषोऽन्तर्हृदय आकाशस्तस्मिञ्छेते... गृहीतं मनः । 'The intelligence is located in the small space within the heart and the power of all other organs is seized by intelligence alone'. *Praśnopaniṣad* descripes this as follows – तत् सर्वं परे देवे मनस्येकीभवति ।

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'All other organs are unified in the great deity, the Mind'. The fire in the form of the vital breaths alone is keeping awake now : *Bṛh* II i, 18 describes that the विज्ञानमय पुरुष becomes a sovereign (महाराजः) and moves all over the body, taking the senses with him, just as a sovereign would move all over his territory, along with his retinue. *Bṛh.* IV 3. 9 calls dream सन्ध्यं स्थानम् an interemediary locality, joining this world and the next. The well known fact that the objects in the dream are all illusory, created by the mind, is given in *Bṛh.* IV. 3, 10 as follows: – न तत्र रथा न रथयोगा न पन्थानो भवन्त्यथ रथान रथयोगान् पथः सृजते। The analysis of dream creation is given very vividly in *Bṛh* IV 3, 9 as follows :– स यदा स्वपित्यस्य लोकस्य सर्वावतो मात्रामपादाय स्वयं विहत्य, स्वयं निर्माय, स्वेन मासा, स्वेन ज्योतिषा प्रस्वपिति।

The experience is collected from the waking condition only (अस्य लोकस्य सर्वावतो मात्रामपादाय)and yet the context or the juxta-position is different (स्वयं निर्माय). In the ancient verses quoted by this Upaniṣad in support of its statement, the dreaming soul is called एक हंसः a swan, going out of its nest (the body), and going wherever it pleases him, and enjoying whatever experience he desires. The *Praśnopaniṣad* IV. 5 calls him देव god, enjoynig great majesty. This passage makes it very clear that the dream-experience is entirely based upon that of the waking world. दृष्टं दृष्टमनुपश्यति श्रुतं श्रुतमेवार्थमनुशृणोति ... etc. The passagc also explains that though the experience of the dreamer is based upou his own actual experience, in the dream it gets mixed up with imagination. दृष्ट चादृष्टं च श्रुतं चाश्रुतं चानुभूतं चाननुभूतं च सच्चासच्च। The condition of 'suṣupti '-decp sleep also is vividly analysed in various Upaniṣads. *Bṛh* IV 3, 19-34 givesa detailed anaylsis of the same. Section 19 describes it saying that in this state, to which the soul resorts, being weary, it does not entertain any desire. Nor does it witness any dream. Section-21 describes it as follows:-तद्यथा प्रियया स्त्रिया संपरिष्वक्तो न बाह्य किन्चन वेद नान्तरमेवमेवायं पुरुषः प्राज्ञेनात्मना संपरिष्वक्तो न बाह्यं किन्चन वेद नान्तरं तद्वा तस्यैतदाप्तकामात्मकाममकामं रूपं शोकान्तरम्। It is intelligence alone that is awake. The soul, alosely embiaced by it, is obivious of everything else within or without, the experience being similar to that of a lover in close embrace of his beloved. He has no desire, no grief.

According to *Bṛh* II, 19 during Suṣupti the soul is resting in pericardium of the heart. after moying through 72000 nāḍis; veins. *Chāndogya* VIII. 3.3 describes the soul as resting in the heart and gives the etymology of the word हृदयम् as हृदि अयम्। *Chāndogya* VI. 8. 1 uses the root svap in connection with Suṣupti also and gives the same etymology as found in the *Śatapatha* X 5, 2, 14. *Chāndogya* VIII 3, 4 calls the soul in deep sleep as सम्प्रसाद (the serene

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one) and describes it as resting in the highest light and as appearing it its own form. According to *Praṣna* IV. 6 the soul now overpowered by brilliance, sees no dream and that is the state of happiness. The *Kauṣītaki* (III 3 ond IV 19) describes the same fact.

The *Maitrāyaṇī* VII 11. 18 enumerates these three conditions and even mentions the fourth one, greater than all these. It is the *Māṇḍukya* which teaches about this forth and supreme condition for the first time. When it describes the soul in the dream condition as अन्तःप्रज्ञ (having intelligence inwardly) and प्रविविक्तभुक् (enjoying subtle objects). it is summarising what the earlier Upaniṣads like *Bṛh* have already said. Its description of the soul in the deep sleep condition as एकीभूतः, प्रज्ञानघनः, आनन्दमय and आनन्दभुक् also is based upon that of the earlier Upaniṣads.

Thus the distinction between the dreaming sleep and deep sleep is quite unknown to the period of the Saṁhitās, the word *suṣupti* being entirely absent. In the *Ṛgveda* the word Svapna and the forms of the root *svap* have been used to denote disturbed or harmful sleep, bad dreams being looked upon as the most harmful. In the liturgical Saṁhitās of the *Yajurveda* aad the *Sāmaveda* sleep is looked at from liturgical point of view only. Sleep is looked upon as a neglegence in the performance of rituals ; and the sacrificer is prohibited from sleeping on some particular ritualistic occasions. Certain ritualistic action like the stirring of the fire have been symbolically interpreted in the language of sleep. Dream and Sleep play an important role in the magic and incantations of the *Atharvaveda*. Dreams are hated as something bad There are many hymns for averting the evil effects of dream. While the singers of the *Ṛgveda* request the deities only to remove evil dream, the singers of the *Atharvaveda* request them further to transport those dreams to their enemies.

As in the liturgical Samhitās, in the Brāhmaṇas also sleep can be thought of in the context of the sacrifice only. In several places the sacrifi- cers and the priests are warned against sleep. Symbolic interpretation of ritualistic actions to suit the framework of sleep is more common in the Brāhmaṇas than in the liturgical Saṁhitās. However the first attempt at the psycoological study of dreams is met with in the Brāhmaṇas for the first time. Without using the term *suṣupti* the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* has for the first time, described the state of deep sleep.

The Āraṇyakas merely add a few more instances of symbolic interpre- tation of ritualistic actions in the context of sleep.

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The Upaniṣads show a clear advance in this regard. Various passages from the principal Upaniṣads like the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, the *Chāndogya*, the *Praśna* etc. give a sound analysis of dreaming sleep and deep sleep. The distinction between the two is very clearly pointed out. The relation between the waking condition and the dream condition is very scientificalty explained on a paychological basis.

Finally a late Upaniṣad among these principal Upaniṣads viz. The *Māṇḍūkya* goes beyond those three conditions and explains about the fourth supramundane condition also.

One feels wonderstruck with the study of the various conditions of the miud, that the Upaniṣadic thinkers had advanced in that ancient period.

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अग्निहोत्र याग – एक विवेचन

श्रीमती रानी गुप्ता

अग्निहोत्र का शब्दिक अर्थ है -'अग्नये हूयते अस्मिन् तद् अग्निहोत्रम् (जिस कर्ममें अग्नि के लिए होम किया जाता है) अर्थात् अग्नि में किया जानेवाला हवन। कोशकारों ने भी अग्निहोत्र का यही अर्थ किया है।[1] तात्पर्य यह है कि अग्निदेवतोद्देश्यक हवि का प्रक्षेपण अग्निमेही किये जाने के कारण 'अग्निहोत्र' नाम पडा।

श्रौत पदार्थ निर्वचन में अग्निहोत्रहवणीं और स्रुवप्रक्षालन प्रभृति कर्मों को अग्निहोत्र-होम की संज्ञा दी गयी हैं।[2]

वैदिक साहित्य में अग्निहोत्र शब्द का प्रयोग सर्वप्रथम ऋग्वेद संहिता मे किया गया है। वहाँ पर अग्निहोत्र का वर्णन इस प्रकार है।'अग्नि मे समिधा डालकर उसे प्रज्वलित करना चाहिए। घृतादि सामग्री की आहुतियां दीजावे और ये आहुतियां वेदमंत्रो के उच्चारण के साथ होनी चाहिए। 'नमसा स्वध्वरः' अर्थात् सत्य और अहिंसा का पालन करते हुए अत्यन्त श्रद्धा से अग्निहोत्र करना चाहिए। इससे मनुष्य के इन्द्रिय दोष और उसके किये हुए पाप नष्ट होते तथा उसकी कीर्ति चारों ओर फैलती है।[3] कृष्णयजुर्वेदीय तैत्तिरीय संहिता[4] तथा आयुर्वेदीय शौनकसंहिता[5] में नित्य अग्निहोत्र का वर्णन एक कृत्य या कर्मके रूप मे किया गया हैं जिसमे अग्नि के लिये आहुति दी जाती है। तैत्तिरीय संहिता मे आधानानन्तर अर्थात्-श्रौत अग्नियों को स्थापित करने के बाद इसका अनुष्ठान होने से प्रधानता के कारण अग्निहोत्र को यज्ञमुख कहा गया है।[6] काठक संहिता मे अग्निहोत्र को वैश्वदेव कहा गया है।[7] काठक

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१. न० अग्नये हूयतेऽत्र (वाचस्पत्यम् पृ. ६१)
(अग्नये होत्रम् अत्र इति बहुव्रीहिः) शब्दकल्पद्रुम भाग १ पृ.११
An oblation to Agni- Sanskrit English dictionary by P. K. Gode, P. 18;
Monier-William's Sanskrit-English dictionary, P. 6; Vedic Etymology, P. 14

२. अग्निहोत्रहवणीस्रुवप्रक्षालनप्रभृति एतावत्कर्म अग्निहोत्रहोम इत्युच्यते श्रौ. प. नि., पृ. ६७

३. यः समिधा य आहुती यो वेदेन ददाश मर्तो अग्नये यो नमसा स्वध्वरः ॥
तस्येदर्वन्तो रंहयन्त आशवस्तस्य द्युम्नितमं यशः। ऋ. सं. ८।१९।५–६

४. देवैर्वृतो योऽयमग्नेर्भागस्तद्रूपत्वादियमाहुतिरस्य चीयमानस्याग्नेरग्निहोत्रमित्युच्यते सा. भा., तै. स. ५।६।४।२
द्रष्टव्य-आप. श्रौ. सू. ६।१।१ पर रुद्रदत्तवृत्ति तथा पूर्वमीमांसासूत्र १।४।४ पर शा. भा.।

५. शौ सं. ११।९।९

६. यज्ञमुखं वा अग्निहोत्रम् - तै. सं. १।६।१०।२, तु. श. ब्रा. १४।३।१।२६

७. अग्निहोत्रं वैश्वदेवमुच्यते। काठ. सं. ६।५

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संकलन में अग्निहोत्र की प्रशंसा में कहा गया है कि अग्निहोत्र के द्वारा ही देवोंने स्वर्गलोक को प्राप्त किया।[8]

ब्राह्मण ग्रन्थो तथा आरण्यक इत्यादि ग्रन्थो में अग्निहोत्र के विभिन्न अर्थ किये गये है तथा अनेक रूपों में उसकी प्रशंसा की गयी हैं। शतपथ ब्राह्मण में कहा गया है कि अग्निहोत्र होम को करने वाला देहावसान होनें पर अग्नि में प्रक्षिप्त हुआ अग्निसे नवीन दिव्य शरीर लेंकर उत्पन्न होता है।[9] शतपथ ब्राह्मण में एक अन्य स्थल पर सूर्य को ही अग्निहोत्र कहा गया है क्योंकि सूर्य इस आहुति के पहले उत्पन्न होता है।[10] अग्निहोत्र को अन्न प्राप्ति का साधनभी बताया गया है।[11] अन्यत्र दीक्षा को ही अग्निहोत्र कहा गया है।[12] आहुति का अधिकरण होने के कारण प्राण ही अग्निहोत्र कर्म हैं, ऐसा प्रतिपादन भी शतपथ ब्राह्मण में किया गया है।[13] इसे 'जरामर्यं सत्र'[14] कहा गया है अर्थात अत्यन्त असामर्थ्ययुक्त वृद्धावस्था और मृत्यु के कारण ही इसका परित्याग हो सकता है अन्यथा यह निरन्तर किया जाना चाहिए। स्वर्गसुख को प्राप्त कराने वाली नौका के रूप मे भी अग्निहोत्र का वर्णन किया गया है।[15]

तैत्तिरीय ब्राह्मण के भाष्य मे भाष्याकार सायणाचार्य ने भी अग्निहोत्र की व्याख्या करते हुए कहा है कि बहुव्रीहि समास करने पर अग्निहोत्र उस कर्म कृत्य का नाम है जिसमे अग्नि के लिये होम किया जाता है तथा तत्पुरुष समास करने पर अग्नि के लिए दी जानेवाली हवि का नाम है।[16] तैत्तिरीय ब्राह्मण में अग्निहोत्र को निश्चय रूपसे अविनाशी भी कहा गया है।[17] अन्यत्र हुत अग्नि से सम्पन्न होने के कारण इसका नाम अग्निहोत्र है।[18] क्योंकि यह कर्म अग्नि के माध्यम से ही होता है। यज्ञ तो व्यापक अर्थवाला है और प्रत्येक श्रेष्ठ कर्म मे प्रयुक्त हो सकता है परन्तु अग्निहोत्र ऐसे ही विशेष यज्ञ-कर्म के लिए प्रयुक्त होगा जिसमे अग्नि को कर्म का माध्यम बनाया जावे। अग्निहोत्र शब्द मे यह भावना निहित है कि अग्नि में किया जानेवाला 'होत्र' अग्निहोत्र है। अतएव अग्निदेवतोद्देश्यक प्रवृत्ति के कारण ही इसका

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८. अग्निहोत्रेण वैं देवाः स्वर्गलोकमायन्। काठ. संक. ५६
९. सा. भा., श. ब्रा. २।२।४।८
१०. सूर्य्यो ह वाऽ अग्निहोत्र्। श. ब्रा. २।३।१।१
११. अभि हैवैतदन्नाद्यं तृणत्ति य एवं विद्वानग्निहोत्रं जुहोति। श. ब्रा. २।३।२।१५
१२. दीक्षैव अग्निहोत्रम्। सा. भा., श. ब्रा. १०।१।५।१
१३. इत्थमाहुत्यधिकरणत्वात् प्राण एव अग्निहोत्राख्यं कर्मेति तत्र प्राणबुद्धिः कार्येत्यर्थः। सा. भा., श. ब्रा. ११।३।१।८
१४. एतद्वैं जरामर्यं सत्रं यदग्निहोत्रम्। श. ब्रा. ।१२।४।१।१ तु. जै. ब्रा. १।५१
१५. नौर्हं वा एषा स्वर्ग्या यदग्निहोत्रम्। श. ब्रा. २।३।३।१५
१६. अग्नये होत्रं होमोऽस्मिन्कर्मणि इति बहुव्रीहिव्युत्पत्याग्निहोत्रमिति कर्मनाम। अग्नये होत्रमिति तत्पुरुषव्युत्पत्या हविर्नाम। सा. भा., तैं. ब्रा. २।१।२।५
१७. अस ँ स्थितो वा एष यज्ञः। यदग्निहोत्रम्। तैं. ब्रा. २।१।४।९
१८. अग्नेर्हुतादजनीति। तदग्निहोत्रस्याग्निहोत्रत्वम्। तैं. ब्रा. २।१।६।३

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यह नाम पडा ।[19] अग्निहोत्र का गाय से तादात्म्य स्थापित करते हुए कहा गया है कि गौ रुपी अग्निहोत्र को जो जानता है वह अग्नि को प्राण और अपान से समृद्ध करता है।[20]

षड्विंश ब्राह्मण में अग्निहोत्र की प्रशंसा इस प्रकार की गयी है कि जो विद्वान् अग्निहोत्र करता है वह सभी यज्ञ ऋतुओं से प्राप्त फल को प्राप्त कर लेता है ।[21] शाङ्खायन ब्राह्मण में भी इसी भाव का समर्थन किया गया है ।[22] जैमिनीय ब्राह्मण मे ब्रह्म को अग्निहोत्र कहा गया है ।[23] यहभी वर्णित है कि यह जो अग्निहोत्र हैं वह प्रजापति के लिए ही है क्योंकि प्रजापति ही समस्त देव है । अतः प्रजापति के लिए किया गया हवन सब देवों के लिए होता है ।[24] अन्न ही अग्निहोत्र है क्योंकि इस अग्निहोत्र द्वारा ही अग्निहोत्रयाजी दिन और रात में अन्नाद्य (श्रेष्ठ भक्ष्य अन्न) को ग्रहण करता है ।[25] अन्यत्र ,जिस प्रकार सर्प केंचुली से छुट जाता है, जैसे मूंज से दिलका अलग हो जाता है उसी प्रकार वह (अग्निहोत्रयाजी) सब पापों से मुक्त हो जाता है ।[26] प्राण को भी अग्होत्र की संज्ञा दी गयी है ।[27]

गोपथ ब्राह्मण में यह विधान विहित है कि जो पुरुष अग्निहोत्र याग करता है उस से देवगण प्रियधाम (अग्निहोत्र के घर) मे हर्षित होते है ।[28]

तैतिरीय आरण्यक के भाष्य में सायण ने आधान की गयी अग्नियों मे सायं प्रातः अनुष्ठेय होम को ही अग्निहोत्र कहा है तथा इसे मोक्ष का साधन भी बताया है ।[29] ऐंसा ही विचार चिन्नस्वामीं शास्त्रीनेभीं व्यक्त किया है ।[30] तैत्तिरीय आरण्यक में अन्यत्र श्रद्धा पूर्वक विधि विहित अग्निहोत्र कों घर का शोधक कहा गया है । अग्निहोत्र स्वर्ग मार्गमें दीपक के समान है । स्वर्ग क्यां है ? आध्यात्मिक उन्नति ।[31]

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१९. वेदों में भारतीय संस्कृति, पृ. २८३
२०. गौर्वा अग्निहोत्रम् । तै. ब्रा. २।१।६।३ तथा इस पर सायणभाष्य.
२१. सर्वैहं वा एतस्य यज्ञक्रतुभिरिष्टं भवति । य एवं विद्वानग्निहोत्रं जुहोति । ष. ब्रा. ५।१।१६
२२. शां. ब्रा. २।३
२३. ब्रह्म वा अग्निहोत्रम् । जैं. ब्रा. १।५
२४. तद् एतत् प्राजापत्यं यद् अग्निहोत्रम् जैं. ब्रा. १।६
२५. अन्नं अग्निह्रोत्रम् । जैं. ब्रा. - १।६
२६. सर्वस्मात्पाप्मनो निर्मुच्यते स य एवं विद्वानग्निहोत्रं जुहोति । जै. ब्रा १।९
२७. तस्मादाहुः प्राणोऽग्निहोत्रमिति । जै. ब्रा. १।२०
२८. योऽग्निहोत्रं जुहोतीति, देवाः प्रिये धामनि मदन्ति । गो. ब्रा. १।२।२२
२९. आहितेष्वग्निषु सायं प्रातश्चानुष्ठेयो होमोऽग्निहोत्रं तदुत्तमं मोक्षमाधनमित्यपरः - - । सा. भा. तै. आ. १०।६२।१
३०. यज्ञतत्त्वालोक, पृ. २९
३१. अग्निहोत्रं सायं प्रातर्गृहाणां निष्कृतिः । स्विष्टं सुहुतं -- स्वर्गस्य लोकस्य ज्योतिः । तै. आ. १०।६३।१

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विधिवत् - अग्निहोत्रादि से स्वर्ग - प्राप्ति का विधान मुण्डकोपनिषद् में भी किया है। वहीं पर यह भी बताया गया है कि अनुचित रीति से किया गया अग्निहोत्र कर्ता के समस्त लोकों को नष्ट कर देता है।[32]

छान्दोग्योपनिषद् में इसके माहात्म्य का प्रतिपादन उपमा के द्वारा इस प्रकार किया है कि विधिपूर्वक अग्निहोत्र करने से कर्ता के प्रारब्धरूप पाप को छोडकर अन्य सब पाप उसी प्रकार भस्म हो जाते हैं जिस प्रकार मुंज के भीतर स्थित तुली को अग्नि मे डाल देने पर तत्काल भस्म हो जाती है।[33]

भगवद्गीता में भी कहा गया हैं कि समस्त यज्ञों में अग्निहोत्र ही ऐसा यज्ञ है जो किसी न किसी रूप में चारों आश्रमों के साथ संबन्ध रखता है। ब्रह्मचर्यावस्था में ब्रह्मचारी आचार्य की अग्नि में तीन समिधाओं की आहुति देकर इसका स्वरूप निष्पादन करता है। संन्यासी अनग्निक होने के कारण भौतिक अग्नि के स्थान में अपान वायुमें प्राण वायु की ओर प्राण वायु में अपान वायु की आहुति देता हुआ इस यज्ञ को करता है।[34]

वाराह श्रौत सूत्र में अग्निहोत्र की निरुक्ति आज्य के रूप में की गयी हैं।[35]

गृह्यसूत्रो तथा धर्मसूत्रो में भी अग्हिोत्र का वर्णन किया गया है। ब्रह्मचारी सायं प्रातः अग्नि में समिदाधान के द्वारा नित्य-प्रति अग्नि की परिचर्या गुरुगृह में किया करता था। आश्वलायन गृह्य सूत्रमें पत्नी, पुत्र, अविवाहित पुत्री तथा शिष्य को गृह्याग्नि के होम में सम्मिलित होने की आज्ञा दी है।[36] इसी प्रकार का उल्लेख शांङखायन गृह्यसूत्र मे भी मिलता है। याज्ञवल्क्य[37] का कहना है कि गृहस्थ प्रति दिन स्मार्त कर्म विवाहाग्नि में तथा श्रौतकर्म आहवनीयाग्नि में करे क्योंकि यह स्मार्त:कर्म ही महायज्ञ है।

इस प्रकार से संहिताओं से लेकर गृह्य सूत्रो तक अग्निहोत्र के स्वरूप का विभिन्न प्रकार से निरूपण किया गया।

अब हम विभिन्न श्रौत सूत्रों के आधार पर अग्निहोत्र की सम्पादन - विधि का संक्षेप में वर्णन करेंगे।

सम्पादन - विधि :-

अग्निहोत्र नित्य और काम्य दो प्रकार का है। जिस प्रकार अहोरात्र का काल-विभाग आधिदैविक जगत् में सबसे छोटा है, उसी प्रकार श्रौत कर्मो में उसका प्रतिनिधि रूप अग्निहोत्र

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३२. यस्याग्निहोत्रमदर्शपौर्णमास – सप्तमांस्तस्य लोकान्हिनस्ति ॥ मुण्डक उप. १।२।३

३३. द्रष्टव्य हैं - शां. भा., छा. उ. ५।२४।३

३४. अपाने जुह्वति प्राणं प्राणेऽपानं तथा परे। भ. गी. ४।२९

३५. आज्यमग्निहोत्रम् - वा. श्रौ. सू. १।५।६।७

३६. आश्व. गृ. सू. १।९।१

३७. कर्म स्मार्तं विवाहाग्नौ कुर्वीत प्रत्यहं गृही ॥
दायकालाहृत वापि श्रौतं वैतानिकाग्निषु। याज्ञ. स्मृति. सू. ९७ पृ. ४७

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कर्म भी सबसे छोटा हैं। जिस प्रकार मनुष्य अहोरात्र का अनुभव यावज्जीवन करता है, उसी प्रकार अग्निहोत्र का अनुष्ठान भी यावज्जीवन करना होता हैं। भट्ट शबरस्वामी ने किसी लुप्त ऋग्वेदीय ब्राह्मण का– "यावज्जीवम् अग्निहोत्रं जुहोतीति"[38] वचन मीमांसाके भाष्य में उद्धृत किया हैं। यह श्रुति अग्निहोत्र के नित्य होने का तया "अग्निहोत्रं जुहुयात्स्वर्गकामः दध्नेन्द्रियकामों जुहुयात्।"

श्रुति काम्य होने का प्रतिपादन करती हैं। इसका अनुष्ठान सायं प्रातः किया जाता हैं। सायंकाल एवं प्रातः काल सम्पन्न किये जानेवाले अग्निहोत्र को प्रारम्भ करने कें लिए यजमान अध्वर्यु को 'उद्धर' कह कर प्रेष दे।[39] आहवनीय स्वर मे पांच भू-संस्कारों को करकें गार्हपत्य से अग्नि ले जाकर पूर्व में स्थापित कर देना चहिए।[40] यजमान आहवनीयाग्नि की ओर जाकर अपने आसन पर बैंठजाय। 'विद्युदसि'[41] मन्त्रको पढकर यजमान आचमन करता हैं। आहवनीयाग्नि के चारों ओर कुश विछाता हैं। पहले आहवनीयाग्नि कें चारों ओर जल की धारा गिरायी जाती हैं। तदनन्तर गार्हपत्याग्नि तथा दक्षिणाग्नि के चारों ओर पर्युक्षण करनें की क्रिया तीन बार करनी चाहिए।[42] पर्युक्षणार्थँ जल का ग्रहण तीन बार करना चाहिए।[43] कात्यायन औंर आपस्तम्ब्र आश्वलायन के इस सिद्धान्त से सहमत नही हैं कि अग्नियों का तीन बार पर्युक्षण करना चाहिए। प्रातःकाल होनेंवाले आग्निहोत्र में किये जानेवाले पर्युक्षण कें समय 'सत्यं त्वर्तेन' इस मंत्र को पढ़ना चाहिए तथा सायंकालीन अग्निहोत्र में अग्नियों के पर्युक्षण के समय 'ऋतं त्वा सत्येन' इस मंत्र को पढ़ना चाहिए।[44] नित्य किया जानेवाला अग्निहोत्र दूध से ही होता हैं[45] परन्तु यदि कोई यजमान ग्रामों को या अन्न को या यश को या तेज या अन्य किसी मनोरथ को प्राप्त करना चाहता है, तो उसे अग्निहोत्र होम यवागू, ओदन, दही और घृतादि से करना चाहिए।[46] वैंतान श्रौंतसूत्र में अग्निहोत्र से विभिन्न कामनाओ की प्राप्ति

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३८. वारा. श्री. सू. १।१।१।८६ तथा आप. श्रौ. सू. ३।१४।११। त. मी. सू. २।४।१ पर शा. भा.

३९. उध्दरेति यजमानो ब्रूयात्सायं प्रातरग्निहोत्रे। कात्या. श्रौ. सू. ४।१३।१

४०. गार्हपत्यादाहवनीयस्योद्धरणमनस्तमितानुदितयोः। कात्या. श्रौ. सू. ४।१३।२

४१. विद्युदसि विद्य मे पाप्मानमृतात्सत्यमुपैमि मयि श्रद्धेत्यप आचामति। आप. श्रौ. सू. ६।५।३

४२. आहवनीयं पर्युक्ष्योदधारां निनयत्या गार्हपत्यात्। तं च। ततो दक्षिणाग्निम्। कात्या. श्रौ. श्रौ. सू. ४।१३।१६–१८

४३. ऋतसत्याभ्यां त्वा पर्युक्षामीति जपित्वा पर्युक्षेत् त्रिस्त्रिरेकैकं पुनः पुनरुदकमादाय। आश्व. सू. २।२।११

४४. ऋतं त्वा सत्येन परिषिञ्चामीति सायं परिषिञ्चति। सत्यं त्वर्तेन परिषिञ्चामीति प्रातः। आप. श्रौ. सू. ६।५।४

४५. पयः खलु नित्यं तथा अग्निहोत्रहोमसाधनत्वेन श्रुतम्। सा. भा. श. ब्रा. ११।३।१।२; कौं. ब्रा. ४।१४

४६. यवागूरोदनो दधि सर्पिर्ग्रामिकामान्नाद्यकामेन्द्रियकामतेजस्कामानाम् आश्व.। श्रौ. सू. २।३।२; कात्या. श्रौ. सू. ४।१५।२०–२५

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के लिए भिन्न भिन्न द्रव्यों का विधान किया गया है ।[47] मधुसूदन शर्मा ने होम के दस द्रव्यों का विधान बताते हुए यह स्पष्ट किया है कि आग्निहोत्र दूध और यवागू से करना चाहिए किन्तु इसके अभाव में अन्य वस्तुओं से भी किया जा सकता है ।[48] आग्निहोत्रहोम कें लिए दूध प्राप्त करने कें लिए उस गाय को दुहना चाहिए जिसके बछ्ड़ा हो । बछ्ड़े को पहले दूध पीने के लिए छोड़ना चाहिए । कुछ दूध जब बछड़ा पिले, तब बछडे को हटा कर दूध दुहना चाहिए । गाय को दुहनेवाला शूद्र नही होना चाहिए ।[49] बौधायन के मत से गाय दुहने वाला ब्राह्मण ही होना चाहिए । दूघ उस पात्रमे दुहा जाना चाहिए जो कुम्मकार द्वारा चक्र पर न बनाया गया हो । इस पात्र कों अग्निहोत्रस्थालीं कहते हैं ।[50] दूध उबालने के लिए गार्हपत्याग्नि से जलती हुई अग्नि गार्हपत्य के उत्तर में रखो जाती है । इसके बाद अघ्वर्यु गाय के पास जाकर दूध के पात्र को उठा लाता है और उसे अग्नि मे गरम करता है । जब दूध उवलने लगता है तब स्रुवासे भरे हुए जल से कुछ छींटें दूध मे मारी जाती हैं ।[51] इसकें बाद स्रुक् और स्रुव कं गार्हंपत्याग्नि पर गर्म किया जाता है । अघ्वर्यु अपने बायें हाथ में अग्निहोत्रहवणी लेकर स्रुव के द्वारा दुग्ध-पात्र से दूध निकालकर अग्निहोत्रहवणी में डालता है । इसके बाद स्रुव को दुग्ध पात्र में ही छोड़ दिया जाता है पुत्रों कीं समृद्धि चाहनेंवाला यजमान स्रुव को दूध से पूरा भर कर अग्निहोत्रहवणी में डाले ।[52] स्रुव से चार बार दूध निकालना चाहिए[53] जो बाद में आहुति के कार्य मे प्रयुक्त होता है । आहवनीयाग्नि से ईशान कोन में अघ्वर्यु बैठ कर स्रुक् को बायें हाथ मे लेता है तथा दाहिने हाथ से 'अग्निर्ज्योतिषं त्वा स्वाहा[54] इस मंत्रो को पढ़ कर अग्नि मे समिधा डाल देता है । समिधा को अग्नि मे डालकर 'विद्युदसि विद्य मे पाप्मानमग्नौ श्रद्धा' इस मंत्र को पढ़ कर जल का स्रुव स्पर्शन करना चाहिए । तब 'भूर्भुवः स्वरोमग्निर्ज्योतिर्ज्योतिरग्निः

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४७. पयसा सर्वकामस्य । दध्नेन्द्रियकामस्य । आज्येन तेजस्कामस्य । तैलेन श्रीकामस्य । ओदनेन प्रजाकामस्य । यवाग्वा ग्रामकामस्य । तण्डुलैर्बलकामस्य । सोमेन ब्रह्मवर्चसकामस्य । मांसेन पुष्टिकामस्य । उदकेनायुष्कामस्य । वैता. श्रौ. सू. ४३।९।१८

४८. अग्निहोत्रेतु– "पयो दधि घृतं तैलं यवागूस्तण्डुलोदनाः ।
मांसं सोमरसो माषाः होमद्रव्याणि वै दश ।।"
जनकसंवादश्रुतौ तु--पय एवाग्निहोत्रं, तदभावे,
व्रीहियवौ– सर्वाभावे तु सत्यं श्रद्धायां जुहुया'दिति ।
य. म., पृ. ३८

४९. न शूद्रो दुह्यात् । आप. श्रौ. सू. ६।३।११

५०. अग्निहोत्रीं दोहयति पुंवत्सामशूद्रेण स्थाल्यामार्यकृत्यामूर्घ्वकपालायां दक्षिणतः प्राचीमुदीचीं वा । कात्या. श्रौ. सू. ४।१४।१

५१. उदन्तीकृत्य प्रतिषिच्यम् । आप. श्रौ सू. ६।६।३

५२. अग्रियमग्रियं पूर्णतमं योऽनुज्येष्ठमृद्धिमिच्छेत्पुत्राणाम् । आश्व. श्रौ. सू. २।३।१३

५३. चतुरः स्रुवानुन्नयति । कात्या. श्रौं. सू. ४।१४।१०

५४. समिधमादधात्यग्निर्ज्योतिषं त्वा वायुमतीं– स्वर्ग्यां स्वर्गायोपदधामि भास्वतीमिति । कात्या. श्रौ. सू. ४।१४।२३

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स्वाहा '[55] मंत्र पढ़ कर समिधा पर दूध की आहुति डालनी चाहिए। प्रथम आहुति देने के बाद स्रुक् को कुश में रख कर गार्हपत्याग्नि को देखते हुए 'पशून्मे यच्छ' इस मंत्र को पढ़ना चाहिए[56] तदन्तर दूसरी आहुति देने के लिए पहली आहुति की अपेक्षा अधिक दूध का प्रयोग करना चाहिए।[57] दूसरी आहुति देते समय किसी मंत्र का उच्चारण नहीं करना चाहिए और प्रजापति का ध्यान मन से करना चाहिये। इसके बाद स्रुव में, दूसरी आहुति मे प्रत्युक्त दुग्ध की अपेक्षा अधिक दुग्ध ग्रहण किया जाता है और स्रुक् को तींन बार इस तरह अध्वर्यु उठाता है कि अग्नि की ज्वाला कांप जाय। ऐसा करते समय अध्वर्यु 'रूद्रमृडानार्भव मृड धूर्त नमस्ते अस्तु पशुपते त्रायस्वैनम्'– इस मंत्र को पढ़ता है।[58] ऋग्वेदीय आश्वलायन शाखा तथा कृष्ण यजुर्वेदीय तैतिरीय शाखा अग्नि की ज्वाला कंपाने के लिए दूध से भरे हुए स्रुक् को तीन बार उठाने का विधान करती है परन्तु शुक्ल यजुर्वेदीय शाखा मे स्रुक् के दो बार उठाने का हीं विधान करती है।[59] उठाये हुए स्रुक् को अध्वर्यु कूर्च मे रखने के बाद स्रुक् के अग्र भाग को हाथ से स्वच्छ कर लेता है। इसकें बाद कुश के उत्तर भाग में अपनी अंगुलियों को अध्वर्यु उपर उठाता है।[60] जनेऊ को प्राचीनावीत ढंग से धारण करके 'स्वधा पितृभ्य' मंत्र को पढ़कर कुशो की दक्षिण दिशा मे अपना हाथ रखता है।[61] तदन्तर अध्वयुं प्राचीनावीत को उपवीत की तरह धारण करके जल का स्पर्श करता है। अध्वर्यु पूर्व की ओर मुख करके गार्हपत्याग्नि के उत्तर – पश्चिम दिशा में बैठ कर घुटनों को मोड़ कर गार्हपत्याग्नि में एक आहुति स्रुव में दूध लेकर उसी अग्नि में डालता हैं। गार्हपत्याग्नि में दूसरीं आहुति अमन्त्रक डालनी चाहिए। तदनन्तर दक्षिणाग्नि में "अग्नयेऽन्नादायाऽन्नपतये स्वाहा" मंत्र पढ़कर दूध की एक आहुति डालनी चाहिए।[62] दक्षिणाग्नि में दूसरी आहुति अमन्त्रक डाली जाती है।[63] तत्पश्चात् स्रुव में स्थित आहुति से बचे हुए भाग को अनामिका अंगुली से निकाल कर उसका प्राशन किया जाता है।[64] इसके बाद स्रुक् को जल से भरकर 'देवान् जिन्व' इस मंत्र को पढ़ कर स्रुक् में स्थित जल को पूर्वं दिशा की तरह उछालना चाहिए।

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५५. समिधमाधाय विद्युदसि विद्य मे पाप्मानमग्नौं – स्वरोमग्निर्ज्योतिर्ज्योतिरग्निः स्वाहेति । आश्व. श्रौं. सू. २।३।१६

५६. पूर्वामाहुतिं हुत्वा कुशेषु सादयित्वा गार्हपत्यमवेक्षेत पशून्मे यच्छेति । आश्व. श्रौं. सू. २।३।१७

५७. वर्षीयसीमुत्तरामाहुतिं हुत्वा भूयो भक्षायावशिनष्टि । आप. श्रौ. सू. ६।११।२

५८. हुत्वा स्रुचमुद्गृह्य रुद्र मृडानार्भव मृड धूर्त नमस्ते अस्तु पशुपते त्रायस्वैनमिति त्रिः स्रुचाग्नि- मुदञ्चमतिवल्गयति । आप. श्रौ. सू. ६।११।४

५९. द्विः प्रकम्प्य निदधाति । कात्या. श्रौं. सू. ४।१४।१९

६०. तेषां दक्षिणत उत्ताना अङ्गुली:करोति । आश्व. श्रौं. सू. २।३।२१

६१. स्वधा पितृभ्य इति दक्षिणत उत्तानम् कात्या. श्रौं. सू. ४।१४।२०

६२. अग्नयेऽन्नादायांन्नपतये स्वाहेति दक्षिणाग्नौं । कात्या. श्रौं. सू. ४।१४।२४

६३. तूष्णीं द्वितीयाम् । कात्या. श्रौं. सू. ४।१४।२५

६४. अनामिकया द्विः प्राश्नाति । कात्या. श्रौं.सू. ४।१४।२६

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सरला वृत्तिकार के मत का खण्डन :-

विद्याधर शर्मा ने कात्यायन श्रौतसूत्र की सरला वृत्ति में जल के उछालने की दिशा उत्तर इस लिए बतायी है क्योंकि वे उत्तर दिशाको ही देवताओंकी दिशा समझते हैं।[65] वास्तव मे उत्तर दिशा मनुष्योंकी दिशा है, और पूर्व देवताओंकी दिशा है[66] ऐसा श्रुति का सिद्धान्त है । 'देवान् जिन्व मंत्र को उद्दिष्ट करके कहा गया हैं । अतः जल उछालने की क्रिया देवताओ की दिशा पूर्व की तरफ होगी न कि उत्तर की तरफ : अतएव विद्याधर शर्मा का मत निराधार है। इसके पश्चात्- 'पितृञ्जिन्व'- मंत्र पढ़ कर जल को दक्षिण दिशा की तरफ उछाल देना चाहिए ।[67] दक्षिण दिशा की ओर जल उछालते समय जनेऊ को प्राचीनावीत ढंग से धारण करना चाहिए । अध्वर्यु तीसरी बार स्रुक् को जल में भरकर 'सप्तर्षीन् जिन्व' पढ़कर जल को ईशान कोन की तरफ उछाल देता है। अध्वर्यु स्रुक् को चौथी बार जल से भरकर कूर्च-स्थान के दर्भ को हटा कर तीन बार जल छिड़वता है और जल छिड़वते समय 'अग्नये पृथिवीक्षिते स्वाहा पृथिव्या अमृतं जुहोमि स्वाहा' मंत्रों को पढ़ता है।[68] इसकें बाद स्रुक् और स्रुव को आहवनीयाग्नि मे तपाकर कूर्च स्थान में रख दिया जाता है।[69] अग्नि में समिधा डालते समय 'समिदसि:[70] मंत्र का पाठ करना चाहिए ।

सायंकालीन अग्निहोत्र होम सूर्यास्त होने पर करना चाहिए ।[71] कात्यायन भी इससे सहमत है। प्रातः कालीन होम सूर्योदय के पूर्व करना चाहिए।[72] किन्तु आश्वलायन के मत से अग्निहोत्र उदयास्त के उपरान्त ही करना चाहिए । इस विषय मे प्राचीन काल से ही दो मत चले आ रहे है। कुछ लोगो ने सूर्योदय के पूर्व और कुछ लोगों ने सुर्योदय के उपरान्त अग्निहोत्र करने का विधान बताया है । शाङ्खायन ब्राह्मण भी इस विषय मे अवलोकनीय है।[73] आपस्तम्ब ने इस[74] विषय मे चार मतों का उद्घाटन किया है; अनिग्होत्र प्रात:एवं सायं अर्थात्

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६५. ततः स्रुवं जलेन पूरयित्वा देवाञ्जिन्वेति मन्त्रेण दैवत्वादुत्तरतो जलमुच्छालयेत्। सरला. कात्या. श्रौ. सू. ४।१४।२७

६६. प्राची हि देवानां दिग्- उदीची हि मनुष्याणां दिग् । श. ब्रा. १।७।१।१२

६७. उत्सृप्य निर्लेढ्याचम्योत्सिञ्चति, देवाञ्जिन्व, पितृञ्जिन्व । कात्या. श्रौ. सू. ४।१४।२७

६८. चतुर्थी कूर्चस्थाने त्रिर्निषिञ्चत्यग्नये पृथिवीक्षिते स्वाहा पृथिव्या अमृतं जुहोमि स्वाह। अमृते अमृतं जुहोमि स्वाहेति । कात्या. श्रौं. सू. ४।१४।२८

६९. स्रुक्स्रुवमाहवनीये प्रतप्य निदधाति । कात्या. श्रौ. सू. ४.१४।२६

७०. समिध आदधाति सर्वेषु यथापर्युंक्षिप्तं समिदसि समिद्धो....ते अग्ने दीद्यासमिति । कात्या श्रौ. सू. ४।१४।३०

७१. अग्नरस्तमिते होतव्यम्। आप. श्रौं. सू. ६।४।६

७२. प्रातर्जुहोत्यनुदिते- प्रातःकाले अनुदिते सूर्येऽग्निहोत्रं जुहुयात् । सरला. कात्या. श्रौ. सू. ४।१५।१

७३. शां. ब्रा. २।९

७४, आप. श्रौं. सू. ६।४।७-९

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था रात्रि के प्रथम या द्वितीय प्रहर में या प्रातः जब सूर्य के मण्डल का एक अंश दिखायी पडे या जब सूर्य ऊपर आ चुका हो। सायंकालींन अग्निहोत्र होम के समय अग्नि ज्योति रात्रि एवं दिन के संधिकाल मे करना चाहिए या तब जब्र प्रथम तारा आकाश मे दिखाई पडे ज्योतिरग्निःस्वाहा'. मंत्र पढ़ना चाहिए औरप्रातःकालीन होम के समय 'सूर्योज़्योति ज्योतिः सूर्यः स्वाहा' मंत्र पढना चाहिए।[75] सायंकालीन अग्निहोत्र मे स्रुक् के मुख को नीचे करके ईषेत्वा.' मंत्र पढ़कर स्वच्छ किया जाता है परन्तु प्रातः कालीन अग्निहोत्र मे स्रुक् केमुख को ऊपर करके 'ऊर्जेत्वा.' मंत्र से सांफ किया जाता है।[76]

ब्रह्मतेज कीं प्राप्ति के इच्छुक ब्राह्मण को अंगारों के प्रदीप्त हो जाने पर हो मकरना चाहिए[77] अर्थात् निर्धूम आग्निहोत्र होम करने से ब्रह्मतेज की प्राप्ति होती है। घृत से होम करनेसे तेज, दूधसे होम करने से स्वर्ग और पशु, यवागू से होम करने से ग्राम तथा दधि से होम करने से इन्द्रिय-सामर्थ्यं की प्राप्ति होती है तण्डुलों से होम करने से बल की प्राप्ति होतीं है।[78] नित्य अग्निहोत्रहोम का द्रव्य दूध है, अतः सकाम होम की श्रेणी मे पयोद्रव्यक अग्निहोत्र होम भी हो जाता हैं।[79] आपस्तम्बनें ओदनद्रव्यक अग्निहोत्र होम को अन्न कीं प्राप्ति करानेवाला, तण्डुलद्रव्यक होने पर ओज को बढ़ाने वाला, मांसद्रव्यक होने पर यश को बढ़ाने वाला, सोमरसद्रव्यक होने पर ब्रह्मतेज को बढ़ाने वाला तथा आज्यद्रव्यक होने पर तेज को वढ़ाने वाला वताया है।[80] अग्निहोत्र का परित्याग तभी करना चाहिए जब कोई परिव्राजक वना जाता है। ऋग्वेद जैसे प्राचीन समय मे भी यह विचार विद्यमान था कि अग्निहोत्र सूर्यं के उदय में सहायता पहुंचानेवाला एक अभिचार है; यही कारण था कि कर्मकाण्डियोंने सूर्योदय के पूर्वकृत्य के अनुष्ठान करने पर इतना अधिक बल दिया था।[81] 'अग्निहोत्र' हविर्याग की एक महत्वपूर्ण संस्था है। इसलिए इसका वर्णन सम्पूर्ण वैदिक साहित्य मे विस्तृत रूप से किया गया है। अग्निहोत्र के बारे मे अत्यधिक क्या कहना- जैसे

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७५. अग्निर्ज्योतिर्ज्योतिरग्निः स्वाहेति सायमग्निहोत्रं जुहोति। सूर्यो ज्योतिर्ज्योतिस्सूर्यः स्वाहेति प्रातः आप. श्रौ. सू ६।१०।८

७६. इषे त्वेति स्रुङमुखादवाचीनं सायं लेपमवमार्ष्टि ऊर्जे त्वेति ऊर्ध्वं प्रातः। आप. श्रौ. सू. ६।१०।१०

७७. अंगारेषु चाकश्यमानेषु ब्रह्मवर्चसकामस्य। कात्या. श्रौ. सू. ४।१५।१९

७८. पयसा स्वर्गकामः पशुकामों वा। यवाग्वा ग्रामकामः। तण्डुलैर्बलकामः। दध्नेन्द्रिय-कामः। घृतेन तेजस्कामः। कात्या. श्रौं. सू. ४।१५।२०–२३; २५

७९. पयसा नित्यहोमः। आश्व. श्रौ. सू. २।३।१

८०. ओदनेनान्नाद्यकामस्य तण्डुलैरोजस्कामस्य। मांसेन यशस्कामस्य सोमेन ब्रह्मवर्चसकामस्या-ज्येन तेजस्कामस्य। आप. श्रौं. सू. ६।१५।१

81. "Agnihotra with its brightening up of the fires, was a spell to aid the rising of the sun, a view which was doubtless the ground of the opinion of those who pressed for the performance of the ceremony before sunrise. *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upnishad* Vol. 2, Page, 310.

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भूखे बच्चे माता के पास भूख मिटाने के लिए जाते है, वैसे ही सब प्राणी अग्निहोत्र की शरण लेते हैं[82] अग्निहोत्र की महत्ता का वर्णन सम्पूर्ण ब्राह्मणग्रन्थो (विशेष रूप से जैमिनीय ब्राह्मण मे) उपनिषदों, मनुस्मृति तथा श्रीमद्भगवद्गीता में अत्यधिक विस्तार से किया गया है।[83] किन्तु यहां विस्तार भयसे कुछ ही महत्वपूर्ण अंशों को उद्धत्त किया गया है।

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८२. यथेह क्षुधिता बाला मातरं पर्युपासते ।
एवँ सर्वाणि भूतान्यग्निहोत्रमुपासत इत्याग्निहोत्रमुपासत इति॥ छां. उ. ५।२४।१
"As children entreat their mother for food, so must we beg our daily bread from the Lord Vaishvanara—the humanity" माधवाचार्यकृतभाष्य, छं. उ. ५।२४।५ पृ. ३६७.

८३. श. ब्रा. २।३।३।१५; २।३।२।१५; तै. ब्रा. २।१।१०।३; २।१।८।३; छां. उ. ५।२४।२; मुण्ड. उ. १।२।६
अग्नौ प्रास्ताहुतिः सम्यगादित्यमुपतिष्ठते ।
आदित्याज्जायते वृष्टिर्वृष्टेरन्नं ततः प्रजाः ॥ मनु. ३।७६; भ. गी. ३।१४-१५

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THE EXTANT AV ŚĀKHĀS AND THEIR AREA OF CIRCULATION

By

R. C. MISHRA

Though the number of AV *śākhāş* mentioned in different texts varies from five to hundred, the most accepted number is nine Patañjali (Paspaśāhnika *navadhā ātharvaṇa*), AV *Pariśiṣta* 49, *Śaunokīya Caraṇavyūha, Kātyāyana Pariśiṣṭadaśakam*, Sāyaṇa in his introduction to the AV *bhāṣya* and other testify that AV has nine *śākhās*. The *śakhā*-names are differently writien in different texts, sometimes with slight variations but some times they are altogether new. But the most correct in so far as the number and names are concerned, seems to be the information found in AV *Parisiṣṭa* 49. 4. 1. The nine names given there are :- Paippalādāḥ, Staudāḥ, Maudāḥ, Śaunakīyāḥ, Jājalāḥ, Jaladāḥ, Brahmavadaḥ, Devadarśāḥ, and Cāraṇavaidyāḥ This text belongs to the AV tradition and so, its information should be accepted as authentic. The other texts do not belong to the AV tradition proper. On this subject much has been written by scholars. So I don't want lo linger on it. The remark I want to make is that the Paippalāda *śākhā* and the Śaunaka *śākhā*, are common in all the enumerations and it is remarkable that only these two *śākhās* i. e. the Devadarsī is perhaps extant also. So I shall confine my discussion regarding the circulation of these three *śākhās* only i. e. the Śaunaka, the Paippalāda and the Devadarśī.

The Śannaka śākhā

This *śākhā* is widely known to the scholars at present. Most of the importaut texts of it are published. Among the *śākhās* of the AV, it is considered as Vulgate by the scholars. The *AV* tradition seems to be fnlly maintained in this *śākhā*.

Now, coming to the area of its circulation, we feel that the information known so far as inadequate. So I humbly try to give more information on the basis of manuscripts available in different places and on the epigraphic evidences. So far it is believed that the Brāhmaṇas of this *śākhā* live mainty in Gujarat and only a few are scattered in Maharashtra. But we find that it had extended from Vijayanagar (Karnataka) in the South to Kashmir in the North. At present the Śaunakīya Brāhmaṇa-families are living in Maharashtra, Gujrat, Rajasthan, Gwalior (M. P.), Banaras and probably in Kashmir. In the recent past it was popular in a vast area covering the whole of the Western parts of India.

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We know Sāyaṇa, a native of Vijayanagar, wrote the commentary on *AV* (*Ś*) in the 14th century, and he was probably not aware of the *AV* (*P*) Now, we have epigraphic proof that in the 15th century A. D., AV (Ś) Brāhmaṇas of the Vijayanagar Empire migrated to Maharashtra. D. B. Diskalkar says, 'In West Maharashtra there are living about fifty AV Brāhmaṇa-families in the Khatav Taluka of Satara District. Interesting information is obtained from some old Marathi records about their colonisation in this region. An Atharvaedi Brāhmāṇa named Dada Narasi of ths Bhalandāyana gotra who migrated from Vijayanagar in Karnataka obtained a *farman* from the Bijapur Sultan in 1386 A. D. to populate the Khatav division of the then Karhad district which had been depopulated during the Durgādevī–famine (*Selection from the Peshwa Daphtar* Vol. 45 Nos. 2 and 3). His descendants bearing the surname Kale are still to be found at Malavdi in the Khatav Taluka. He had invited and settled some more AV families whose descendants are still there. It is curious to see that although Dada Narasi is said to have hailed from Karnataka no Atharvavedi Brāhmaṇa-families are known to have existed there. There was another colony of the Atharvavedi Brāhmaṇas in the village Kṣetra Mahuli, a mile and half to the west of the confluence of Krishna and Venna and three miles to the east of Satara, as evidenced by a stone inscription data Śaka 1499 found in a Siva-temple there noted above......... These facts lead us to believe that there was a regular emigration of the AV and other Brāhmaṇas from Karnataka on the fall of Vijayanagar Empire and to make themselves popular among the subjects the Bijapur Muslim rulers sometimes issued grants in their favour'.[1] R. G. Bhandarkar noticed a Vedic school of AV Brāhmaṇas in Mahuli.[2] Diskalkar continues, 'Some of the AV Brāhmaṇas who had settled in the adjoining village of Chinchner on the bank of the Krishna migrated to Sangli, Ramadurga, Gwalior and Charkhar (in Bundelkhnnd) at the invitation of the rulers of the places who had maintained at their courts learned Brāhmaṇas of all the four Vedas'.[3] S. P. Pandit collected MSS of AV from Kesava Bhat Daji Bhat of Mahuli. Accordind to Pandit he was one of the four good Vaidikas of the *AV* in Deccan.[4] Venkat Bhatji Gore of Sangli is considered by him as the most celebrated Atharvavedin in the Deccan. A few years baek V. V. Bhide of Pune collected a good number of *AV*(*Ś*)-MSS from his descendants. These MSS are now deposited in the Vaidika Saṁśodhana Maṇḍala, Pune. Venkat Bhatji's cousin Ganesa Bhat Dada of Mahuli visited Sringeri and discovered a part of

1. D. B. Diskalkar : " Atharvaveda Brāhmaṇas ", *P. O.* XXVII, P. 1.
2. R. G. Bhandarkar : *IA*, 1874, P. 131.
3. D. B. Diskalkar : *Ibid*, p. 3.
4. *AV*. *Samhitā* : Introduction.

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Sāyaṇa's commentary. Two MSS of Sāyaṇa's commentary on *AV(Ś)* were discovered from the Matha at Kudle, Karnataka. On the basis of these two MSS, S. P. Pandit edited the AV(Ś) with Sāyaṇabhāṣya. From this we understand the importance of *AV(Ś)* Brāhmaṇas of Vijayanagar and Maharashtra for the *AV*(Ś) tradition. The Hanampur (Dharwar Dist.) inscription of the 16th century A. D. mentions an AV Brāhmaṇa who belonged to the Gautama gotra, Mādhyaṁdina śakhā and practised Kātyāyana Sūtra (AR. I. Ep. 1949–50, No. 85 p. 25)[5]. The mention of the Mādhyaṁdina śākhā and Kātyāyana Sūtra along with the *AV* shows that the *AV* Brāhmaṇas already lost their tradition in that area. This and the previous informations supplied by D. B. Diskalkar *explain the Disappearance* of AV Brāhmaṇas in Karnataka. Now, coming to Gujrat, the homeland of the Śaunakīya Brāhmaṇas, we find that they are still living in the Baroda and the Saurastra regions, pursuing their tradition, though owing to the infiuence of modern life the number of ritualists are decreasing day by day. In the recent times V. Raghavan under the good offices of H. H. Śaṁkaracārya of Dvārakā arranged a tape-recording of the *AV(Ś)* from the Kaṇṭhapāṭhins of Gujrat[6] Now-a-days *AV* Brāhmaṇas are found at Bhavanagar and Junagadh in Saurastra and at Sinore, Lunavada and Karnali near Baroda.[7] It is interesting to note that plates are discovered from Bhavanagar (623 AD) and Lunavada (760 AD) where AV Brāhmaṇas were granted lands by the Kings[8] From there we can safely conclude that AV Brāhmaṇas have been living in these areas at least from 7th century A. D.

There are soms *AV* Brāhmaṇas also in Rajasthan (formerly Rajputana). A manuscript of *AV* is there in the Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute cellected from Sadasukha Sukla of Jayanagar One of the MSS of AV used by S. P. Pandit for his edition was written by one Giridhar Ojha in Surapur near Jodhpur. Wilson has seen also some *AV* Brāhmaṇas in Rajasthan[9].

At Gwalior (M. P.) a few *AV(Ś)* Brāhmaṇas ars living. D. B. Diskalkar knew a Śaunakīya Brāhmaṇa named Visnubhat of that place[10]. In recent times late H. R. Diwekar collected a copy of Keśava's Paddhati from the *AV* Brāhmaṇa family of late Ganeshabhatta Dada Gore[11].

5. D. B. Diskalkar : " AV and Epigraphy", *JAS* Bombay, Vol. 34–35.
6. V. Raghavan : " The present position of Vedic Recitation and Vedic śākhās ", p. 16–17
7. D. B. Diskalkar *A V Brāhmaṇas*, p. 2.
8. D. B. Diskalkar : *A V and Epigraphy*, p. 78.
9. J. Wilson : *Indian Caste* II p. 174.
10. D B. Diskalkar : AV Brāhmaṇas, p. 4.
11. Select writings of H. R. Diwekar, p. 52, Pune, 1976,

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In Banaras some *AV(S)* Brāhmaṇa families are there. Diwekar procured a copy of Keśava's Paddhati from an Atharvavedin Pandit Narayanabhatji Ratate of Banaras[12]. Late V. Raghavan informs that two Atharvavedins, Bhavani Shankar Dwivedi and his son Mohanlal Dwivedi lived in that place[13]. H. T. Colebrooke[14] and F. Otto Schrader[15] procured MSS of 52 *AV* Upaniṣads from Banaras. Through ages Banaras has been the meeting place of the Brāhmaṇas of all the Vedas. Some *AV(S)* Brāhmaṇas have settled there.

Some scholars think that some Paippalādins were living in Kashmir. I think that not only Paipalādins but also Śaunakīyas were living there. We find about twenty MSS of *AV* Saṁhitā are deposited in the Raghunath Temple Library of Jammu[16]. Wherefrom were they procured ? It is perhaps one of the largest collections of the MSs of the AV(Ś) MSs of the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa, Kauśika Sūtra, Keśava Paddhati, Sarvānukramaṇī*, AV Upaniṣads etc. are deposited here. We see that a good number of MSS of Narayana's commentaries on 52 *AV* Upaniṣads are deposited here. Here two rare MSS of the commentary of Narayana on the *Varadottaratāpini* (Dvitīyopaniṣad) are available. Moreover K. V. Hügel says that the Atharvavedins were living in Kashmir in the beginning of the 19th century A. D.[17]. F. Otto Schrader in the Introduction to his critical edition of the *Sāmānyavedānta Upaniṣads* informs us that he has collected the MS of 52 AV Upaniṣads from one Brāhmaṇa Sahaja Bhatta of Srinagar. From my researches on *AV* Upaniṣads I know that the MSS of 52 *AV* Upaniṣads are current among the Śaunakīya Atharvavedins. So I think that Sahaja Bhatta must have been a Śaunakīya Atharvavedin. Hence I presume that some Śaunakīya Atharvavedins were living in Kashmir and some may still be found if proper search is made.

The above facts indicate the circulation of the Śaunaka śākhā at present in the Western part of India and Kashmir.

The Paippalāda śākhā

The discovery of the birch-bark MSS of the Paippalāda śākhā in Kashmir was an epoch-making event in Oriental Studies But it is known

12. *Ibid*, p. 52.
13. V. Raghavan : *op. cit.* p. 19.
14. H. T. Colebrooke : *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. I, London, 1873.
15. F. Otto Schrader : *Descriptive Catalogue* (*Upaniṣads* p 84. P. X.
16. M. A. Stein : Catalogue of Sanskrit MSs in the Raghunath Temple Library, Jammu, p. 1-3.
17. L. Renou : "The Vedic Schools and the Epigraphy", *Siddha Bhāratī* Part II, Hoshiapur, 1950, p. 217.

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that the MS is very defective and the first folio is missing. Several other folios are lost or damaged. The MS is corrupt in many places. So efforts were made to find out more MSs but the attempts became futile. In 1957, D M. Bhattacharyya surprised the scholarly world by discovering *AV(P)* Brāhmaṇas in Orissa. He collected the MSs of Paippalāda śākhā but died after editing *AV(P)* *saṁhitā* upto the 4th Kāṇḍa only. The scholarly world will remain grateful to the memory of this erudite scholar for his great discovery. Under accidental circumstances I started my researeh on Paippalāda Atharvavedins of Orissa. By now I have completed research on the Upaniṣad tradition prevalent in Paippalāda as well as Śauuka śākhās of *AV*. Through my intensive seach for Paippalāda MSs I came to know that hundreds of Paippalādins live in different parts of Orissa, Bihar and West Bengal covering a vast area and MSs of the Paippalāda literature are available. So far I have found Paippalādins in six districts of Orissa i. e. Ganjam, Puri, Cuttack, Balasore, Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar, Singhbhum district of Bihar and Midnapur district of West Bengal. I also collacted MSs of different texts of the Paippalāda-traditoin. All the Paippalādins of Estern India are Oriyas speaking people. Their texts are written in Oriya-script on palm-leaves. They live in villages. The MSs were written by the ancesters of the present possessors. At present no one writes on palmleaves. The old MSs of *AV(P)* are fast disappearing due to the ignorance of the owners and due to natural causes. It is difficult to collect MSs from the Paippalādins. They conceal them if an outsider makes an approach. They prefer to let them rust than to give them to an outsider, Inspite of various types of difficulties I am able to acquire MSs of the Paippalāda śākhā. In the medieval period also the Paippalāda Brāhmṇas were living in Bengal and Orissa. We find epigraphic proof for it. In the Belva (Dinajpur district of Bangladesh) plates of 1065 AD. and in the Manhainagar (Pabna district of Bengaladesh) plates of King Laxmana Sen (12th century) the donees are mentioned as Paippalāda Brāhmaṇas. Two other epigraphic records indicate the presence of the *AV* Brāhmaṇas in Orissa. The grants of the Somavamsi Kings of Orissa dated 674 AD (E. I. 27. 116) and the Neulpur grant of Śubhakaradeva dated 9th century AD, show that *AV* Brāhmaṇas were living in Orissa at that time[18]. Though their śākhā is not mentioned I think that they were Paippalādins. In those areas the Paippalādins are living event at present.

Now coming to Kashmir, once considered as the homeland of the Paippalādins, we have no definite proof of the existence of *AV*(P) Brāhmaṇas there. Only we have some indicatioas. Roth thinks that there were some in Kashmir. K. C. Chattopadhyaya in his presidential address in the Vedic

18. D. B. Diskalkar : *AV and Epigraphy*, p. 75,

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section of Ninth AIOC says, ' I learn from a friend much interested in Vedic studies, who had been in Kashmir that there are still Vaidikas of the Paippalāda school in the land..[19]. One thing to be noted is that two more copies of the Tübingen MS of *AV(P)* are available in the libraries of RAS, Bombay and India Office Library, London. The Bombay MS. was copied in Kashmir in Saṁvat 1926 (1870 A. D.) before the Tübingen MS was sent to Roth. Similarly IOMS must have been written earlier. Some Paippalādins might have copied them. They may be living even now in some remote areas beyond the notice of scholars.

Regarding the presence of the Paippalādins in other areas we have some indirect proofs. In modern times we hear some *AV* Brāhmaṇas of Gujrat and Maharashtra claiming themselves Paippalādins but read the Śaunaka texts. D. M. Bhattacharyya[20] cited some such cases. He says that late Pandit Hiralal Pancholi of Tejpal Sanskrit College, Bombay was a Gujrati Brāhmaṇa of the Paippalāda śākhā. He further says that he met an Atharvavedin at Ahmedabad in 1961 who thinks himself a Paibppalādin but răcites the Śaunka mantras. He quotes D. B. Diskalkar who had seen some A.V. Brāhmaṇas of Maharastra calling themselves Śaunakīya Paippalādins. G. Bühler as quoted by Schroeder[21] had seen some such persons in Kathiawad, Gujrat believing themselves Paippalādins but reading the Śaunaka texts. In recent times S. S. Bahulkar[22] has come to know of the existence of such Brāhmaṇas in Gujrat from one Pandit Vasudeva Pancholi of the Ātharvaṇa Pāṭhaśālā at Sinore. Two incriptions indicate that there were some Paipalādins in Western India in the medieva period. The Vasim (in Vidarbha) plates of the Vakataka king Vindhyaśakti II of 4th century AD mention Brāhmaṇas of this sākhā. In the Kaira (Gujrat) plates of the Gurjara King Dadda II of 5th century A. D. one Paippalāda Brāhmaṇa received land-grants along with Brāhmaṇas of other Vedas[23].

From the above information we conclude that Paippalādins were there in Gujrat and Maharastra in olden days but they lost their tradition because of the presence of overwhelming number of Śaunakīya Brāhmaṇas in these areas. Now some of them ratain the faint memory of their past. At present the Paippalāda-tradition is found in Eastern India. There may be some in Kashmir.

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19. K. C. Chattopadhyaya : AIOC, IX, 1940.
20. D. M. Bhattacharyya : *A V (P) 1st Kāṇḍa* p. XIII.
21. L. Schroeder : *Maitrayaṇī Saṁhita* I. p. XXIV. n. 3;
22. S. S. Bahulkar : *Bhaiṣajyāni in the Kauśikasūtra*, Un-published thesis submitted to to the University of Poona, 1977.
23. D. B. Diskalkar : *AV and Epigraphy*, p. 77.

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The Devedarśi śākhā

This is one of the nine schools of *AV* mentioned earlier. Only one Upaniṣad of this śākhā is found in *AV* Upaniṣad collections. It is the *Tripadvibhūtimahānārāyaṇopaniṣad* of the Muktika-tradition. The name Devadarśī occurs in the body of this text and in the colophons of the MSs of the same text in the Paippalāda tradition. This āākhā seems to have been very popular in the days of yore. The name found mentioned in *AV Pariśiṣṭa* 49 (Devadarśah), *Śaunkīya Caraṇavyūha* (Kunakhī Vedadarśī) by *Sāyaṇa* (Vedadarśaḥ) in *Kātyāyana Pariśiṣṭadaśakam* (Vedasparśa), *Śrimad-bhāgavata Purāna* (Vedadarśa), *Vāyupurāna* (Vedasparśa) *Brahmāṇḍa Purāna* (Vedasparśa) and *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (Devadarśa) etc. The variant names of it found in various texts are – Devadarśa, Kunakhi Vedadarśī, Vedadarśa, Vedasparśa, Devarśī. Divadarśī is found in its only avaiiable text, in the Paippālāda tradition and in *Kauśika Sūtra*´ 85.77. I think that the correct name should be Devadarśī. Devadarśa might have been the promulater of this *śākhā*.

It is interesting to know that the *Tripadvibhūtimahanārāyaṇopaniṣad* of this *śakhā* is included in the 108 Upanisads of the Muktika-tradition whereas the famed *Mahānārāyaṇa* or *Nārāyaṇa Upaniṣad*, the 10th Āraṇyaka of the Taittirīya śākhā is ignored. Still more interesting is the fact that the Śaunaka *AV* Upaniṣad-tradition includes the 10th Āraṇyaka of the Taittirīya śākhā in some of its collections and ignores it completely. One collection of the Śaunaka-tradition declares that the *Mahānārāyaṇopaniṣad* (T. Ā.) belongs to Paippalāda śākha. But in the present *AV* (*P*) MSs the *Tripadvibhūtimahānārāyaṇopaniṣad* is found whereas the *Mahānārāyaṇopadiṣad* (T. Ā.) is mssing. Another thing to be noted is that the colophon of T. M. U. of Muktika-tradition drops the words, *Devadarsīty ākhyātharvaṇasākhāyām* but retains *Ity ātharvana-Mahānārāyaṇopaniṣadi* etc. indicating its Atharvanic source. In the Paippalāda tradition the full colophon *Devadarsīty ākhyātharvaṇaśākhāyām* etc. is preserved. In the body of the text of T. M. U. the line indicating its original source remains unimpaired. The relevant as found in the first *adhyāya* is like this : (Mahāviṣṇu addressing to Brahmā) *Brahman Devadarśītyākhyātharvaṇaśākhāyām paramatattvarahasyātharvaṇamahānārāyaṇopaniṣadi guruśiṣyasaṁvādaḥ purātanaḥ prasiddhatayā jāgarti.* Here the word '*ātharvaṇa*' is twice mentioned to emphaśise the fact that this text really belongs to *AV* tradition of Devadarśins. The second *ātharvaṇa* clearly differentiates this Upaniṣad from the other Upaniṣad of the same name, the M. U. of the Tattirīya śākhā. Moreover the precaution is taken by the incorporating the śakhā-name in the body of the text to ensure its preservation. This indicates the anxiety of the Devadarśins to retain their stamp in their text.

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In the Purāṇas[24] Devadarśa is a key figure. He is one of the two disciples of Kabandha. Kabandha taught half of the *AV* to him and the other halt to Pathya. Devadarśa again divided his share into four parts and gave them to his four disciples - Moda, Brahmabala, Pippalāda and Śaukyāyani or Śaulkāyani. Pathya divided the other half into three and gave to his three disciples, Jājali, Kumuda and Śaunaka Śaunaka again divided his part into two and gave them to his two disciples. In this description of Purāṇas Devadarśa plays a prominent role. He is the head of one line of successers of the *AV* out of the two lines.

Now regarding the area of its circulation D. M. Bhattacharyya says, 'I now learn from V. Raghavan that Somanātha's *Paṇḍitārādhyacarita* in Telugu mentions a good many Vedaśākhās apparently existing in his own country in his own time. Six belonged to the *AV* Pippalāda, Śaunka Varatantavīya, Brahmavad, Danta and Devadarśin'.[25] This indieates that Devadarsī *śākhā* was known in Telugu areas.

The *Tripadvibhūtimahānārāyaṇopaniṣad* is included in the Muktika collection whose sphere of influence was confined to the Southern region up to the 19th century A.D. It is not found in Northern MSs collections. This indicates the southern origin of the T.M.U. Some Paippalādins of the Ganjam district of Orissa live close to Andhra region. They must have come to know of this Upaniṣad at a later period, and must have replaced the *Mahānārāyaṇopaniṣad* of the Taittirīya śākhā with the present text of the *AV* traditton proper. That is why we find T. M. U. in the present Paippalāda collection. Some scholars who have worked on Upaniṣad MSs of the South India think that the T. M. U. is the Andhra recension of the old *Mahānārāyaṇopaniṣad* of *T. Ā.* So I guess that the T. M. U. must have been written by Devadarśins somewhere in Andhra and the compiler of the Muktika collection must have belonged to that area. So he could not ignore the native tradition. As a result of this, it was preferred to the older and more important *Mahānārāyaṇopaniṣad* of the Taittirīya śākhā.

From the foregoing discussions I conclude that upto a certain period of time Devadarśi śākhā was prevalent in the South India, possibly in the Andhra region and it had a literature of its own out of which T. M. U. is known to us. If a thorough survey is undertaken more texts belonging to it may be found.

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24. Ganga Sagar Rai, "Śākhās of the AV", *The Purāṇa* XIV 1972 and R. L. Mitra : *The Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*, p, 5.
25. D. M. Bhattacharyya : *Fundamental themes of the AV*. p. 60, Poona 1968.

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ON THE INTERPRETATION OF 'ÁŚVYO VÁRAḤ' IN ṚGVEDA I.32.12

By

S. P. NARANG

While teaching the verse *áśvyo vāraḥ*, in ṚV. I.32.12 in अश्व्यो वारो अभवस्तदिन्द्र सृके यत् त्वा प्रत्यहन् देव एकः । अजयो गा अजयः शूर सोममवासृजः सर्तवे सप्त सिन्धून् Wilson following read 'When the single resplendent Vritra returned the blow (which has been inflicted) Indra, by thy bolt thou becamest (furious), like a *horse's tail*." The context in the words *sṛke* and *sartave sapta sindhūn*' is that of water. There is no word for simile in the mantra and the meaning 'horse's tail' appears to be superfluous. This made study almost all the the cases in all the *RV* where the word aśva occurs.

In the present paper I studied about 110 cases. Out of the 110, in 91 cases undoubtedly the word *aśva* has been used in the sense of 'horse' which appear in the Maṇḍalas in the order of preponderance as follows :

I = 20; X = 20; IV = 9; III = 8; VII = 8; IX = 8; VI = 7; VIII = 7; V = 3 and II = 0.

It is not accidental that the word in the sense of 'horse' is used in the last phase of the *RV* frequently. It is due to the fact that in its earliest phase i.e. in *RV*. II it is not used whereas in the I and X maṇḍalas, is had attained its most popular meaning 'horse'.

The word *aśva* has so much phonetic similarity with the word 'aqua' that there is no improbability in propounding the view that in its earliest phase the word would have meant "water" : in its second phase aquatic and finally the most important aquatic domesticates by human civilization i. e. horse.

Water : To me in 19 cases whieh I propose to interpret it means water and the interpretation through simile or otherwise which has been given by Sāyaṇa or other modern scholars becomes futile.

1. In *ṚV* I. 36.8 घ्नन्तो वृत्रमतरन् रोदसी अप उरुक्षयाय चक्रिरे,
भुवत् कण्वे वृषा द्युम्न्याहुतः क्रन्ददश्वो गविष्टिषु ।

Here in वृत्रमतरन्, the meaning of the word Vṛtra in connection with the root '*tṝ*' means water and subsequently the word क्रन्ददश्वो does not mean 'crying horse' as propounded by Sāyaṇa but figuratively "crying water".

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2. In I. 27.1 अश्वं न त्वा वारवन्तं वन्दध्या अग्निं नमोभिः ।
सम्राजन्तमध्वराणाम् ।

Here in the context of अग्नि, the word अश्वं न त्वा वारवन्तं may be interpreted as the " water with circles " which is also a simile and an epithet of Agni i. e. waterly fire. It is interesting that in later literature also the word बडवानल has a relevance to अश्व i. e. water and not the horse.

3. In ṚV I. 84.14 इच्छन्नश्वस्य यच्छिरः पर्वतेष्वपश्रितम् । तद् विदच्छर्यणावति ।।

In ṚV. I. 84.13-14, perhaps it is the search for the " frozen water " which was killed ninty-nine times by Indra who wanted to acquire its originating point. It is interesting that the word शिरः has not only the meaning 'head' but also the 'end' which is preserved in MIL. e. g. Panjābī *sirā* (end). The context shows that in the search, the head of the horse becomes irrelevant although Sāyaṇa has alluded to a story which is differently found in later mythology. Sāyaṇa explains : अश्वस्य अश्वसम्बन्धिदधीचः which is related to *RV*. I.84.13 इन्द्रो दधीचः अस्थभिर्वृत्राण्यप्रतिष्कुतः । जघान नवतीर्नव ।। The meaning given by Sāyaṇa is far-fetched both with regard to mythological explanation as well as linguistic explanation. The expression अपश्रितम् शिरः is not only clear in the sense of contextual meaning in the sense of "frozen water" but also अपश्रितम् < अपशृतम् is linguistically related to 'frost' with elision of initial *a*. If we accept the meaning ,'water', the whole mantra becomes very clear and relevant with शर्यणावत् सरस्.

4. In *RV*. I. 117.5 शफादश्वस्य वाजिनो जनाय, Sāyaṇa has explained वाजिनो वेगवतो अश्वस्य. The variant of Śapha has been substituted to its synonym ' Khura ' in some texts. Sāyaṇa has interpreted that Aśvins filled for the (expectant) man a hundred vases of sweet (liquor) from the hoof of your fleet horse. (Wilson)

The filling of the sweet liquors from the hoof of the horse is absolutely irrelevant in the context and unintelligible as well. Śapha here may mean the "foam" or surf and aśva as the water and the total expression may mean "hundred vases of sweet liquor from the foam of the water". The śapha is preserved in Sanskrit in words like Śaphara or Śapharī which is related exclusively to water. The mantra may mean, "Aśvins filled the hundreds of vases of the honey brought from the foam of water for the welfare of public." As Aśvins are related to medicines also, indicates that the surf of the ocean was used as medicine. In Persian 'śaphā, means " medicinal system ". Moreover, Śapha is analogous to that of hoof of the horse in structure. May it be a metathesis for fish fisk OHG. Fisc ; Goth, Fisks L. Piscis. < śapha ?

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Moreover, according to Indian tradition, Dhanvantari brought the medicine from the ocean at the fime of Samudra-manthana.

5. In *RV* I, 161.7 सौधन्वना अश्वादश्वमतक्षत युक्त्वा रथमुप देवाँ अयातन, the expression अश्वादश्वमतक्षत is very important. It does not mean the Saudhanvanas fabricated the aśva from aśva (horse) but means the Saudhanvanas 'invented the horse from the water'. Saudhanvanas were not only a particular mixed caste as propounded by Wilson but also the ,'inhabitatants of sandy dry land of the sea-shore. The bringing of the horse fromthe ocean is also alluded to in the *RV*. I. 163.1.

6. In *RV* 5.53.7. ततृदानाः सिन्धवः क्षोदसा रजः प्र सस्रुर्धेनवो यथा ।
स्यन्ना अश्वाइवाध्वनो विमोचने वि यद् वर्तन्त एन्यः ॥

Sāyaṇa has interpreted it : like rapid horses let loose upon the road the rivers rush in various directions.

Here if the mantra means "like rapid waters let loose upon the road and it rushes to the rivers in various directions'', it not only removes the remote simile but also becomes very relevant in the context of the rains. So we may accept the meaning as water.

7. In the ṚV. 2.35.6. अश्वस्यात्र जनिमास्य च स्वर्द्रुहो रिषः संपृचः पाहि सूरीन् ।

In the context of the apāṁ napat and the birth of 'horse' from it becomes irrelevant. But if we accept "The waters were born from it", the meaning and relevance in the context of 'apāṁ napāt' becomes clear.

8. In *RV*. III. 26.3. अश्वो न क्रन्दञ्जनिभिः समिध्यते ।

In the context of Vaiśvānara Agni, the meaning may refer to churning of fire from the waters and not like a 'crying horse'. As discussed previously, the क्रन्दन् अश्वः refers to the "crying water" and the fierce sound which is produced by water-fire while in its circuit.

9. In *ṚV*. 5.83.6. दिवो नो वृष्टिं मरुतो ररीध्वं प्र पिन्वत वृष्णो अश्वस्य धाराः ।

In the context of rains in the sky, there is no relevance of the streams of horses. The word dhārā is only relevant to the water. In the full context of rains and thunder, there is no possibility of the horse but it is water only.

Figurative Expressions

10. In *RV*. I.164.34, there is a question :

पृच्छामि त्वा परमन्तं पृथिव्याः पृच्छामि यत्र भुवनस्य नाभिः ।
पृच्छामि त्वा वृष्णो अश्वस्य रेतः पृच्छामि वाचः परमं व्योम ॥

the query is related to the univessal phenomena viz. the earth, the Bhuvana, the Vyoma and Aśva. Is the meaning semen of the horse possible in this

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context of universal phenomena ? Undoubtedly, it is a figurative expression where *aśva* does not exactly mean 'horse' but something else. In *RV*. I. 164.35 in the reply to the question in *RV*, I. 164.34, the explanation in term of symbol has been given by the *Ṛgveda* itself where *aśva* has been identified by Soma and all the questions in issue have been replied figuratively viz.

इयं वेदिः परो अन्तः पृथिव्या अयं यज्ञो भुवनस्य नाभिः ।
अयं सोमो वृष्णो अश्वस्य रेतो ब्रह्मायं वाचः परमं व्योम ॥

It exhibits that aśva had so prominance in the *ṚV*, that it was identified with the most important deity like Soma also.

But in the context of natural phenomena, it may mean the drops of "Raining water" in this context and not the semen of the horse.

11. In *RV*. I. 173.3

नक्षद्धोता परि सद्म मिता यन् भरद् गर्भमा शरदः पृथिव्याः ।
क्रन्ददश्वो नयमानो रुवद् गौरन्तर्दूतो न रोदसी चरद् वाक् ॥

The invoker pervades the measured stations (of the altar), and accepts that (oblation) which is the germ of the year and of the earth; as a horse neighs when bringing (the offering to Indra), as a bull bellows like a messenger proclaims his message between heaven and earth (Wilson). It is also a figurative expression where aśva may mean water and the expression "crying water, as if, taking away the weeping earth" and not " the horse taking away the cow."

Aquatic

12. In ṚV I.117.4. अश्वं न गूढमश्विना दुरेवैर्ऋषिं नरा वृषणा रेभमप्सु

Here the simile अश्वं न रेभमप्सु गूढम्–shows not the drowning of the horse in the water but drowning of the acquatic in the water because only aquatics remain in the water for longer period and the horse being an animal of the earth can only dip in the water for a while. So in this passage, the aśva means āquatic.

13. In *RV*. 5.61.5 सनत्साश्व्यं पशुमुत गव्यं शतावयम् ।
श्यावाश्वस्तुताय या दोर्वीरायोपबर्बृहत् ॥ and

14. *RV* 8.34.16. आ यदिन्द्रश्च दद्वहे सहस्रं वसुरोचिषः
ओजिष्ठमश्व्यं पशुम् ।

The word Paśu qualified by the words aśvyam and gavyam is interesting. It exhibits that by the seers of the ṚV it had been dividee into two categories (i) aśvya i. e. born of water (later on belonging to the category

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of a horse) and (ii) gavya (i.e. born of earth 'go' (of Nighṇṭu) later on represented by cow category.

Similarly in *RV.* 8.34.16 paśu is not only qualified by aśva but also a distinct category of aśva i. e. ojiṣṭha. Similarly in *RV.* 5.61.5 श्यावाश्व i. e. the black horse has been distinguished from other category of animals. Similar category is found in *ṚV.* 9.108.6.

It is very much relevant to the problem in hand i. e. *áśvyo vāraḥ RV* I. 32.12, where it should mean the "obstruction of the water", or the "circle of the water" and not the "hair of the horse" as Sāyaṇa has interpreted it.

1. In the *RV.* I. 163 (aśva-sūkta), the aśva desciibed is not like the modern horse. It is described like a horrible aquatic arising out of Samudra (*RV.* I. 163.1), crying loudly; having wings like a falcon and strong arms like that of a lion (Hariṇa - Sāyaṇa and Wilson 'deer'). Indra was first to ride it (*RV.* I. 163.2). It is described as a fast-running steed. Multi-dimensional golden horns (I. 163.9 Hiraṇyaśṛaṅga) exhibit him like an antelope (I. 163.11). This hostile and fierce aquatic has disappeared and the horse which is absolutely unlike the modern horse has been described in the *Ṛgveda.* It shows that it means only 'aquatic' in the *Ṛgveda.*

Repetitive

16. In a number of verses both aśva and vājin which became synonyms of horse in later Sanskrit are found. The words not only appear to be repetitive but also sometimes not relevant to the context. If 'aśva' is interpreted as water the anomaly is solved.

In *RV.* 10.143.2 त्यं चिदश्वं न वाजिनमरेणवो यमत्नत ।
दृळ्हं न वि ष्यतमत्रिं यविष्ठमा रजः ॥

This Atri, whom the irresistible (ASURAS) dragged bound like a swift horse, ye unloosed like a strong knot (setting him) the youngest born upon the earth (Wilson). Instead of making aśva a substantive of the adjective vājin or vice-versa, if the true simile expressed by the word 'na' is interpreted it will mean 'The water running like a horse'. The controversial interpretation of vājin as *anna* as it has been done by Sāyaṇācārya a number of times is removed and the repetition is also avoided. Similar expressions are found in *RV.* 3.29.6. 7.7.1; 7.70.1.

Corroborative Evidences

Nighaṇṭu has inlisted Pippala (Ficus religiosa) as one of the synonyms of water (MWD). Hemacandra, a Jain lexicographer has enlisted Aśvattha of the same family as a synonym of water in his *Anekārtha Saṅgraha* (III. 339 अश्वत्थो गर्भाण्डे स्यात् पिप्पले संस्मृतो जले). The genus moracea may be

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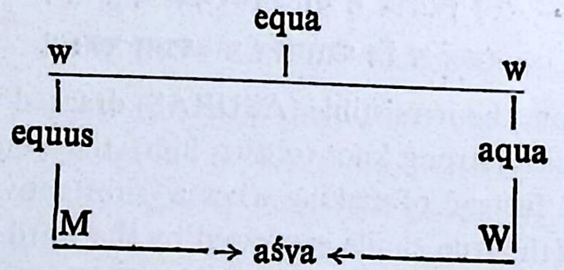
distinguished from other trees due to its milky juice. It is also said that the trees exude oxygen day and night. Not only the word *aśvattha* which in my opinion has the etymology 'aśva + stha' i. e. the tree in his water explains the word aśva but also has a harmony of its abundent water ingredient in the form of milk and oxygen. It appears that originally the aśvattha might have been an aquatic which took its form on the earth at a later stage. It is further strengthened by the custom of encircling it by thread and pouring water on it by the folk. The thread may be remenant of the period when it might have been tied with ropes on the earth to erect it. Its aquatic nature has exactly been described as ऊर्ध्वमूलोऽवाक् शाखोऽश्वत्थोऽयं सनातनः. The word *Vaḍavānala* is originally derived from *aśvānala* " Water-fire." The word equus for horse and aqua for water have been differently explained by Buck (*Dictionary of Indo-European Synonyms*, p. 167, Lat. *equus* (with fem. equa mare); OE *eoh*; Goth. Aihwa tundi; Lith eśva, aśva (mare); Sanskrit *aśva* and old Persian *aspa*. On the etymology of 'Baḍavā' the fem. of *aśva* a question-mark has been put for aqua >*akwa or *akwā has been reconstructed as Indo-European word.

Mayrhofer (*Kurz gefasstes Etymologsiche's Wörterbuch*) has derived the word *aśva* (horse) from Lat. *equus* whereas he has derived the word *aśvattha* from *aśva* Lat. aqua Wasser *ttha* from **sta* = idg**d-to*-gegeban.

To me, there is no need of deriving it from different words. At its first stage it changed to 'equus' i. e aquatic which is applicable not only to horse but to the whole family of asses, zebras etc. and the second word for water.



W = Word M = Meanigg

That is why in the *Ṛgveda* its shows its double character of water as well as horse and aquatic as interpreted by me. In the *Ṛgveda* it had not given up its original character of the water but due to importance of horse, gradually it was changing its meaning. It was due to its obscurity in the meaning at later stage that Sāyaṇa had to interpret all the stanzas forcibly in favour of horse but the tradition of lexicography preserved the meaning water in one or the other way.

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The other words which are phonetically related to aqua and aśva where water ingredient is essential are अकूपार initial elzie कूपार, कूवार कूंवा i. e. from ocean to well, *aśra* or *asra* and *aśru* for tears. The word *aśri* i. e. sharp side of anything, corner, angle , edge of a sword etc. was also due to its double entendre of its water character i. e. *dhārā* where both the current of water and sharpness are visible.

Aiso Lat.*acies*, *acer*; Lith. *assmu*.

Bloomfield and Edgerton in Vedic variants have noted the tendency of interchangeability of व् and म्. If this tendency is applied to the word, a number of unexplained words in *aśma* may be explained.

अश्म : Thunderbolt e. g. *aśvadidyu* in *ṚV*. V. 54.3 (M-W. 'whose weapons are stones or thunderbolt').

Aśvāntaka : *Manu* II. 43 – A plant from the fibres of which the girdle for a Brāhmaṇa may be made. It must be short so the fibres in the water of reservoirs were used for it *aśmakadalī* in contrast with *kadalī* and *aśmapuṣpa* in contrast with Puṣpa may also be interpreted accordingly.

If the meaning of *aśva* is accepted as *aqua*, a number of problems related to *aśvins; aśvina* month and a number of words may be explained profitably.

So in *ṚV* I. 132.2 *aśvyo vāraḥ* shall mean the " obstruction of the water " and not " the hair of the horse."

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THE ṚGVEDIC COMPOUND SVAR-DṚŚ

By

RAM GOPAL

The compound *svar-dṛś* occurring in the *RV* has been variously interpreted by ancient and modern Vedic scholars. Yāska (X, 13) explains the compound *svar-dṛśaḥ* (*RV.* II, 24, 4) as *sūrya-dṛśaḥ* (*raśmayaḥ*) which is explained by Durgācārya as *sūrya-samāna-darśanāḥ* "those which look like the sun." Several modorn scholars including Oldenberg and Geldner follow Durga's explanation and interpret it as sun-like. But when this interpretation does not suit the context, the scholars suggest other interpretations of this compound.

It may be pointed out that the Ṛgvedic passages containing the compound *svar-dṛś* can be divided into two categories – (1) those passages in which the noun qualified by it is clearly mentioned and (2) the other passages where the noun described by this compound has to be inferred according to the context. The problem of interpretation is much more complicated in respect of the second category of such passages. But even in the case of first category of the Ṛgvedic passages the Vedic interpreters are far from certain and suggest several meanings.

For instance, the ancient Indian commentators explain the compound *svar-dṛśaḥ* as "those who appear like the sun or heaven, or those who see the sun or heaven or all"; whereas modern scholars translate it as "those who see the heaven or the sun or the light, or the gods of sun-like aspect, or those whose eye is the sun, or sun-eyed, or sun-like." Neither the ancient commentators nor the modern scholars are unanimous about the interpretation of this compound,

As regards its meaning "sun-like" suggested by ancient and modern scholars, it may be pointed out that there is no positive proof of the combination of *dṛś* in the sense of "like" with nouns in the *RV.*, though it is combined with some pronouns in this sense. Moreover, the meaning "sun-like" does not fit into the context in several Ṛgvedic passages. The meaning "sun-eyed" assigned to *svar-dṛś* is possible, if it is accepted as a Bahuvrīhi compound, but the accent which falls on its final syllable militates against this view. Besides, there is no definite use of the word *dṛś* in the sense of "eye" in the *ṚV.*

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The word *svar* mostly denotes " heaven " in the *RV.*, though due to extension of meaning this word also means " sun " in a few passages. Since " heavenly light " or " bliss " is little more than a mere figuration of its principal meaning " heaven ", the first member *svar* of this compound means " heaven or heavenly light. "

The final member *dṛś* of this compound is here used in its causative sense as attested by its use in the *RV.* Therefore the meaning of the compound *svar-dṛś* is " one who shows heaven or heavenly light " and this meaning fits into the context in all the Ṛgvedic passages where it is used as an epithet of gods.

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KIMĪDIN

By

P. C. SAHOO

It is very difficult to give a grammatical derivation of the vedic word *Kimīdin* This word may be an onomatopoeic word[1]. As we see the commentators of the Vedic verses have derived the word from a sound uttered or created by some beings which came to be known as *kimīdins*. Yāska tries to give an etymology of this wordi n his *Nirukta* (6.11) as follows - *kim idānīm iti carate kim idam kim idam iti vā piśunāya carate*. This means the malignant being which goes on saying 'what now or what is it, what is it' for the sake of back-biting is called *Kimīdin*. The commentators and the translators of the vedic verses have also faithfully accepted this derivation with some minor additions to it. Weber in his *Indische Studien* pointed out that the word has similarity with the word *śimidā* (*Aśimida* in *RV* 7.50.4) which means a scorpion [2]

In the *Mythologie* of Charpentien this word is discussded under the essay entitled 'Piśāca'.[3] There he says that the word *kimīdin* is derived from kimīda-deva, which is similar to the word 'Muradeva'. Also he has given the meaning of the word *kimi* as *kṛmi* or worm. So ultimately the word *kimīdin* stands for the demons who used to worship worms. But B. G. Tilak thinks that this word is related to two Chaldean words, He tries to connect this word with the Accadian words 'Ekimmu' and 'Dimme' which also stand for spirits. He forms the word *Kimm-dimm* from these two words and derives the word *Kimīdin* from it.[4] H. D. Velankar followed Yāska and Sāyaṇa while analysing this word as *Kim-id* (what indeed with the affix 'in').[5]

As far as the general nature of the *Kimīdins* is concerned, there appears to be no much difference of opinion. Sāyaṇa accepts the etymology

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1. op. *Ṛgveda Maṇḍala VII* by H. D. Velankar, Bombay, 1963 P. 227. F. Notes
2. *Indische Studien* - Vol-13 Leipzig-1873 P. 184, F. N. No.-1
3. *Kleine Beitrage zur Indoiranischen Mythologie* von Charpentier Uppsala-19.1, Under the title 'Piśāca' P. 10 "*Kimi-Kṛmih*-Kurz form etwa für * *Kimīda-deva*, Wurm-Verchrer"
4. "Chaldean and Indian Vedas" an essay presented by B. G. Tilak in *Bhandarkar Commemoration Vol.* Delhi-1917 P. 35-36.
5. *Ṛgveda Maṇḍala VII* by H. D. Velankar translation of ṚV 7.104.2 F. Note P. 227.

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given by Yāska and adds some adjectives like-*jighāṁsayā vartamānāni bhavanti* (*RV* 7.104.3), *piśunāya carantīti kimīdinaś corāh.* (*AV* 2.24.1), *svapravṛttaye kālānveṣaṇam kurvantaḥ athavā – svocitaṁ padārtham anviṣya carantaḥ* (*AV* 1.7.3) *randhrānveṣī hiṁsrakaḥ* (*AV* 4.28 7) and *gūḍhaṁ saṁcarataḥ* (*AV* 4.20.5). Most of the modern interpreters also have accepted the general explanation of this term without translating the word.[6]

Only Weber translates it as 'beshaft' in the 1st kāṇḍa of the *AV*. and elswhere he prefers to retain the original word without translation.[7] While translating the verse *RV* 7.104.2, Wilson remarks that the word is unusual and rather unintelligible.[8] Some Sanskrit dictionaries have also kept, more or less, the same explanation of this word[9] and deseribed *Kimīdin* to be the name of a class of evil beings. But no clear statement is given anywhere about the exact identification of these evil beings. Whether this *Kimīdin* is taken as the name of a class of evil spirits which are abstract like ghosts and goblins or the name of a class of non-Aryan human beings which are hostile to Aryans, is not clear from the above statements.

In the vedic texts we find a number of evil sprits, demons, goblins and hostile ereatures. All of them seem to be harmful towards the human beings in general and some of them are very prominent and are very frequently mentioned in the Vedic texts. They are for instance, *Atri, Arāti, Ducchunā,*

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6. Geldner *Der Ṛgveda* part II Cambridge (Mass.) 1951, P. 274 for the translation of *RV* 7.104.2; P. 274 – for the translation of *RV* 7.104.23; Vol. 35, Part III P. 280 for RV 10.87.24,

R. T. H. Griffith *Hymns of the AV* Vol.-1, Vāranasi - 1962 (3rd Edition) P. 9 F. N. No. 1,

M. Bloomfield *Hymns of the AV* S. B. E. Vol. XLII, Delhi-1964 (reprint) P. 403, commentary to AV 4.205, F. N No.-d.

W. D. Whitney *Atharva Veda Saṁhitā* Vol-1, Delhi 1962 (reprint)

7. *Indisehe Studien* Vol-1 Berlin-1958, P. 398, 399, 423 for 1st Kāṇḍa; Vol-13 Leipzig-1873 P. 183, for 2nd kāṇḍa;

8. H. H. Willson *Ṛgveda Saṁhitā* Vol-4 Delhi-1978 (reprint) P. 441 translation of RV. 7.104.2, Foot-notes.

9. *Sanskrit Wörterbuch* by Böhtlingk-Roth Vol-2 St. Petersburg-1859, P. 287 "einer Klasse von Unholden";

Wörterbuch zum Ṛgveda Von H. Grassmann Wiesbaden-1872 (reprint 1964) P. 325 "Bezeichnung einer art unholden";

Altindische Grammatik von J. Wackernagel Gottingen 1957 Band I P. 143 "die Bezeichnungen von Fremden und unholden", in 1954 Band III P. 328 Kimīdin-N, von Dāmonen namen auch so zu erk Laren (2) and P. 335 – die Dāmonen Namen V. Kimīdin AV.

Kurzgefasstes Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen (Concise Etymological Sanskrit Dictionary) by M. Mayrhofer, Heidelberg-1956 "Kimīdi – Bezeichnung einer Klasse vonunholden / name of a class of evil spirits. P. 210,

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Druh, Dvayāvin, Kimīdin, Pīsāca, Rakṣas, Gandharva, Vandana, Yātu, Yātudhāna etc. A close study will reveal that all the evil beings are not similar to one another but they have their own peculiarities. H. D. Velankar in his article ' Magicians in the Ṛgveda ' has tried to point out the characteristies of many of the evil beings.[10] He broadly divides these names into two categories (i) the megicians or devil mongers or the employers of the evil spirits (ii) the devils or evil spirits themselves. He has included *Kimīdin* in the second category. Accordingly, he seems to think that *Kimīdins* are not employers or magicians but employees. This implies that being employed by the magicians *Kimīdins* always have to ebey their masters. Further he pointed out that there are some other evil spirits whose employers are not mentioned at all in the texts. So *Kimīdins* may come under this subcategory as their employer cannot be identified on the basis of the vedic texts.

But very often we see that the *kimīdins* are mentioned along with Yātudhāna and sometimes these words even appear to be in apposition. (*Yātudhādhānā Kimīdinā, RV* 10.87.24 and *AV* 1.7.3; *Yātudhānam kimīdinam AV* 1.7.1; *yātudhānān kimīdinaḥ AV* 1.28.1–2;) In such cases Sāyaṇa has taken the word kimīdin as the adjective of yātudhāna which are supposed to be *rākṣasas*. But let us first point out the difference between the *yātudhana* and *kimīdin*. The word *yātudhāna* is a general term which stands for both the devils and their employers.[11] But *kimīdins* seem to be separate from both the above mennioned classes. This word occurs thrice in the *RV* and about nineteen times in the *AV* in various grammatical forms. All these verses occur in the hymns which are devated more or less to the eradication of evil spirits, demons etc. Nowhere the employer of the *kimīdins* is mentioned nor even they are directed to go to their employer by a counter witchcraft-maker. The 24th hymn of the second kāṇḍa of the *AV* is wholly meant for the counter witchcraft. There the *kimīdins* occur along with some other devils like *śerabhaka, śerabha, sevṛdhaka* etc. All of them along with their followers are directed to go to their employers. The commentater has taken the *kimīdins* as the followers of the above mentioned devils. But really in this hymn the *yātavaḥ* or pain-giving devils are alone mentioned to be the followers of the *Śerabhakas* etc; and not the *kimīdins*. *Śerabhaka* etc. are the leaders of the *Yātbuhanas* (evil spirits) which employ the *yātavaḥ* or some inferior pain-giving devils as their followers. Again all of the evil beings like the Śerabhaka etc. along with their followers are employed by the *yātudhānas* (the employes or magieian). The *kimīdins* in this hymn appear to be independent and also

10. *Sarup Commemorial* Vol–1954 Hosiarpur. P. 85.
11. " Magicians in the Ṛgvoda " by H. D. Velankar *Sarup Commemorial* Vol. Hosiarpur 1954 see P. 88. (last paragraph)

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are eradicated independently. If we take the *yātudhānas* as their employers then it becomes superfluous to mention both of them simultaneously in the same verse. Because the magicians themselves do not go to attack the enemy along with their employed spirits, they only send them forth. Therefore, I think that the *kimīdins* are not subordinate to any other superior power-carriers as their employers or leaders. They are not devil mongers also. No single evidence is found to prove their capability of controlling other demony or spirits as their subordinates. So they can't be said to be either masters or they can be described to be simply followers also.

We get a very few descriptions of *kimīdins* in the Vedic literature. But most of the characteristics of *kimīdins* appear to be very much similar to those of the other demons. They roam in couples at night. The commentator thinks that the Dawn is the dispeller of the *kimīdins* (see the commentary of the word *apocchatu* in *RV* 7.104.23). Elsewhere also they are said to be wandering in couples. But there no referenee is made to night. Sometimes they are mentioned to be in company of *yātudhāna* and *yātumāvant*. (*Praty agne mithunā daha yātudhānā kimīdinā RV* 10.87.24 and *yātumāvatām apocchatu mithunā yā kimīdinā RV* 7.104.23). At times we also get reference to female *kimīdins* (*kimīdinīḥ AV* 2.24,5.8). In the *RV* 7.104.2 and *AV* 8.6.21 a further description about the *kimīdins* is found. Thus they are haters of brahmins or sacred hymns, they possess a fearful appearance, eat raw fleshes, they have the rimlike nose and roam nakedly. They are said to be *Durhārda* (crooked-hearted) though they cannot be magicians in the sense that they can emplay other devils against the enemies; yet they do possess some magical power, with the help of which they can change the male baby to female and vice-versa, even before the time of the b rth of a child. (*Jāyamānam mā pumaṁsāṁ striyaṁ kran AV* 8.6.25). They have also the capacity to destroy the embryo of a pregnant woman by shooting arrows aiming at the babies inside the womb through their magical power. So they are called *Āṇḍādas* or babe-eaters. The protection against the *kimīdins* is also the same as for the other devils. The deities like Agni, Indra, Soma and the minor deities like Bhava, Śarva and Pṛthvī are invoked to drive them out, to kill them and to burn them. Sometimes the deities are prayed to bring them inside the hold of the magician priest, (*stuvānam agna āvaha yātudhānaṁ kimīdinaṁ AV* 1.7.1) to make them cry out (*vilapantu yātudhānā atriṇo ye kimīdinā AV* 1.7.3) and to assign hate unto them (*dveṣo dhatta manavāyam kimīdine AV* 8.4.2.). An amulet made of yellowish-white mustard seeds is directed to protect the pregnant woman from their attack (see *AV* 8.6.2, 25).

It is possible that the *kimīdins* are non-Aryan human beings or aboriginal tribes which are very often called as *rakṣases* by Aryans. Further more,

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the words uttered by the beings themselves vize *kim idānīm, kim idānīm* or *kim idam, kim idam* appear to be very meaningful sounds, and they indicate the evil intentions in the minds of the *kimīdins*. It will be difficult to imagine that such utterences could possibly be uttered by the abstract ghost like imaginary beings which are usually employed by the black magicians. So it is possible that *kimīdins* are a separate non–Aryan class of enemies of Aryans. An interpretation of the word *kimīdin* given by the commentator at *AV* 2.24.1 viz - *kimīdinaś corāḥ* (the kimidins that are thieves) worthy to be noted in this respect. In the *Pāraskara Gṛhya Sūtra* (1.16.2?) and in the *Hiraṇyakeśi Gṛhya Sūtra* (2.1.3) the word *kimva-dantaḥ* occurs along with the names of some demons and goblins. The evil beings meant by this word are likaly to be the same as *kimīdins*.

Thus after studying all the reference to thhe word *kimīdin* thoroughly we can conclude that *kimīdins* form a separate class of demons under the general term *yātudhāna* or *rakṣas*. They were the most fickle-natured ones. Vedic people had assigned a permanent hate unto them. Moreover it can't be said that the *kimīdins* were employed by other power-carriers. They were rather exercising their magical powers at their own will.*

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* I sincerely acknowledge the help of my guide Dr. G. U. Thite in connection with German references in the papers.

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APROPOS OF THE VEDIC METRE VIRĀJ (*RV* 10.130.4 & 5)

By

ANANT SHARAN TIWARI

The *ṛcs* 4 and 5 of *ṚV* 10.130[1] state that, in the dawn of creation seven metres viz. Gāyatrī, Uṣṇih, Anuṣṭubh, Bṛhatī, Virāj, Triṣṭubh and Jagatī were associated with seven gods viz. Agni, Savitṛ, Soma, Bṛhaspati, Mitrāvaruṇa, Indra and Viśvedevas. This very well suggests that the metre Virāj occupied an important place among seven metres and it is placed on the fifth position in order of gradation. This place, however was occupied in later times by Paṅkti and Virāj was subsequently replaced.

The replacement of Virāj by Paṅkti and its subsequent relagation to a subordinate position, it must be borne in mind was by no means an ordinary event for it meant the reversal of *śruti* whose statements could hardly be controverted in the traditional Indian circles. This is at best illustrated in the 17th Chapter of the *Ṛkprātiśākhyam* (*Ṛkp*) which is entirely devoted to to the Vedic metres. That the *Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa* 24.10.2[2] had emphatically held the identity of Virāj and Paṅkti, very well shows that the controversy regarding these metres had taken root at that time. But Śaunaka (800-600 B. C.) in the *Ṛkp* 17.6-8 while dealing with the presiding deities of the seven metres in the light of ṚV 10.130.4-5 holds that herein the deity of Paṅkti is not indicated and that she is Vāsavī[3], which is understood by Dr. Virendra Kumar Varma as ' of the Vasus '. This however seem to be unacceptable in the light of the statement of the *Bṛhaddevatā*, another work of Śaunaka, wherein he holds that both Paṅkti and Tṛṣṭubh have Indra as their presiding

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1. अग्नेर्गायत्र्यभवत् सयुग्वोष्णिहया सविता सम्बभूव ।
अनुष्टुभा सोम उक्थैर्महस्वान् बृहस्पतेर्बृहती वाचमावत् ॥
विराण्मित्रावरुणयोरभिश्रीरिन्द्रस्य त्रिष्टुबिह भागो अह्नः ।
विश्वान्देवाञ्जगत्याविवेश तेन चाक्लृप्र ऋषयो मनुष्याः ॥

2. पङ्क्तिर्वै परमा विराट्

3. *Ṛkp*, ed. V. K. Varma, Varanasi, 1970, pp. 829-832 :
दैवतं छन्दसामत्र वक्ष्यते तत उत्तरम् ।
अग्नेर्गायत्र्यतोऽधि द्वे भक्त्या दैवतमाहतुः ॥
सप्तानां छन्दसामृचौ ॥ ६ ॥ न पङ्क्तेः ॥ ७ ॥ सा तु वासवी ॥ ८ ॥

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deity.[4] Moreover Vāsava frequently occurs as an epithet of Indra and the formation of Vāsavī in feminine by adding the suffix ङीप् in Vāsava (= Indra) appears more natural and logical.

Had Śaunaka taken Virāj in the ṚV 10.130.5 as a nominal variation of Paṅkti, the problem would have been different but he has deliberately followed a different tradition and in this process made observations that appear both elusive and contradictory. It seems he could not rid himself from the statement of *śruti* on the one hand and the contingency of following a different tradition on the other. The other tradition delineated in the *Ṛkp* places Virāj on the subordinate position whose addition with a metre in relation to a following metre makes it lacking by two syllables unlike Svarāj which comprises two more syllables than the prescribed number of a particular metre.[5] Likewise in the 16th Chapter of the same text Virāj is appended with Anuṣṭubh and Paṅkti metres.[6] Needless to add this arbitrary treatment of Virāj makes one wonder if Śaunaka had actually given serious thought to the statemet of *śruti*. One could have agreed with Dr. Varma in holding that Śaunaka should not have written a seperate *sūtra* for Paṅkti since it was mentioned by the name Virāj[7] in ṚV 10.1 .0.5 but it could be done only when Śaunaka would not have shown his oscillation in the treatment of this metre. This tendency is aptly illustrated in his allotment of colours to the various metres wherein he mention Virāj twice, once with blue colour and again with manifold colours. Uvaṭa, the commentator of *Ṛkp* deals at length with this problem and endeavours to justify twice allotment of colours to one and the same metre. He also tries to overcome the problem arising out of this double allotment of colours to Virāj and says that Virāj is of two kinds viz. 1. Virāj of Anuṣṭubh and Paṅkti[8] and 2 Virāj lacking by two syllables.[9] Since the

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4. *Bṛhaddevatā*, Delhi, 1965 :

अग्नेरेव तु गायत्र्य उष्णिहः सवितुः स्मृताः
अनुष्टुभस्तु स मस्य बृहत्यस्तु बृहस्पतेः ॥ १७५ ॥
पङ्क्तयस्त्रिष्टुभश्चैव विद्यादैन्द्रचश्च सर्वशः
विश्वेषां चैव देवानां जगत्यो यास्तु काश्चन ॥ १०६ ॥

It is worth noticing that in keeping with ṚV 10.130.4–5 he holds that Virāj and Svarāj have Mitra and Varuṇa respectively as their presiding deities :

विराजश्चैव मित्रस्य स्वराजो वरुणस्य च ।

5. Cf. *op. cit*, p 826 :

विराजस्तूत्तरस्याहुर्द्वाभ्यां या विषये स्थिताः ।
स्वराज एव पूर्वस्य याः काश्चैवंगता ऋचः ॥ ३ ॥

6. Cf. *ibid.* pp. 799 and 805
7. Cf. *ibid*, p. 832
8. Cf. *ibid*, pp. 799 and 805 9. Cf. *ibid*, p. 82ɔ

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sūtra : *pṛśnivarṇaṁ tu vairājaṁ* (Ṛkp 17.15) emphatically holds Virāj to be of manifold colours and already blue colour has been allotted to it, it goes to show that Virāj of Anuṣṭubh and Paṇkti is blue whereas the other Virāj is of manifold colours.[10] In this connection he makes a reference to a school of metricians which holds that it is only Virāj Paṅkti (having four *pādas*, each with ten syllables) that is blue-coloured.[11] This statement of Uvaṭa, it may be submitted, sounds very significant since it has something to do with a school which holds the identity of Virāj and Paṅkti, though not mentioned as such by Uvaṭa. However it seems no other Vedic authority either Kātyāyana or Piṅgala etc. took note of Virāj-Paṅkti problem. Kātyāyan in his *Sarvānukramaṇī* followed Śaunaka while giving an index of Vedic metres. Piṅgala had ample opportunity to write something on this topic[12] but he too deviated from adding anything new. In this conrext, it appears rather curious, whet prompted Pt. Yudhishthira Mimamsaka to hold that Piṅgala was the first to assert that Virāj and Paṅkti are one and the same metre since no such statement to this effect is to be met with in his work.

It is to the credit of Madhva (1238–1317 A.D.) and his commentators Jayatīrtha and Chalāri who have taken up this problem in true perspective. Madhva while dealing with the Vedic metres in the preface to his *Ṛgbhāṣyam* takes ṚV 10.130.4–5 as a cue. He takes *abhiśrīḥ* in the ṚV 10.130.5 as 'wife' and thereby interprets these metres as having the wives of those gods as their presiding deities. In accordance with these two *ṛcs*, he holds Virāj associated with the wives of Mitrāvaruṇa.[13] Likewise for Paṅkti, he takes Śacī (wife of Indra) as the presiding deitly.[14] His commentator Chalāri brings out the purport of *tathā* and *ca* contained in his *bhāṣya*. The main argument of Chelāri, elaborating the statement of Madhva and Jayatirtha on this problem, is that since Virāj is considered to have four *pādas* with ten syllables each (which brings the syllables to forty) and since Paṅkti too is considered to

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10. *ibid*, p. 834, : पृश्निवर्णम् = बहुवर्णम् = चित्रम्; वैराजम् । अथ कस्माद्वैराजस्य द्विवर्णोपदेशः क्रियते ? तत्र क्रमेणैव नीलत्वं सिद्धम् । न सिध्यति । कथम् ? एतास्तिस्रो विराजोऽनुष्टुबेका पङ्क्तिरेका द्वाभ्यां न्यूना चैका । तत्र पूर्वयोर्नीलो वर्णः । अस्याः पृश्निरिति वेदितव्यम् । एवमपि कथमेतदध्यवसीयते पूर्वयोर्नीलो वर्णः अस्याः पृश्निरिति ? निचृद्भुरिजोर्न्यूनाधिकयोः सहोपदेशादस्याः पृश्निर्भवति । परिशेषादितरयोर्नील इत्यध्यवसीयते ।
11. *ibid.* तयोरप्येके क्रमात् पङ्क्तेरेव विराजो नीलत्वं मन्यन्ते ।
12. Cf. *Chandaḥśāstra*, ed. Pt. Kedar Nath, Bombay, 1927
13. *Ṛgbhāṣyam*, Sarvamūla, Belgaum edn., 1814 Śaka : विराण्मित्रावरुणयोर्भार्ये इति च कीर्तिते ...
14. *ibid* पङ्क्तिः शची तथा ।

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have forty syllables, it comes to be established that Paṅkti and Virāj are one and the same. Therefore, there may not be any contradiction of the *Śruti*, the presiding deities of both Paṅkti and Virāj are mentioned in the *bhāṣya*. Thus *tathā* in relation to Paṅkti includes Virāj as well and hence the difference between Paṅkti and Virāj is only nominal and not essential.[15] Likewise while interpreting Madhva's statement : *virāṇ mitrāvaruṇayor bhārye iti ca kīrtite* he points out that *iti ca* indicates the inclusion of Śacī or Indra's wife along with the wives of Mitrāvaruṇa.[16]

Sāyaṇa while interpreting these *ṛcs*, does not add anything new and as usual enumerates Paṅkti among seven major metres. This shows his preferance for Paṅkti. It is the school of Madhva which has taken up this problem critically and analytically and endeavoured to prove the identity of these two metres It may also be submitted that the posterior tradition which replaced Virāj by Paṅkti couldn't however altogether do away with this metre and it remained in some form or the other. Its special relationship with Paṅkti in the posterior tradition shows that primarily because of its Vedic origin it continued to influence In some form or the other, the metricians which has also been referred to by Uvaṭa in his commentary.

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15. *Ṛgbhāṣyaṭīkā tippaṇī*, Nirnaya Sagara edn., Bombay, 1823 Śaka, p. 19 : शची पङ्क्तिश्चेति । चाद्विराट्छन्दोग्रहणम् । पङ्क्तेश्चत्वारिंशदक्षरत्वाद्विराजोऽपि पादचतुष्टयमङ्गीकृत्य पिङ्गलेनैकपादलक्षणस्य दशाक्षरत्वस्य विराजो दिशः ... गायत्रं प्रउगं कुर्यादित्याहुरित्यादौ पञ्चमप्रधानच्छन्दस्त्वेन या पङ्क्तिरुदिता सैवाग्नेर्गायित्र्यभवदिति श्रुतौ पञ्चमत्वेन विराडित्युक्ता अत उभयश्रुत्यनुरोधादुभयोर्देवता कथिता भाष्ये । न तूभयोश्छन्दसोः प्राधान्यविवक्षया । इतरथा सप्तछन्दांसीति श्रुतिविरोधः स्यात् । अतः पङ्क्तिर्विराडिति नाम भेदमात्रमित्याशयः ।

16. *ibid* विराण्मित्रावरुणयोरभिश्रीरित्यस्य रूपभाष्यार्थमाह मित्रेति इति चेति शब्दस्य मित्रावरुणयोर्भार्या चेत्यन्वयेन वक्ष्यमाणसर्वदेवस्त्रियः पङ्क्तिदेवतात्वेनोक्ता शची च समुच्चीयन्ते ।

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SĀYAṆĀCARYA AND WESTERN SCHOLARS : DIFFERENCE OF INTERPRETATION

By

M. R. VEERABHADRA SWAMY

In order to illustrate the methods and bring out the difference involved in the very principle of Vedic interpretation, words culled from the *Atharvaveda* (Śaunakīya) are taken up here in a sequence. An attempt is made to show to what extent the western scholars agree with or differ from Sāyaṇācarya. He, as usual, takes his stand on tradition, while Western scholars usually take their stand on etymology and try to view the words and *mantras* with the assistance of modern Philology and Mythology. A comparative study of the interpretation put forth by Sāyaṇa and Western scholars gives us an idea of the wide range of difference of interpretation. In dealing with the hymns or words of the *Ṛgveda* or the *Atharvaveda* the important question arises : "to what extent are we able to understand their real sense?" We should rely on the Veda, to interpret the Vedas. So, the mantras are studied and analysed and the particular words are seen in the conextual set-up before assigning any particular meaning to the word. Either in the commentator's introductory lines on the hymn or in the commentary on particular *mantra* Sāyaṇa will have hinted at the meaning of the particular words. Viewed in the light of the *viniyoga* of the hymn or the *anuvāka* the meaning becomes clear. Hence it is important to note the *viniyoga* of the particular *mantra*. The opinion of Sāyaṇa and that of the Western scholars have been examined here and the suitability or adoptability of their interpaetation is pointed out in this paper after carefully examining the nature, contents and context of the particular hymn.

AV* 1.2.4 : *Āsrāva

The mantra reads —

यथा द्यां च पृथिवीं चान्तस्तिष्ठति तेजनम् ।
युवां रोगं चास्रावं चान्तस्तिष्ठतु मुञ्ज इत् ॥

' As between both heaven and earth stands the bamboo so let the reed-stalk (Muñja) stand between both the disease and the discharge.'

Sāyaṇa explains the word *āsrāva*[1] here as 'Mūtrātisāra.' It is either 'difficulty of urinating' or 'painful urination.' It should be noted that

1. आसमन्तात् स्रवति अङ्गप्रत्यङ्गेभ्य इत्यास्रावो मूत्रातिसारः ।

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Kauśika at 26.10 intends this as a rite for regulating the flow of urine. So, Sāyaṇa is right in explaining the word.

Weber[2] renders 'āsrāva' as 'reissen' (acute pain) Zimmer[3] understands it as 'festering wound.' Lūdwig[4] once trnnslated it as 'attack of sickness' and later on rendered it as 'attack of cold' Grill[5] interpreted it as 'böser Flux' (bad flux). Griffith[6] takes it as 'morbid flow' or 'dysentery' The last one and Whitney's[7] meaning as flux have been fully and quite originally developed and explainad by Prof. Bloomfield who wrote about these hymns again and again and every time with additional evidence interpreting them as 'charms against diarrhoea.' Griffith hns acknowledged Bloomfield.

The study of this hymn and the next one are essential for a clear understanding of the nature of *āsrāva*. This appears to be morbid flow of urine or unnatural and unhealthy flow. The seventh *mantra* reads—

प्र ते भिनद्मि मेहनं वर्त्रम् वेशन्त्या इव ।
एवा ते मूत्रं मुच्यतां बहिर्बालिति सर्वकम् ॥

The commentator Dārila addresses the person afflicted with stopped urination to split the urinator for the outgoing of urine as the weir of a tank to cause the outflow of water. Sāyaṇa says—हे मूत्रव्याधिपीडित ते तव मेहनम् मूत्रनालः लोहशलाकया मूत्रनिर्गमनार्थं विदारयामि ।

The next *mantra* makes an appealing statement with the help of a simile —

यथेषुका परापतदवसृष्टापि धन्वनः ।
एवा ते मूत्रं मुच्यतां बहिर्बालिति सर्वकम् ॥

'As the arrow, let loose from the bow, moves forward or goes swiftly to reach its destination, so also the urine be moved outwards.'

The use of the word 'lohaśalāk' in the Bhāṣya clearly indicates that Atharvavedics might have practised some surgery to open the urethra to facilitate the outflow of urine. The hymn is meant for removing the obstruction of urine with a reed and the description therein and the word 'srava' (which means 'to flow', - all these points, lead us to agree with Sāyaṇa.

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2. *Indische Studien* IV, p. 394.
3. *Altind. Leben* p. 392 and following him Dr. T. P. Chaudhary "On the interpretation of some doubtful words in the *A V*" *JBORI* XVII, 1930-31, pt. I, p. 84.
4. *Der. Ṛg-Veda*, iii, 507 and 509
5. *Hundert Lieder des AV* p. 14.
6. *Hymns of the AV* Vol. I, p.4
7. *Hymns of the A V.* HOS Vol. I, p. 3

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AV. 1.16.3; 2.4.1. 19.3.45 : Viṣkandha

The Atharvan disease 'viṣkandha' is a mystery. The commentators and interpreters, mention it as a 'demon of disease.' It is frequently mentioned in the *AV*, but nowhere clearly defined. Sāyaṇa : गतिप्रतिबन्धकम् राक्षसपिशाचादिकृतम् विघ्नजातम् ।

'a disturbance caused by rākṣasa or piśāca and obstructing motion' but at 19.34.5 he becomes definite and says — विष्कन्धम् विश्लिष्टस्कन्धम् एवंनामकम् वातविशेषम् महारोगम् ।

'a serious disease of that name caused by wind in the body, producing dislocation of shoulders.' The word is interpreted as from *vi* = apart and *skandha* = shoulder, apparently acute rheumatism in the shoulders and neck.

Prof. Bloomfield[8] has the following remark on the nature of disease *viṣkandha*. "The meaning of *viṣkandha*, I regret to say, is not clear. Both ancients and moderns have etymologised upon the word and in all instances have arrived at the conclusion that the word refers to some disease. But the results, though consistent on the one point of disease, betray their weakness in differing as to its special nature."

Weber thinks it to be 'drawing the shoulders apart, rheumatism.' Bloomfield thinks that it is more conservative for the present to hold *viṣkandha* as designation of hostile demoniac form.

The study of the hymn reveals its clear nature. The *mantra* at *AV* 1.16.3 reads —

इदं विष्कन्धं सहत इदं बाधते अत्त्रिणः ।
अनन् विश्वा ससहे या जातानि पिशाच्याः ।।

'This overpowers the viṣkandha; this drives off the devourers. With this I overpower all the races that are the piśācas. Sāyaṇa offers two different explanations of the word, once as due to piśācas and as wind disease.

AV 2.1.1 : Venaḥ

This hymn has been of considerable importance from many points of view. Whitney characterises the hymn as mystic, while Weber and following him Griffith mention glorification of the prime cause of all things as its theme.

Dr. R. N. Dandekar's[9] remark on this hymn is of prime importance. "Indeed this *sūkta*, particularly its first stanza is very important from the point of view of the development of Indian philosophical thought." Various views have been put forth about Vena, Sāyaṇa first takes 'Vena' as the sun.

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8. *Hymns of the AV* (SBE Series 42) p. 282
9. *The Vena-sūkta in the AV* Mirashi felicitation volume, (Poona, 1965) p. 24.

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वेनतेः कान्तिकर्मसु दीप्यमान आदित्यः ।

and after a complete exposition on this basis he says—

यद्वा वेनः पर्जन्यात्मो मध्यमस्थानो देवः

or 'Vena' is the rain-god, a divinity of the middle region. Whitney translates the word as 'the longing one.' Weber rightly refers in this connection to the Zend root 'vaen' (to see). 'Vena' therefore means 'Seer' (sage).

The *mantra* states —

वेनस्तत् पश्यत् परमं गुहा यद् यत्र विश्वं भवत्येकरूपम् ।
इदं पृश्निरदुहज्जायमानाः स्वर्विदो अभ्यनूषत व्राः ॥

'Vena saw that which is highest in secret, where everything becomes of one form, this the spotted one milked, when born the heaven knowing troops have shouted at it.' The commentator gives two different meanings. The same words equally apply to Vena 'āditya' and 'divinity of the middle region.' Of course, therein lies the greatness of Sāyaṇa. Both the meanings hold good in this connection.

AV 2.8.1; 3.7.3 : Kṣetriya

There is some uncertainty about the nature of the type of disease known as *kṣetriya.*[10] The word *kṣetriya* is interpreted by the Atharvavedians quite unanimously as 'inherited disease.' Dārila at 26.43 defines it as *kaulo vyādhiḥ* 'family disease.'

Among the modern interpreters Weber takes *kṣetriya* in the sense of 'injury of fields or farm.' Jolly[11] calls it a 'chronic disease.' Griffith suggests it to be 'pulmonary consumption.' Bloomfield, Whitney and others render it as 'organic disease' 'hereditory disease' etc in a general way.

All these commentators and interperters have taken the word *kṣetriya* in its secondary or metophorical meaning and rendered it as a 'disease derived from the mother's womb.' The *mantra* reads —

अदो यदवरोचते चतुष्पक्षमिव च्छदिः ।
तेना ते सर्वं क्षेत्रियमङ्गेभ्यो नाशयामसि ॥

'what shines down yonder, like a four-sided roof there with we make all the *kṣetriya* disappear from thy limbs.'

Sāyaṇa defines it here as —

10. Dr. V. W. Karambelkar has dealt in detail about this in *IHQ* Vol. 30. No. 1, March 1954. pp. 1-10.

11, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* Vol. VI. p. 764.

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क्षेत्रे परक्षेत्रे पुत्रपौत्रादिशरीरे चिकित्स्यः क्षयकुष्ठादिदोषदूषितपितृमात्रादि शरीरावयवेभ्य आगतः क्षयकुष्ठापस्मारादिरोगः क्षेत्रिय इत्युच्यते । 'hereditory disease from parents to offspring' apparently an infectious disorder of various forms appeaaing in a whole family or perhaps endemic quoting for this interpretation *Pāṇ* V. 2.92 'क्षेत्रियच् परक्षेत्रे चिकित्स्यः'

Bloomfield thinks, all this is mere play upon the two meanings of *kṣetra* 'field' and 'womb'; the poet thinking that the disease derives its name from the field conjures with the properties of the field or perhaps adopts secondarily *mantras* constructed originally for practices in the field. Grill interprets the word as 'a disease from the field.' Dr. V. W. Karambelkar[12] discusses all the aspects and at the end opines "All these circumstantial evidences lead us to think that *kṣetriya* was a name for a disease or diseases caused by grass poisoning."

The following interpretation may be suggested *kṣetra* means body. Therefore, *kṣetriya* means a disease going from one body to another body; hence a contagious disease (*sāṁsargika* or *sāṅkrāmika*). So, the word *kṣetriya* may also mean a contagious disease going from one person to another.

AV 3.14.1 : Aharjāta

In this hymn meant for blessing the kine, the *mantra* states —

सं वो गोष्ठेन सुषदा सं रय्या सं सुभूत्या ।
अहर्जातस्य यन्नाम तेना वः सं सृजामसि ॥

'With a comfortable stall, with wealth well-being, with that which is the name of the day-born one, do we unite you.'

The difficulty centres around the question to what does *aharjāta* 'day-born' refer ? The obscure third *pāda* is altogether diversely rendered by the translators. Weber : 'with the blessing of favourable birth'; Lüdwig : 'with all that which one calls day born'; Grill : with whatever, a day of luck brings forth'; Roth suggests : 'with all that the day brings or that is under the heaven.'

Sāyaṇa interprets as —

अहन्यहनि जायत इत्यहर्जातः प्राणिविशेषः एतन्नामयोगेन गवां पुत्रपौत्रादिरूपेण अहरहरुत्पत्तिरुक्ता ।

12. *Op. cit.* p. 10

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Bloomfield follows Sāyaṇa in interpreting the word as 'born on a good day' or 'born by day in distinction from night.' Malcolm Willis[13] observes : "In the first place both translators err, to my way of thinking in making the name co-ordinate with the stall, the wealth, the well-being. Rather the name is the means by which the cows are united to those things."

Throughout the *AV* there is a special magical importance attached to the name of a thing as its inner reality. Magically one has only to know this name to gain control over the object itself. He gives this in support of his contention. 'Aharjā' is clarified by another *mantra* of the *AV* (13.4.29)

'He verily was born from the day; from him the day was born.'

in Verity स वा अह्नोऽजायत तस्माद् अहर्जायते ।

This hymn being unmistakably dedicated to the sun, from the similarity may exactness of the expression, one may feel of safe ground in interpreting 'aharjāta' as 'the one born from the day', i. e. the sun. Malcolm Willis translates as below –

"By means of the name of the day-born one (the sun) we unite you with a comfortable cow-stall with wealth with well-being.' Again he observes : "the difficulty among the older translators arose from the fact that they did not recognise the name as a powerful means used by the Atharvn magician to achieve practical ends. Hence, the name is held so sacred that it is not mentioned at all."[14]

AV 19.38.1 : Guggulu

The matter of this little hymn, the guggulu or bdellium, has been the subject of an exhaustive investigation by Lassen, *Indisehe – Alterthums-kunde* 1.339.

Sāyaṇa defines it as 'a wellknown kind of article for incense.'

धूपन द्रव्यविशेषः (AV 2 36.7) सुरभिः घ्राणसन्तर्पको गन्धः (AV 19.38.1)

Whitney leaves the word untranslated. Griffith : 'a costly fragrant gum' The introductory lines of the commentator indicate that the hymn is concerned with the ceremony of a king's entrance into his sleeping house.

The *mantra* states —

न तं यक्ष्मा अरुन्धते नैनं शपथो अश्नुते ।
यं भेषजस्य गुल्गुलोः सुरभिर्गन्धो अश्नुते ॥

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13. "Note on AV 3.14.1" *Turner Jubilee Vol.* p 235
14. Malcolm Willis, ibid p, 237 Excerpts from his doctoral dissertation, *The role of Truth in the magic of the AV* presented to Yale University, Novr, 1957

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'Yakṣmā obstructs him not, a curse attains him not, when the agreeable odour of the healing guggulu attains.' The *guggulu* is an incense for medicinal purpose. Its smoke drives away bitinng insects and purifies the air. Being fragrant it was used also as an unguent to besmear the body.

Thus a close scrutiny of the various interpretations put forth by Sāyaṇa and Western scholars gives us an idea as to how far they have succeeded in understanding and appreciating the Vedas in general, and the *Atharvaveda* in particular.

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IS THERE COSMOLOGY IN THE METAPHORICAL EPISODE OF INDRA-VṚTRA IN ṚGVEDA (I)

By

V. K. VARMA

1. In *Ṛgveda* several sūktas, whose devatā is Indra are devoted to describing the episode of killing of the Vṛtra by Lord Indra. This episode has since been presenting a puzzle which remains unresolved to this day and mystery shrouds the episode as ever. The object of this paper is to unfold the mystery engulfing this episode on the basis of analysis solely based on the internal evidence as available in Ṛgvedic hymns. The words should be interpreted in accordance with the nyāya *sarve sarvārthavācakāḥ* so as to bring to the fore the views, of the authors, latent in the hymns, well-knit in a harmonius whole.

2. *Was Vṛtra an evil spirit* – The 7th hymn of sūkta 32 of maṇḍala 1 is worth examining on the point. The semi hymn is (S. No. 1). *apād ahastaḥ apṛtanyad indram asya vajram adhi sānau jaghāna.* Interpretation – Without hands, without feet wished (to fight) to Indra. Indra (*jaghāna*, PF of √*han* V. G.) struck vajra on his peak.

According to this version vṛtra was rather a disabled figure than a warrior of any heroic significance to be adored by poets of any age, whatsoever. This discription is supported by another hymn *RV* 3/30/8, which runs as follows (S. No. 2).

sahadānuṁ puruhūta kṣiyantam ahastam indra saṁ piṇak kuṇārum,
abhi vṛtraṁ vardhamānaṁ piyārum apādam Indra tavasā jaghantha

(*puruhūta*). Prayed by many (Indra) Indra (*sam*) fully (*piṇak* IPF of √*piṣ* V. G.) crushed (*ahastam*) without hands (*kṣiyamtam*, √*kṣi* = possess V. G.) possessing, pervading (*sahadānum dānu* = drop p. 258 V. G.) with drops (*kuṇārum*) making noise. Indra (*jaghantha*, PF of √*han* – to strike V. G.) struck (*tavasā*) with his strength Vṛtra (*apādam*) without feet (*piyārum*) drunken of physical power (*abhi vardhamānam*) growing all round.

The hymn throws enough light on the innate nature of Vṛtra. Without hands and feet, Vṛtra in possession of all physical matter was still growing in all directions drunken of physical power making sound. This seems to be the description of the supernova, a huge cloud of cosmic matter as conceived by the scientific cosmology to have originated at the beginning of cosmos.

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3. *What was the scene of occurence* – In all historical, or geophysical events the knowledge of the place of occurrence of the incident invariably plays a decisive role. The 7th hymn of *Ṛ.* 1/33 throws a flood of light on the point. It is – (S. No. 3).

tvam etān rudataḥ jakṣataḥ ca ayodhayaḥ rajasaḥ
indra pāre
ava adahaḥ divaḥ ā dasyum uccā pra sunvataḥ
stuvataḥ śaṁsam āvaḥ.

O' Indra (*tvam*) you (*ayodhayaḥ*) fighting (*etān*) these (*rudataḥ ca jakṣataḥ*) weeping and enjoying or swallowing (*rajasaḥ pare*) beyond the heavenly bodies, (*ava ā adahaḥ*) thoroughly burnt (*dasyum*) the evil doers (*divaḥ uccā*) far high in sky. Thus (*pra āvaḥ*) fully vindicated (*śansam*) the glorification offered by prayers and yajniks.

The term *rajasah* signifies heavenly bodies, (*lokāḥ rajāṁsi ucyante, Nirukta* Ch. 4/39). *rajasaḥ* has been interpreted as Welk-in = sky in (art. 180 p. 126) V. G.

The Indra-Vṛtra episode took place for high in sky beyond the starry heaven at the galactic centre. Compare modern cosmology. This fact is confirmed by another hymn on the point. The 5th hymn of previous reference is – (S. No. 4).

pra yat divaḥ harivaḥ sthātaḥ ugra niḥ avratān adhamaḥ rodasyoḥ.

harivaḥ indra (*niḥ pra rodasyoḥ*) made the universe free from (*yat ugra avratān adhamaḥ*) that violent breaker of laws mean (*divaḥ sthātaḥ*) well stationed in sky.

4. *When did this incident take place?* – The determination of the 'Kāla', the era, of the incident also plays a great role in unfolding the mystery that it is. The first hymn to be examined on the point is *R.* 1/32/4 – (S. No. 5).

yat indra ahan prathamajām ahīnām āt māyinām
amināḥ pra uta māyāḥ,
āt sūryaṁ janayan dyām uṣāsaṁ tādītnā
śatruṁ na kila vivitse.

Interpretation – (*yat*) When, just as (*Indra*) O Indra you (*ahan*) struck (*prathamjām ahīnām*) the first born of the ahis (*āt*) thereafter (*pra amināḥ* √*mi* = damage) effectively rooted out (*māyāḥ* = Prakṛtikośa) the illusory artifice, (*māyinām*) of the trickster. (*Āt*) Thereafter the sun, the starry heaven and the advent of sṛṣṭikāla came into being; (*tādītnā*) then (*śatrum*) enemy (*kila*) indeed (*vivitse* is PF of √*vid* = to acquire V. G.) acquired (*na*) nothing.

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The hymn lays down that the elimination of the all enveloping super Vṛtra is followed by the wiping out of existence all vicious circles so errupted in due course by the self stimulus of prakṛti. Aimless and unplanned as it was, the view of Vedic authors is that this stimulus left to itself will not automatically develop into an orderly universe. This necessitates interference by the lord, in the form of a planned impulse, known as the flinging of Vajra at the Vṛtra. This paves the way for planned growth followed by the coming into being of the sun, the starry heavens and the uṣas - the advent of sṛṣṭikāla.

The uṣas has no independent existence, and is only an appendage of sun. By the separate mention of uṣas is meant an independent entity, and indeed the advent of sṛṣṭikāla. Moreover the term *prathamajā* verily refers to the Ādikāla. Prathama is a relative term. Prathama to be reckoned fron which incident? In the absence of any mention of a relative incident, it becomes an absolute term and invariably refers to the first known incident i. e. the beginning of cosmos. This deduction is based on other hymns.

Lastly it has to be noticed that the terms *ahi* and *vṛtra* are synonymous and stand for the same entity for the simple reason that a few hymn (No. 1 to 4 and 13) of the same sūkta (*R.* 1/32) describe the same episode under the name Ahi whereas a few others (nos. 5th, 7th, 8th to 12th) under the name Vṛtra. Evidently the author has a single episode to narrate.

5. (a) *What are the eternal principles?* - In order to visualise the state of affairs during the ādikāla, it is essential to have some knowledge of Vedic metaphysics. According to *Ṛgveda* Prakṛti - the ādya material cause and lord the efficient cause - the creator are both eternal. Prakṛti is known as Aditi which is often embellished with the titles 'mātā' and 'devī'. The semi hymn *R* 1/141/2 is (S. No. 6).

pṛkṣaḥ vapuḥ pitumān nityaḥ ā śaye
dvitīyam ā sapta śivāsu mātṛṣu.

Knowable body, form like father - the lord eternal (in which) lies (*ā = svabhāva*) in natural way; in second body (lies) in mother's form of seven calmness reposing (sons, effects).

The mother cause, like God, is *nitya*, is unaffected by time phenomenon. As for the identity of this mother cause the 9th hymn of *R* 10/72 says - (S. No. 7).

saptabhiḥ putraiḥ aditiḥ upa pra cit pūrvyaṁ yugam.

Thus it is Aditi which is referred to in the hymn cited above. For details on the point one is referred to (4).

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(b) *Aditi is trinary* – There occur expressions of the type, *triviṣṭi dhātu pratimānam* (*R* 1/102/8); *arkas tridhātu rajaso vimānaḥ* (*R* 3/26/7); *tridhātu prathayad vi bhūm* (*R* 4/42/4); *trayaḥ kṛṇvanti bhuvaneṣu retaḥ* (*R* 7/33/7). Three form the seed, the basic material cause of the Universe;

"*tri anīkaḥ patyate mahinā-vān saḥ retodāḥ vṛṣabhaḥ śaśvatīnām*". The glorius, sustainer of seeds rules three eternal armies.

The aggregate of three eternal principles when in a state of harmony amongst its members is designated as Aditi. The other phase the active state of the primordial principle is symbolised by the term Āpaḥ which, from the origin".

"*āpnoti āpyate vā, āpḷ vyāptau*" *Amarakoṣaḥ*, stands for a pervading principle.

(c) *Who witnessed the initial creation and what was it like?* –

The two consecutive hymns of sūkta 121 of maṇḍala 10 throw enough light on the subject. The 7th hymn is – (S. No. 8).

āpaḥ ha yad bṛhatī viśvam āyan garbhaṁ
dadhānā janayantīr agnim,
tato devānāṁ sam avartata asuḥ ekaḥ, kasmai ......

(*Yat ha bṛhatī āpaḥ āyan*) When indeed extended form of āpaḥ came (*garbhaṁ dadhānā janyantīr viśvam agnim*) sustaining in its womb producing huge fire then co-existed the lone donar of life to the devas.

The hymn says that a huge fire was produced out of āpah solely witnessed by the over-lord of divine forces. The question is : can fire be produced out of water? What is *āpaḥ* then? The devas are conspicuous by their absence at that juncture.

The next hymn says – (S. No. 9).

yat cit āpaḥ mahinā paryapaśyat dakṣam dadhānā janyantīr yajñam,
yo deveṣu adhi deva ekaḥ āsīt, kasmai......

Who in his glory fully witnessed *āpaḥ* sustain (*dakṣa* = able) capacity initiating yajña, the over-lord of devas, who alone was present, how far that may be offer prayer.

What *yajña* was produced out of *āpaḥ*, rare event. Is *āpaḥ* water?

The answer is not far to seek that *āpaḥ* is the active state of the primordial matter. Lord witnessed the (√*yaj* = *saṁgatikaraṇa*) initial synthesis of Mūla tattva.

The 2nd hymn of sūkta 26 of maṇḍala 4, says - (S. No. 10).

aham āpaḥ anayam vāvaśānā mama devāsaḥ anu ketam āyan.

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I – the Lord, (*vāvaśāna* if PT. of √*vaś* V. G.) sustaining desires brought *āpaḥ*. The devas (*ketam ketaḥ* = design, will, *koṣa* p. 301) as per design came following.

Desirous of creating multifarious forms lord first brought *āpaḥ* from its initial (*ādya*) abode, state, then from it came the devas as per his design. Is not then *āpaḥ* the Mūla Tattva? In the 125th Sūkta of Maṇḍala 10, Lord's creative power is personified. The 3rd hymn is –

Ahaṁ rāṣṭrī saṁgamnī vasūnām.

(*Rāṣṭrī* is one of four names of God, *Nighaṇṭu* Ch. 2/2). I am lord's creative power coextending as far as the physical objects extend. As to its birth place the 7th hymn says – (S. No. 11).

ahaṁ suue pitaram asya mūrdhan, mama yonri apsu antaḥ samudre,

I incite lord the father at the top of this (creation) My birth-place is deep inside the ocean of *āpāḥ*. According to *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (14/2/2) "*etasmāt vai samudrāt sarve devāḥ sarvāṇi bhūtāni ca samuddravanti*" space full of matter is samudra. When impelled by his creative genius Lord's first act of creation takes its inception in the vast ocean of the ultimate principle Thus the analysis of the hymns leads to the irresistible conclusion about the sense in which the word *āpaḥ* has been used.

The incident of huge fire referred to in the hymn of serial No. 8, is the big bang of the modern cosmology. It is not a casual reference to this incident here but the fact of this is latent in the womb of several hymns, for instance the opening hymn of *R* 10/72 says –

devānāṁ nu vayaṁ jānā pravocāma vipanyayā.

We shall describe vividly (*vi-panyayā* √*pan* =) in a unique admirable manner (nu) definitely (*jānā*, is inst. of *janman* art 90, 2). the origin of devas.

Thus the Ṛṣi undertakes to reveal the how of the origin of devas. The talk pertains to the *ādikāla*. Let us see what that unique discription is. The next hymn says – (S. No. 13).

brahmaṇaspatiḥ etā sam karmāra iva adhamat.

The lord of the universe thoroughly ignited (*etā*) these devas – the matter out of which these are fashioned like a blacksmith. This is the vivid description which explicitly points to the incident of a huge fire at the beginning of the cosmos.

6. *The outline of Vṛtra Vajra* – At the beginning of cosmos there came into being a huge nebulous mass of primordial principles. The hymn *R* 10/90/5 says – (S. No. 14).

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Tasmāt virāṭ ājāyata virājah adhi puruṣoḥ.

From that came into being an extraordinary great mass of iight, energy (*brahmāṇḍa* = divine egg). It (*vi-rājah*, √*rāj* = rule V. G.) was ruled by the omnipresent.

Soon after the inception of the huge nebulous mass the eternal ingredients began to interact and the reactions spread far and wide throughout the mass, but being haphazard in nature these reactions degenerated and the whole mass broke into several mass (like whirl wind or whirl pool) centres forming whirls of reversible cyclic reactions. This situation is described in *Ṛgveda* (1/32/4) by the expression, "*prathamajām ahīnām*," which indicates the comming into being of several vṛtras, and also by the symbolic phrase–the hundred forts of *śambara* (*śambara* = cloud Nirukta ch. 7). In just the next hymn (1/32/5) there occurs the term *vṛtrataram vṛtram* which means the senior most (superlative Art 103 V. G.) Vṛtra and establishes the identity betwean 'Ahi' and Vṛtra, 'Ahīnām' of the previous hymn (5th) has been referred to as the several Vṛtras in the 5th hymn of Sūkta 32. The overall cumulative effect of the huge mass, so broken in several mass centres only for purposes of cyclic reactions but otherwise well knit, has been designated as *vṛtratararm vṛtram*, the overall enveloping Vṛtra or Śambara. Indeed without possessing any body in the sense of a living creature (*vṛtrasya niṇyaṁ śarīraṁ nihitam R* 1/32/10), Vṛtra could still grow in all directions (*abhi vardhamānam* S. No. 2), holding sway over entire *āpaḥ* (*sahadānum*) and enveloping all space (S. No. 2). This posed as a great deadlock to the creation and has been descibed as the withholding of the flow of *āpaḥ*–the active fundamental principle, whose growth was arrested. Evidently this dead-lock if unresolved would have continued till eternity, arresting the creation forever. This is the Vṛtra of *Ṛgveda* for which the author of *Nirukta* observes, "*yaṭ avṛṇot, yat avartat, yat avardhata tat vṛtrasya vṛtratvam*"

This deadlock is an automatic creation in the primordial principle āpaḥ but is metaphorically personified as Vṛtra. It was resolved by Indra, verily the Lord of the Universe, by planning a big collision of cosmic masses of measured magnitude to do away with all the centres of resistence at one and the same time and to lead the cosmic matter towards orderly creation. This planned collision of huge masses of cosmic matter has been termed as the flinging of Varjra at the Vṛtra. The consequent wiping out of existence the several centres of resistence has been symbolised as the destruction of the hundred forts, which does not represent the actual number but is only a phrasiology.

7. *What misdeed led to Vṛtra's annihilation?* – It is natural to seek for the motive which impelled Indra to wipe Vṛtra out of existence. The long motive

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that the hymns profess is the withholding of the flow of *āpaḥ* by it. Extracts from a few hymns belonging to different Ṛṣis are cited below.

1. *nivṛtā āpaḥ, asṛjaḥ ava sartavai.* *R* 1/57/6 (*Vṛta* is pp. of √*Vṛ* = to cover). The enclosed *āpaḥ*, were emitted (*sartavai* INF of √*sṛ* = to flow) for flowing downwards. (*R* 1/57/6, Rishi Savya Āṅgirasa).

2. *apām bilam apihitam yat āsīt, vṛtram jaghanvān apa tat vavāra.* (*api–hitam*, hita is pp. of √*dhā*) Sustaining āpah whatever holes, whirls subsisted (*jaghanavān* is noun nom. sing. from *jaghanvāṁs* of √*han*. ast. 89 V. G.) destroying those (*apa vavāra* PF of √*Vṛ*.) uncovered, (tat) that (āpaḥ).

(*R.* 1/32/11 Hiraṇya Stūpa Āṅgirasa).

The hymn expressly describes the formations of whirls (bilaḥ) the centres of mass reactions involving fluid āpaḥ.

3. *Adhvaryavo yo āpoḥ vavrivāṁsam vṛtram jaghāna aśaneva vṛkṣam.* (*Adhvaryavaḥ*, dhvṛ = injure, adhvṛ = without injury, adhvarya = desire no iniury, art. 175 Nāmadhātu V. G.) Desirous of no injury (*yaḥ*) who (*aśani eva vṛkṣam*) like iightening destroying a tree (*jaghāna* PF √*han*) struck Vṛtra (*vavrivāṁsam* accu. sing. of noun from vṛ. art. 79) enveloping *āpaḥ*.

R 2/14/2 Rishi Gṛtsamada.

This hymn confirms the earlier deductions. If Vṛtra was a living being Indra's action in killing him cannot be non-violent. Moreover the simile of lightening destroying a tree shows that Vajra is something other than lightning. Consequently the theory of Vṛtra being a cloud falls to the ground.

Thus the authors are unanimous on the point that the Vṛtra was eliminated for withholding the flow af *āpaḥ* and the only great achievement of Indra in eliminating it was to restore the flow. It does not appeal to reason that (if *āpaḥ* is water) so simple an episode should attract the attention of the Vedic authors to such an extent that so many hymns (on a rough count 2642 with devatā Indra) are composed on a trivial affair. This in itself speaks that the episode involves some extraordinary concept of far reaching consequence. The method of expression of Vedic authors being indirect, symbolical and metaphorical, most of their real sense sill remains in oblivilion.

The symbol R 1/m/n stands for maṇḍala 1, sūkta m, hymn n. Root etc. are taken from *Vedic Grammar* (V. G.) whether expressly stated or uot.

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IRANIAN SECTION

INERPOLATIONS IN PAZAND PRAYERS

By

H. K. MIRZA

Commentaries and Glosses,

1. Those who have studied Pahlavi translations of Avesta know that these translations contain commentaries and glosses explaining the text or phrases or words. These are incorporated in the body of translations, and they are so intermingled as they appear in the manuscripts that for a general reader it is difficult to distinguish translations from commentaries and glosses. In modern printed texts, commentaries and glosses are shown separately by enclosing them in brackets.

2. Important Pazand prayers, now extant, were evidently composed originally in Pahlavi, and later transcribed in Avesta characters in late Sasanian times, most probably during the reign of Chosroes I (531–579). These prayers, as they are recited at present, contain interpolations, and they are inseperably intermingled with original text.

3. There are introductory passages to the Khorshed, Meher, and Mah Niyayishns. These must have been added at a later stage, evidently during the Islamic times in Iran for some specific purposes. The first introductory passage to the Khorshed Niyayishn contain some Pazand and Arabic words. This passage occurs in only two manuscripts out of fourteen examined by the editor. These two manuscripts are : U1 (1793) and D (1810), but this passage does not occur in the older and authentic manuscript AK (1552), and it is not found also in Sanskrit translation. Hence the said passage containing Arabic words must be a very late interpolation (Zand i Khurtak Avistak, by B. N. Dhabhar, Bombay 1927, Introduction page 7).

4. As noted above, these introductory passages were added with some specific purpose during Islamic times in Iran. These passages, particularly those containing Arabic words, were added just to show that while reciting Khorshed and other Niyayishns, the Zoroastrians were offering prayers to Ahura Mazda. This was necessary in those days in Iran in order to counter the pernicious propaganda by the converts that the Zoroastrians were Nature-worshippers and fire-worshippers.

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Fire-worshippers

5. In some of the Pahlavi texts of very late origin there are some Arabic words, which are never found in Sasanian writings, or in authentic Pahlavi texts, or in the Frahang i Pahlavik. All these Arabic words found in late Pahlavi texts and Pazand prayers must be regarded as interpolations and they indicate unauthorized usage, and they must not be regared as loan-words in Pahlavi and Pazand prayers.

Such interpolations in some of the Pazand prayers are discussed below. The interpolated words and sentences are shown in brackets in order to separate them from the original text.

Pazand Nirang

6. The Pazand Nirang (popularly regarded as the Nirang of Ardibahesht Yasht, but known as Niran Shikastan Jadu in old writing - Pazand Texts, by E. K. Antia, Bombay, 1907, page 174) :

Evidently in this Nirang *dur* is explained by Arabic *daf*, and *shikasteh* by Arabic *halāk*. The following word in the Nirang is read *aval* and generally understood as Arabic *auwal* "first", but it is quite out of place in the context. Evidently it is a wrong reading for *awar*, Pahlavi *apar*, *abar*, Persian *abar*, *bar* "on, upon, before, according to" (Steingaas). Hence the sentence in the Nirang :

... ahreman dur shavad [ahreman dafe shavad] ahreman shikasteh shavad [ahreman halāk shavad] +awar dīn zarthosht pak ōhrmazd [buland kavi behī awzonīh]. "... the Evil Spirit shall be expelled [the Evil Spirit shall be driven away], the Evil Spirit shall be defeated [the Evil Spirit shall perish] according to the holy religion of Zarthosht holy, of Ohrmazd [exalted, great, goodness, prosperity].

Regarding the wrong reading *aval* see below 8.

Afrin Arda Fravash

7. Pazand Texts, page 82.7-11 : hamāzōr hamā ašō bād h. hamā nkǝī bād h. hamā xēreh bād h. vǝš kerfe bād h. kam vanāh bād hamāzer bād.

Afrian Arda Fravash

7. Pazand Texts, page 82.7-11 : hamazōr hamā ašō bād hamāzōr, hamā nǝkī bād hamāzōr hamā xōreh bād hamāzōr vǝs kǝrfe bād hamāzōr; kam vanāh bād [hamāzōr bād zarthosht dīn rāstīhā bōxtār bād dīn mazdayasnān hakikat dorost bād] hamāzōr bād dadār hēmazd ..

Evidently, the bracketed sentences are out of place in this context. In the Afrin Rapiṭhwin the same passage occurs, but the bracketed sentences are

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not found therein. This shows that the bracketed sentences are a gloss, an interpolation, added evidently in Islamic time, as explained below.

The Afrin mentions hamā ašē hamā nəkī "all holy, all of goodness" etc. In the gloss "zarthosht" is mentioned as an illustration, as a representative of "all holy, all of goodness," etc. It is further stated in the gloss :

"May the religion (of Zarthosht) be redeemad by truth" This is further explained ;

"May the facts of Mazdayasni religion be proper", that is "May the truth of the Mazdayasni religion be properly understood."

These last two glosses may be interpreted in the light of existing circumstances in Iran under the Islamic rule. As noted above, the Zoroastrian religion was wrongly derided as Fire-worship, Nature-worship. Hence the prayer in the glosses that truth and facts about Zoroastrian religion may be properly known to the people.

The word *hakīkat*, Arabic *haqīqat*, belongs to an interpolated gloss. Pazand *bōxtār*, an agentive noun "a redeemer", is used in the sense of the act of a redeemer, hence "redeemed"; findār "thought" see *kerdār* "doer" and also "deed, action"; *goftār* speech"; *raftār* "going, walking"; *griftār* "a prisoner, a captive."

Afrin Arda Fravash

8. Pazand Texts, page 84.5-8 : bunant mānī hormazd amešāspandān [aga gāh zarīn] ruān ō-rā ba har čūn andar awastā..

This may be corrected to read : ba andīmānī hormazd aməsāspandān ['YK (= ku) gāh zarrēn] ruān ō rā bahar čūn andar awastā.. "by introduction to Hormazd, Amešāspānds [that is, (to) the golden throne] of the soul, (may there be) a share to that (soul), as (stated) in the Avesta..".

The words enclosed in brackets are a gloss. This gloss raises an important point. It suggests that introduction of the soul can be made only to the throne, and not to Hormazd and Ameshaspands, beacuse they are spirits and they cannot be seen by even the soul of ordinary human beings. In connection with this see the following texts :

(1) Yasna 28.5 :

ašā kat θwā deresānī
manasčā vohū vaēdemnə
gātūmčā ahurāi
sevištāi sraošem mazdāi.

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"O Aša, when shall I see thee,
knowing through Vohu Manah,

The throne of Ahura,
the most beneficent Mazdā, (and) Sraoša :"

Pahlavi translation : u gās-ič i ōhrmazd [kat vēnam] i sūt xvāstār [ān gās] i pa srōš [vēnīhēt]. " .. and also the throne of Ohrmazd, the desirer of benefit [when shall I see?] [that throne] which through Srōš [is seen]."

See also Videvdāt 19.31, quoted below.

(2) Arda Viraf Namak, edited by K. J. Jamaspasa, Bombay 1902 :

Holy Srōš and Ātur Yazat brought Arda Viraf to the Endless Light, and the assembly of Ohrmazd and Amešāspands; and Ohrmazd instructed Arda Viraf. Regarding this, Arda Viraf. says (Ch. CI. 6, page 74.10–12) :

ka ōhrmazd pa ēn ēvēnak goft man škaft bē mānd hōm čē-m rōšnīh dīt u-m tan nē dīt u-m vāng āšnūt u-m dānist ku ēn hast ōhrmazd : " When Ohrmazd said in this manner, I remained startled, because I saw the light and I did not see the body, and I heard the voice and I knew that this is Ohrmazd."

(3) This explains another passage of Arda Viraf Namak, Ch. XI. 2-4 page 17.5–11 :

Arda Viraf says : "Then up stood Vohuman Ameshaspand from the throne made of gold, and he held my hand .. he brought me to the abode of Ohrmazd, Ameshaspands, and other holy ones ... then when I had never seen (any one) brighter and happier." Then he says : u vahuman bōy o o o o o ku ēn hast ōhrmazd.

Instead of circles in this line, some manuscripts leave a blank space. According to the foot-note 10, this indicates that the original manuscript had lost a folio. As stated in Ch. CI. 6, Arda Viraf was startled as he saw the light of Ohrmazd and he did not see the body. In the light of this statement the sentence quoted above from Ch. XI may be read :

u vahuman bōy o o o o o ku ēn hast ōhrmazd

" And Vahuman conscience o o o o o, that this is Ōhrmazd!"

Arda Viraf saw something inexplicable and undescribable, and this something is represented in the text by the circles : By the conscience of Vahuman he understood that that was Ōhrmazd; with Vahuman conscience;

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compare : "knowing through Vohu Manah" in Yasna 28.5; Pahlavi translation pa ān i vahuman ēkas-dahisnīh.

Some side-light on the subject.

9. The subjects treated here throw some side-light on the Pahlavi-Pazand texts :

(1) Videvdāt 19.31 : Vohu Manah, rising from the golden throne, welcomes the soul verbally, saying : How (nice), o holy, didst thou come here, from the perishable world to the imperishable world ? :

(2) Videvdāt 19.31, Pahlavi commentary mentions *kār i handēmānkarān* "the duty of ushers." This indicates royal court etiquette. Further, welcoming speech of Vahuman is interpreted as offering of ambrosia (amōš).

Avesta *us-*, Pahlavi translation L' L' *ul.*

(3) Arda Viraf Namak, Ch. XI. 1 : The duty of ushers is defined : To hold the hand (figuratively) and to usher a person into the presence of authority. This again indicates royal court ceremony.

Avesta *us* correctly understood L' L' *ul.*

(4) Afrin Arda Fravash - Pazand Text, p. 84.11–14 : Instead of the act of ushers, the Afrin mentions offerring of royal dress : *vastarg dəbā zarrīn pəsīt* "a dress of brocade, embroidered in gold." This also indicate the ceremonial welcoming and honouring a person in a royal court.

The text reads *aval*, wrong for *ul*, Avesta *us*.

This statements made in the Pahlavi-Pazand texts indicate that the Pahlavi commentary, Arda Viraf Namak, and the Pazand Afrin were originally composed in Sasanian times.

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CLASSICAL SANSKRIT SECTION

रसाभास, भावाभास और ऊर्जस्वी की शास्त्रीय भूमिका

प्रभुदयालु अग्निहोत्री

रसाभास, भावाभास और ऊर्जस्वी आदि की शास्त्रीय भूमिका को समझने के लिये भारतीय साहित्य शास्त्र के विकास-क्रम पर विहंगम दृष्टि डाल लेना समीचीन होगा।

आचार्य भरत ने नाटकीय तत्त्वों की व्याख्या प्रारम्भ करते हुये कहा -"तत्र रसमेवादौ अभिव्याख्यास्यामः। नहि रसादृते कश्चिदर्थः प्रवर्तते।" ना. शा. ९-३१। अर्थात् हम सर्वप्रथम रसों की ही व्याख्या करेंगे क्यं कि रसों के विना नाटच में कोई बात नहीं बनती। जैसे बीज से वृक्ष होता है और वृक्ष से फूल तथा फल, वैसे ही सारे रस मूलभूत हैं। उन्हीं से सारे भावों की व्यवस्था होती है –

यथा बीजाद् भवेद् वृक्षो वृक्षात् पुष्प-फलं यथा।
तथा मूलं रसाः सर्वे तेभ्यो भावा व्यवस्थिताः॥ ना. शा. ६-३८

इसकी व्याख्या करते हुये अभिनवगुप्त ने कहा कि बीज स्थानीय होने से कविगत रस मूल है। उससे वृक्ष स्थानीय काव्य उत्पन्न होता है। उसमें ही पुष्प स्थानीय अभिनय तथा नटों की क्रियायें फलती हैं और फिर उन पुष्पों में फल लगता है-सामाजिक रसास्वाद। इस प्रकार नाटच में सब कुछ रसमय है –

तदेवं मूलं बीजस्थानीयात् कविगतो रस.।... ततो वृक्ष-स्थानीयं काव्यम्। तत्र पुष्पादिस्थानीयोऽभिनयादिर्नट-व्यवहारः। तत्र फलस्थानीयः सामाजिकरसास्वादः। तेन रसमयमेव विश्वम्। अभि भारती।

इस प्रसंग में भावों और रसों के पारस्परिक सम्बन्ध पर विचार करते हुए भरत ने प्रश्न उठाया था कि रसं से भावों की अभिनिर्वृत्ति होती है या भावो से रसों की? और फिर स्वयं ही इसका समाधान करते हुय कहा था कि भावो से रसनिष्पत्ति एवं पूर्णता देखी जाती है, रसों से भावों की नहीं। ऐसा कहकर उन्होने इनकी परस्पर अभिनिर्वर्तकता का खण्डन किया था –

किं रसेभ्यो भावानामभिनिर्वृत्तिरुताहो भावेभ्यो रसानामिति। केषाचिन्मतं परस्पर-सम्बन्धादेषामभिनिर्वृत्तिरिति। दृश्यते हि भावेभ्यो रसानामभिनिर्वृत्तिर्न तु रसेभ्यो भावानामभि-निर्वृत्तिरिति। ना. शा. ६-३४

उन्होने कहा कि भाव ही नाना प्रकार के अभिनयो से सम्बद्ध होकर रसों का अनुभव दर्शकों को कराते हैं। इसी लिये वे भाव कहे जाते हैं। जैसे व्यंजन की सरसता या नीरसता का अनुभव उनके घटक बहुविध द्रव्यों से होता है, ऐसे ही अभिनयो के साथ मिले हुये भाव हमे रसों का अनुभव कराते है। वस्तुतः कोई रस भाव के बिना निष्पन्न नहीं होता और न कोई भाव रस से रहित होता है –

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नानाभिनय-संबद्धान् भावयन्ति रसानिमान् ।
यस्मात्तस्मादमी भावाः विज्ञेया नाट्य-योक्तृभिः ॥
नानाद्रव्यैर्बहुविधैर्व्यञ्जनं भाव्यते यथा ।
एवं भावा भावयन्ति रसानभिनयैः सह ॥
न भावहीनोऽस्ति रसो न भावो रस-वर्जितः ॥ ना. शा. ६-३५ से ३७

और उन्होने अपने सुप्रसिद्ध सूत्र "विभावानुभावव्यभिचारि संयोगाद् रसनिष्पत्तिः" के द्वारा रस की निष्पत्ति, की चर्चा करते हुये नवों रसों की उनके वर्ण, देवता, उत्पत्ति के कारणों, विभावों अनुभवों और संचारी भावों के साथ विस्तृत व्याख्या की ।

नाटचशास्त्र के सप्तम अध्याय में भावो पर भी विशद प्रकाश डाला गया है और बतलाया गया है कि वाणी, अंग और सत्व से युक्त काव्यार्थों को भावित (अनुभूत) कराने के कारण ये भाव कहलाते हैं । भावित, वासित, कृत और व्यापित पर्यायवाची हैं –

भावा इति कस्यात् ? किं भवन्तीति भावाः, किं वा भावयन्तीति भावाः ? उच्यते– वागङ्गसत्त्वोपेतान् काव्यार्थान् भावयन्तीति भावा इति । भू इति करणे धातुः । तथा च भावितं वासितं, कृतमित्यनर्थान्तरम् । ... तच्च व्याप्त्यर्थम् । ना. शा. ७-१

भरत नें उक्त रीति से ही विभाव और अनुभाव शब्दों का निर्वचन करते हुये आठ स्थायी भावों, तैंतीस व्यभिचारी भावों और आठ सात्त्विक भावों का न केवल परिगणन ही किया अपितु एंक-एक भाव को सूक्ष्म विवरणों कें साथ समझाया भी है । उन्होने कहा कि इन समस्त उनचास भावों में आठ स्थायी प्रमुख हैं और शेष इकतालीस उनके अनुचरवत् । जैसे हाथ, पांव उदर आदि अंगों के समान होने पर भी कुछ लोग कुलशील, विद्या, कर्म और शिल्प आदि के विलक्षण होने से राजपद प्राप्त कर लेते हैं और शेष उनके अनुचर बनकर रह जाते हैं ऐसे ही विभाव, अनुभाव और व्यभिचारी सात्त्विक भावों के उपाश्रित होते हैं–

यथा हि समानलक्षणास्तुल्य-पाणि-पादोदर-शरीराः समानांगप्रत्यंगा अपि पुरुषाः कुलशीलविद्याकर्म-शिल्प-विलक्षणत्वाद् राजत्वमाप्नुवन्ति तत्रैव चान्येऽल्पबुद्धयः तेषामेवानुचरा भवन्ति तथा विभावानुभावव्यभिचारिणः स्थायिभावानुपाश्रिताभवन्ति । ना. शा. ७-८

जो हृदय पर प्रभाव डालने वाली अथवा उससे मेल खाती हुई बात होती है उसका भाव रस से प्राप्लुत (रस का उत्पादक) होता है और वह सारे शरीर को इस प्रकार व्याप्त कर लेता है जैसे अग्नि सूखे काष्ठ को –

योऽर्थो हृदय-संवादी तस्य भावो रसोद्भवः ।
शरीरं व्याप्यते तेन शुष्कं काष्ठमिवाग्निना । ना. शा. ७-४

इस प्रकार भरत ने रस के लिये आत्मा शब्द का स्पष्ट प्रयोग न करते हुये भी रसों और भावों को नाटच मे सर्वाधिक महत्त्वपूर्ण तत्व अथवा उसका प्राण स्वीकार किया । भरत के बाद अग्निपुराण ने ३३९ वे अध्याय में लगभग उसी शैली ने रस का प्रतिपादन किया और कहा कि यद्यपि काव्य में वाणी की विदग्धता ही प्रधान रहती है तो भी उसका जीवित या प्राण रस ही होता है – वाग्वैदग्ध्यप्रधानेऽपि रस एवात्र जीवितम् । इसके पश्चात् आनन्दवर्धन, अभिनवगुप्त, भट्टनायक, राजशेखर और प्रतीहारेन्दुराज प्रभृति ने रस की विस्तृत व्याख्या प्रस्तुत की और

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उसका परम महत्त्व स्वीकार किया। इन्द्रराज ने उद्भट के काव्यलंकारसारसंग्रह कीं लघुवृत्ति टीका मे कहा –

रसाद्यधिष्ठितं काव्यं जीवद्रूपतया यतः।
कथ्यते तद् रसादीनां काव्यात्मत्वं व्यवस्थिम्॥

और आनन्दवर्धन ने विवक्षितान्यपरवाच्यध्वनि के असंलक्ष्यक्रमव्यङ्ग्य नामक भेद कें अन्तर्गत न केंवल रस अपितु भाव, रसाभाव, भावाभास एवं भावशान्ति आदि तक को स्वीकार किया और इन्हे ध्वनि के आत्मा या अंगीभाव रूप सें अवस्थित बतलाया –

रसभाव-तदाभास-तत्प्रशान्त्यादिरक्रमः।
ध्वनेरात्माङ्गिभावेन भासमानो व्यवस्थितः। ध्वन्या. २-३

महिमभट्ट ने रसध्वनि का विरोध करते हुये भी रस को काव्य की आत्मा स्वीकार किया और स्पष्ट कहा–काव्यस्यात्मनि सङ्गिनि रसादिरूपे न कस्यचिद् विमतिः। व्यक्तिविवेक। और भोजराज ने वाङ्गमय को वक्रोक्ति, रसोक्ति और स्वभावोक्ति इन ती भावों में बाँट कर रसोवित को सर्वोत्कृष्ट ठहराया –

वक्रोतिश्च रसोक्तिश्च स्वभावोक्तिश्च वाङ्मय-सर्वानुग्राहिणीं तासु रसोक्ति प्रतिजानते। स. कण्ठा. ५-८

मम्मट ने अभिनवगुप्त के समान रस को अंगी या आत्मा और गुणों को शौर्यादि कें समान उस (आत्मा) का धर्म बतलाया –

ये रसस्याङ्गिनो धर्माः शौर्यादय इवात्मनः। का. प्र. ८-६८

रूय्यक ने अलंकारसर्वस्व मे कहा कि रस को अलंकार नहीं कह सकते। अलंकार उपकारक मात्र होता है किन्तु रस प्रधान रूप से उपस्कार्य है। वे काव्य के साक्षात् जीवित है –

रसादयस्तु जीवितभूता नालंकारत्वेन वाच्याः। अलंकाराणामुपकारकत्वान् रसादीनां च प्राधान्येन उपस्कार्यत्वात्। अलं. सर्व.- भूमिका प्रकरण।

विश्वनाथ ने साहित्यदर्पण में रस की वहुत विशद एवं वैज्ञानिक व्याख्या प्रस्तुत की। उन्होंनें उसे "अखण्ड स्वप्रकाशानन्द-चिन्मय, वेद्यान्तर-स्पर्शशून्य, ब्रह्मास्वादसहोदर, लोकोत्तरचमत्कार प्राण" कहा और काव्य के साथ उसकी अभिन्नता का प्रतिपादन किया। कवि कर्णपूर ने 'अलंकार कौस्तुभ' में, केशव मित्र ने 'अलंकारशेखर' में और पण्डितराज जगन्नाथ ने 'रसगंगाधर' में रस की विस्तृत समीक्षा की। पण्डितराज ने भी कहा–

'समुचितललित-सन्निवेश-चारुणा काव्येन समर्पितैः' सहृदय-हृदयं प्रविष्टैः तदीय-सहृदयता-सहकृतेन भावनाविशेषमहिम्ना विगलित-दुष्यन्त-रमणीयत्वादिभिरलौकिक-विभावानुभाव-व्यभिचारि-शब्द-व्यपदेश्यैः शकुन्तलादिभिः आलम्बनकारणैः अश्रुपातादिभिःकार्यैः चिन्तादिभिः सहकारिभिश्च संभूय प्रादुर्भावितेन अलौकिकव्यापारेण तत्कालनिवर्तितानन्दांशावरणाज्ञानेन अतएव प्रमृष्ट-परिमित-प्रमातृत्वादिनिजधर्मेण प्रमात्रा स्वप्रकाशतया वास्तवेन निजस्वरूपानन्देन सह गोचरीक्रियमाणः प्राग्विनिविष्टवासनारूपो रत्यादिरेव रसः। रसगंगाधर। प्रथमानन-रसलक्षण।

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साथ ही इस निष्कर्ष पर पहूँचने से पूर्व उन्होने रसविषयक ग्यारह मत का विवेचन भी किया। रस विषयक विवेचन एवं उसके महत्त्व-प्रतिपादन की शृंखला में रसगंगाधर सर्वाधिक महत्त्वपूर्ण कडी है।

उपर्युक्त विवरण से यह स्पष्ट है कि आद्य आचार्य भरत और ध्वनिसमर्थक आनन्दवर्धन के बाद के प्रायः आचार्यो ने रस को काव्य की आत्मा स्वीकार किया है। किन्तु भरत के समय मे नाटय और काव्य का शास्त्रीय भेद न रहने से भरत के परवर्ती किन्तु आनन्दवर्धन के पूर्ववर्ती आचार्यों ने भरत के द्वारा प्रतिपादित रस को नाटय के साथ तो प्रमुख रूप से सम्बद्ध माना किन्तु काव्य में उसे अंग के रूप में ही स्वीकार किया। इन लोगों के मत में काव्य का अंगी या आत्मा अलंकार होता है। इसीलिये आनन्दवर्धन से पहले रस और भाव का वर्णन अलंकार के उपकारक के रूप में किया गया और रस, भाव आदि का अन्तर्भाव अलंकार में ही कर दिया गया। काव्य की शोभा या सौंदर्य का वर्धक प्रत्येक तत्त्व चाहे वह रस हो या भाव, गुण हो या रीति या वक्रोक्ति, सब अलंकार की परिधि में ले लिये गये। वामन ने काव्यालंकारसूत्रवृत्ति के प्रारम्भ में काव्य की उपादेयता का हेतु उसका अलंकृत होना बतलाया और कहा कि प्रत्येक सौन्दर्यवर्धक तत्त्व अलंकार है–काव्यं ग्राह्यमलंकारात् सौन्दर्यमलंकारः। का. सू. वृ. १-२। दण्डी ने भी इसी बात की पुष्टि की और कहा–काव्यशोभाकरान.धर्मानलंकारान प्रचक्षते–ते चाद्यापि विकल्प्यन्ते कस्तान कार्त्स्न्येन वक्ष्यति। काव्या. ३-१। इस प्रकार दण्डी ने एक ओर तो अलंकार को काव्य का धर्म माना और दूसरी ओर उनकी अनन्तता की ओर भी संकेत किया। भामह ने अलंकार की अनिवार्यता को स्वीकार कर कहा–"न कान्तमपि निर्भूषं विभाति वनिताननम्" और रस, भाव आदि का अन्तर्भाव अलंकारमेही मान लिया–"प्रेयोरसवदूर्जस्वि ... निजगुरलंकारं सुमेधसः" भामहा. ३-१-५। उन्होंने सभी अलंकारों मे व्याप्त सामान्य उक्ती-वैचित्र्य या वक्रोक्ति को काव्य का अनिवार्य तत्त्व निरूपित किया क्योंकि अर्थो के विभावन या रसमयीकरण में वही प्रमुख हेतु है–

सैषा सर्वत्र वक्रोक्तिरनयार्थो विभाव्यते।
यत्नोऽस्यां कविना कार्यः कोलंकारस्तया विना। भामह २-८५

गतोऽस्तमर्को भातीन्दुर्यान्ति वासाय पत्रिणः। इत्येवमादि किं काव्यं वार्तामेनांप्र चक्षते। वही २-८७।

अन्य बातो में वैमत्य रखते हुये भी अभिनवगुप्त ने वक्रोक्ति या अतिशयोक्ति की प्रधानता काव्य में स्वीकार की। उनके मत से सामान्यतया अतिशयोक्ति सब अलंकारो में रहती है। उसी के बल से पुरातन से लेकर लगातार उपयोग या प्रयोग में आने वाली बातें वर्तमान मे भी नयी और आकर्षक प्रतीत होती हैं और प्रमद उद्यान आदि को बहुभुक्त होने पर भी रसमय बना दिया जाता है।

तेनातिशयोक्तिः सर्वालंकार-सामान्यम्। तथा ह्यनयातिशयोक्त्यार्थः सकलजनोपभोग-पुराणीकृतोऽपि विचित्रतया भाव्यते। तथा प्रमदोद्यानादिर्विभावतां नीयते विशेषण च भाव्यते रसमयीक्रियते इति। लोचनटीका।

भामह के समान दण्डी ने भी रस, भाव आदि का रसवत् आदि अलंकारो में अन्तर्भाव कर दिया। इतना ही नहीं उन्होने भरत के सन्धि, सन्ध्यंग, वृत्ति, वृत्यंग और लक्षण आदि को भी अलंकार ही घोषित किया। उनके मत से किसी प्रियतर वस्तु का वर्णन अथवा किसी वस्तु

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का अतिप्रिय वर्णन प्रेयः अलंकार, शृंगारादि रसों से रमणीय वर्णन रसवत् अलंकार तथा गर्व को अभिव्यक्त करने वाला वर्णन ऊर्जस्वि अलंकार है। हां, ये तीनो अलंकार वर्णन-प्रकर्ष से युक्त होने चाहिये —

प्रेयः प्रियतराख्यानं, रसवद् रसपेशलम्।
ऊर्जस्वि रूढाहंकारं युक्तोत्कर्षं च तत् त्रयम्॥ काव्यादर्श २-२७५

तथा — यच्च सन्ध्यंगवृत्त्यंगलक्षणाद्यागमान्तरे।
व्यावर्णितमिदंचेष्टमलंकारतयैव नः॥ वही २-३६७

उद्भट तो दण्डी से भी आगे बढ़ गये। उन्होने न केवल रस को अपितु रस, वस्तु और अलंकार इस व्यङ्ग्यत्रयी को भी वाच्यार्थ का उपकारक मानकर वाच्यालंकारो में ही अन्तर्भुत कर दिया है। उन्होंने रसवत्, प्रेयस्वत्, ऊर्जस्वि और समाहित में सारे रसप्रपंच का समावेश मान लिया—

रत्यादिकानां भावानामनुभावादिसूचनैः।
यत्काव्यं बध्यते सद्भिः तत् प्रेयस्वदुदाहृतम्॥ का. सा. सं. ४-२
रसवद् दर्शित-स्पृष्ट-शृंगारादि-रसोदयम्।
स्वशब्दस्यापि-संचारि-विभावाभिनयास्पदम्॥ वही ४-३
अनौचित्यप्रवृत्तानां कामक्रोधादि-कारणात्।
भावानां च रसानां वन्ध ऊर्जस्वि कथ्यते॥ वही -५
रस-भाव-तदाभासवृत्तेः प्रथम-बन्धनम्।
अन्यानुभाव-निःशून्यरूपं यत् तत् समाहितम्॥ वही -७

रुद्रट ने रस भाव आदि का रसवत् में अन्तर्भाव न करते हुये भी प्रतीयमान अर्थ का भाव अलंकार मे अन्तर्भाव मानकर अलंकार को अंगी स्वीकार किया। इसीलिये उनके काव्यलंकार का मुख्य वर्ण्य अलंकार है और टीकाकार नमिसाधु के अनुसार दोष एवं रस तो उसमें प्रासंगिक रूप से आ गये हैं—"तत्र काव्यालंकारा वक्रोक्तिवास्तववादयोऽस्य ग्रन्थस्य प्राधान्यतोऽभिधेयाः। दोषा रसाश्चेह प्रासंगिकाः, न तु प्रधानाः।" आंचार्य कुन्तक ने भी अलंकार को काव्य का अनिवार्य अंग स्वीकार किया है। उन्होने वक्रोक्ति जीवित में कहा—अलंकृतिरलंकार्यमथोद्धृत्य विवेच्यते। तदुपायतया तत्त्वं सालंकारस्य काव्यता॥ १-६। भोजराज ने सरस्वतीकण्ठाभरण में एक प्रश्न उठाया है कि रसो को अलंकार मानना ठीक नहीं है क्योंकि जैसे गुणों के अलंकार पद का व्यवहार देखा गया है वैसे रसो के लिये नहीं। उनकी शंका दण्डी के कथन "कस्तान् कार्त्स्न्येन वक्ष्यति" पर आधारित है जिसका समाधान करते हुये उन्होने स्वयं कहा कि यह कहना कहना ठीक नहीं है क्योंकि दण्डी ने ऊर्जस्वि, रसवत् और प्रेयस् की गणना अलंकारों मे की है। उन्होने अन्यत्र भी कहा है—"तत्र काव्यशोभाकरान् इत्यनेन श्लेषोपमादिवत् गुण-रस-भाव-तदाभास-प्रशमादीनप्यनुगृह्णाति"। इस प्रकार इन अलंकारवादियों के अनुसार रस, भाव, गुण आदि जितने भी काव्य के शोभा-समुत्पादक धर्म है वे सब अलंकार की परिधि मे आ जाते है और काव्य का अनिवार्य तत्त्व होने के कारण अलंकार ही काव्य का आत्मा है। जयदेव तो यहाँ तक कह गये कि-अंगीकरोति यः काव्यं शब्दार्थावनलङ्कृती। असौ न मन्यते कस्यादनुष्णं मनलङ्कृती।

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तीसरा सम्प्रदाय है ध्वनिवादियो का जिनके प्रमुख आचार्य आनन्दवर्धन हैं। इनका मत है कि अलंकार का विधान रसादि के अंग के रूप में होना चाहिये, अंगी के रूप में नहीं। ध्वनिवाद वैयाकरणो के स्फोटवाद पर आश्रित था और उसका प्रमुख साधन था व्यञ्जनवृत्ति। आनन्दवर्धन ने अपने तीन प्रमुख विरोधियों-अभाववाद, भक्तिवाद और अनिवर्चनीयतावाद का सांगोपांग खण्डन कर नवम शतक में ध्वनि को काव्य के परमतत्व के रूप में प्रतिष्ठित किया। यद्यपि आनन्दवर्धन कें बाद भट्टनायक, धनंजय, धनिक, महिमभट्ट और कुन्तक आदि कुछ आचार्यो ने व्यंजना रूप ध्वनि का पूरी शक्ति से खण्डन किया किन्तु मम्मट विरोधियोंकें सारे तर्कों का युक्तिपूर्वक खण्डन कर व्यञ्जना और वाङमयरूप ध्वनि की औंर इस प्रकार प्रतिष्ठा की कि आगे उसके विरोध में कोई तीव्र स्वर उभर नहीं सका।

और उसका कारण था। ध्वनिवादियों ने महाकाव्य से लेकर वाक्य, पद, समास, प्रकृति प्रत्यय, उपसर्ग, निपात सभी को अपने क्षेत्र की सीमा में आवद्ध कर लिया। उन्होने वर्ण से लेकर प्रबन्ध तक सब में अर्थ-ध्वनन माना। फलत: अन्य सब काव्य-सिद्धांतों का समाहार ध्वनि में हो गया। अलंकार का महत्त्व ध्वन्यर्थ के उत्कर्ष तक सीमित होकर रह गया। माधुर्यादि गुण भी व्यंग्य माने गये और वे ध्वन्यमान रस के उत्कर्ष-कारक बने। यही स्थिति रीति और वृत्ति की की भी हुई। वस्तुध्वनि और अलंकार-ध्वनि के साथ रसध्वनि को भी मान्यता मिली। इस प्रकार रस का स्वतंत्र अस्तित्व तो स्वीकार कर लिया गया किन्तु वह भी ध्वनि का अंग बन कर ही चमत्कारक वन सका। ध्वनिमत नें परमालीन वक्रोक्ति और औचित्य के सिद्धान्त को भी अपने भीतर समेट लिया और उनमे भी ध्वनि स्पष्टतः सिद्ध कर दी गयी। इस प्रकार रीति, वृत्ति, गुण, अलंकार सब अंग वन गये और ध्वनि अंगी। आनन्दवर्धन ने कहा–

तस्य हि ध्वनेः स्वरूपं सकलसत्कविकाव्योपनिषद्भूतमतिरमणीयम्।
अणीयसीभिश्चिरन्तनकाव्यलक्षणविधायिनां बुद्धिभिरनुन्मीलितपूर्वम्॥

और– प्रतीयमानं पुनरन्यदेव वस्त्वस्ति वाणीषु महाकवीनाम्।
यत्तत् प्रसिद्धावयवातिरिक्तं विभाति लावण्यमिवाङ्गनासु॥ वही १-४

अतः–

काव्यस्यात्मा स एवार्थस्तथा चादिकवेः पुरा।
क्रौञ्च-द्वंद्वियोगोत्थः शोकः श्लोकत्वमागतः। वही १-५

ध्वनि-सिद्धान्त कें प्रतिष्ठित हो जाने पर रस का अस्तित्व तो बना रहा किन्तु काव्य में उसकी अनिवार्य स्थिति समाप्त हो गयी। साथ ही स्वयं उसकी स्थिति ध्वनि के अधीन हो गयी। क्योंकि रस के सर्वथा अभाव में भी वस्तु-ध्वनि और अलंकार-ध्वनि से युक्त वाक्यों में काव्यत्व स्थिर रहा। तब रस काव्य की आत्मा न रहकर ध्वनि का उपकारक मात्र बनकर रह गया क्योकि रस यदि ध्वनित नहीं होता तो वह उक्तिमात्र बनकर रह जाता है। दुष्यन्त शकुन्तला के वियोग में व्याकुल है–यह वाक्य काव्य नहीं कहा जा सकता क्योंकि इसमे रस-ध्वनित नही होता। साथ ही यदि रस-विरहित स्थलो में काव्य न माना जाय तो वस्तुध्वनि और अलंकारध्वनि का बहुत बड़ा क्षेत्र काव्य-संज्ञा से विरहित हो जायगा। इसलिये काव्य-प्रकाशकार ने भी कहा –

इदमुत्तममतिशयिनि व्यङ्ग्ये वाच्याद् ध्वनिर्बुधैः कथितः।

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इन तीन प्रमुख सिद्धान्तों में से अलंकारवादियों ने रसपूर्ण स्थलो मे रसवत् अलंकार माना। भामह ने कहा कि रति, प्रीति आदि भावस्थलों में प्रेय अलंकार होता है। यथा –

प्रेयो गृहागतं कृष्णमवादीद् विदुरो यथा।
अद्य या मम गोविन्द जाता त्वयि गृहागते
कालेनैषा भवेत् प्रीतिस्तवैवागमनात् पुनः। भामह. ३-५

इसी प्रकार दण्डी ने कहा –

प्रेयः प्रियतराख्यानं रसवद् रस-पेशलम्।
ऊर्जस्वि रूढाहंकारं युक्तोत्कर्षं च तत् त्रयम्।

उनके मत से अत्यन्त प्रियभाव को प्रकट करनेवाला कथन प्रेय अलंकार, रस से पेशल अर्थात् रसयुक्त कथन रसवत् अलंकार और गर्व को अभिव्यक्त करनेवाला कथन ऊर्जस्वि अलंकार होता है। किन्तु इन तीनो में एक वात सामान्य है और वह है उत्कर्ष-युक्त कथन। सरस्वतीकण्ठाभरण (५-१७२) में भोजराज ने युक्त कारिका के "युक्तोत्कर्षं तु तत्त्रयम्" इस अंश पर टिप्पणी करते हुयें कहा है कि जब प्रेयः आदि युक्तोत्कर्ष होते हैं तब वे अलंकार होते हैं किन्तु जब ऐसा नहीं होता तो वे क्रमशः प्रेयः, भाविक और और्जस्य गुण बन जाते हैं। इनमें से भाविक के विषय में भामह ने कहा है-भाविकत्वमिति प्राहुः प्रबन्ध-विषयं गुणम्। ३-५२। साथ ही उन्होने यह भी कहा–भाविकत्वं च निजगुरलंकारं सुमेधसः। ३-४। ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि भामह किसी भूत और भावी घटना के ऐसे सिद्ध वर्णन में जिससे वह वर्तमान में घटित होती–सी प्रतीत होने लगे भाविकत्व मानते थे। और भाविकत्व एक वाक्य पर नहीं, प्रबन्ध पर आश्रित होता है। भट्टिमहाकाव्य की जयमांला टीका ने १२वे सर्ग के मन्त्रनिर्णय प्रकरण को भाविकत्व का उदाहरण बतलाया है। दण्डी ने भामह को दोहराते हुए कहा है–भावः कवेरभिप्रायः काव्येष्वासिद्धिसंस्थितः। भाविकत्वमिति प्राहुः प्रबन्धविषयं गुणम्। काव्य. २-३६४। दण्डी ने रसवत् अलंकार के प्रसंग मे क्रमशः सभी रसों के उदाहरण दिये हैं। इन उदाहरणो से स्पष्ट है कि जहाँ रस प्रधान रूप से ध्वनित होते हैं वहाँ दण्डी रसवत् अलंकार की स्थिति मानते हैं और देवता, नृप एवं मुनि विषयक भाव में प्रेय अलंकार और गर्व आदि व्यभिचारी की तीव्र अभिव्यक्ति में ऊर्जस्वि अलंकार स्वीकार करते हैं। उन्होने ऊर्जस्वि की व्याख्या करते हुए कहा है–

अपकर्ताऽहमस्मीति हृदि ते मा स्म भूद् भयम्।
विमुखेषु न मे खड्गः प्रहर्तुं जातु वांछति।।
इति मुक्तः परो युद्धे निरुद्धो दर्पशालिना।
पुंसा केनापि तज्ज्ञेयमूर्जस्वीत्येवमादिकम्।। काव्य. २-२९, ३-९४

स्वयं को मेरा अपकारी शत्रु जानकर मन में मत डरो। मेरी तलवार कभी युद्ध से विमुख हो जानेवाले पर प्रहार नहीं करती। ऐसा कहकर किसी दर्पशाली पुरुष ने हाथ में आये हुये शत्रु को छोड़ दिया। इस प्रकार की उक्ति गर्व की अभिव्यक्ति के कारण ऊर्जस्वी का उदाहरण है।

उद्भट की ऊर्जस्वी कीं कल्पना दण्डीसे भिन्न है। उनके अनुसार काम क्रोध आदि कारणों से उत्पन्न अनौचित्यपूर्ण भावों और रसों का वर्णन इस अलंकार का विषय है–

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अनौचित्य-प्रवृत्तानां काम-क्रोधादि-कारणात् ।
भावानां च रसानां च बन्ध ऊर्जस्वि कथ्यते । का. सा. सं. ४-५

आगे चलकर गुणीभूत रसाभास और भावाभास के ऊर्जस्वी मान लिये जाने के पीछे उद्भट की यह व्याख्या ही प्रमुख कारण है। इसी प्रकार दण्डी ने समाहित का लक्षण किया था–

किंचिदारभमाणस्य कार्यं दैववशात् पुनः ।
तत्साधनसमापत्तिर्या तदाहुः समाहितम् ।
मानमस्या निराकर्तुं पादयोर्मे पतिष्यतः ।
उपकाराय दिष्ट्यैतदुदीर्णं घन-गर्जितम् । काव्या. २-२९८-९९

किसी कार्य को प्रारम्भ करने वाले व्यक्ति के सामने उस कार्य को सिद्ध करने के लिये दैववशात् कोई अन्य साधन उपस्थित हो जाय तो उसके कथन को समाहित कहते हैं। जैसे प्रेयसी के मान को दूर करने के लिये मैं उसके पैरों पर गिरने वाला ही था कि भाग्यसे मेरा उपकार करने के लिये मेघ-गर्जन आ गया।

आगे चल कर यह अलंकार प्रेय, रसवत् और ऊर्जस्वी के साथ जोड़ दिया गया और यह भावप्रशम का गुणीभूत रूप मान लिया गया। इसका कारण भी उद्भट की यह परिभाषा ही है–

रस-भाव-तदाभास-वृत्तेः प्रथम-बन्धनम् ।
अन्यानुभाव-निःशून्यरूपं यत् तत् समाहितम् ।। का. सा. सं. ४-७

और दण्डी के समाहित को कुछ आचार्यों ने समाधि अलंकार के रूप में ग्रहण कर लिया। समाधिः सुकरे कार्ये दैवाद् वस्त्वन्तरागमात् । सा. द. १०-८५। मम्मट (१०-१२५), रुय्यक (६८ वृत्ति), शोभाकर मित्र (अलंकाररत्नाकर ७५) तथा विश्वनाथ (१०-८५) और अप्पय दीक्षित (कुवलया. ११८ वृत्ति) ने समाधि अलंकार के उदाहरण के रूप में उपर्युक्त श्लोक को ही उद्धृत किया है।

वक्रोक्ति सम्प्रदाय के प्रवर्तक आचार्य कुन्तक विचित्राभिधावादी और ध्वनि विरोधी थे। किन्तु उन्होने रसवत् अलंकार के प्रसंग मे भामह आदि के मतों का प्रबल युक्तियों के द्वारा खण्डन कर रस की प्रतीयमानता का समर्थन किया है और रस को सारे अलंकारो का प्राण बतलाया–

यथा च रसवन्नाम सर्वालंकारजीवितम् ।
काव्यैकसारतां याति तथेदानीं विवेच्यते ।। व. जी. ३-१४

रस, भाव, रसाभास, भावाभास और भावशान्ति का विशुद्ध वैज्ञानिक स्तर पर विवेचन आनन्दवर्धन से प्रारम्भ होता है। सर्वप्रथम उन्होनें ही इनकी ध्वन्यमानता और अंगरूपता के बीच विभाजक रेखा स्पष्ट की और गुणों एवं अलंकारों का उचित स्थान निर्धारित किया। उनके मत मे –

रस-भाव-तदाभास-तत्प्रशान्त्यादिरक्रमः ।
ध्वनेरात्माङ्गिभावेन भासमानो व्यवस्थितः ।

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प्रधानेऽन्यत्र वाक्यार्थे यत्राङ्गं तु रसादयः ।
काव्ये तस्मिन्नलंकारो रसादिरिति मे मतिः ॥
तमर्थमवलम्बन्ते येऽङ्गिनस्ते गुणाः स्मृताः ।
अङ्गाश्रितास्त्वलंकारा मन्यव्याः कटकादिवत् ॥ ध्वन्या. २-३ से ५

अर्थात् रस, भाव, रसाभास, भावाभास और भावशान्ति आदि असंलक्ष्यक्रम व्यङ्गय के अन्तर्गत आते हैं। प्रधान रूप से व्यङ्ग्य होने पर ये ध्वनि कहलाते हैं। किन्तु यदि कोई अन्य वाक्यार्थ प्रधान हो और ये रसादिक उसका अंग बनकर आयें तो उसका काव्य में ये रसादि अलंकार होते हैं, ऐसा मेरा विचार है। गुण वे हैं जो उस रसादि रूप अंगी अर्थ पर अवलम्बित हो कर रहे। अलंकार वे हैं जो कटक-कुण्डल आदि भूषणो के समान अंगो पर आश्रित हो उन्होने उद्भट द्वारा प्रतिपादित अलंकार को लक्ष्य करके कहा–"यद्यपि रसवदलंकारस्यान्यैर्दर्शितो विषयस्तथापि यस्मिन् काव्ये प्रधानतयाऽन्योऽर्थो वाक्यार्थीभूतस्तस्य चाङ्गभूता ये रसादयस्ते रसादेरलंकारस्य विषयाः इति मामकीनः पक्षः ॥ ... यत्र रसादयो वाक्यार्थीभूताः स सर्वः न रसादेरलंकारस्य विषयः, स ध्वनेः प्रभदः । तस्योपमादयोऽलंकाराः । एवं ध्वनेरुपमादीनां रसवदलंकारस्य विभक्त-विषयता भवति ।"

मम्मट ने आनन्दवर्धन के इस पक्ष का समर्थन किया। उन्होने कहा –

रसभावतदाभासभावशान्त्यादिरक्रमः
भिन्नो रसाद्यलंकारादलंकार्यतया स्थितः । का. प्र. ४-२६

अर्थात रस, भाव, रसाभास, भावाभास और भाव-शान्ति आदि यदि अगी या अलंकार्य के रूप में (अर्थात प्रधान अर्थ के रूप में) स्थित हो तो वे असंलक्ष्य-क्रमध्वनि का विषय होते है और रसवदादि अलंकारो की सीमा में नहीं आते। किन्तु जब वे अंग बनकर आते हैं तो रसवत्, प्रेय, ऊर्जस्वि और समाहित अलंकार माने जाते हैं।

रसों और भावों की सामान्य चर्चा ऊपर हो चुकी है। अतः अच्छा होगा, यदि यहाँ पर रसाभास, भावाभास और भावशान्ति आदि को भी समझ लिया जाय। रस, नाटच में आठ किन्तु काव्य में नौ स्वीकृत रहे हैं। मम्मट ने कहा है–

शृंगार-हास्य-करुण-रौद्रवीर-भयानकाः ।
वीभत्सोऽद्भुत-संज्ञौ चेत्यष्टौ नाटचे रसाः स्मृतः । कां.प्र. ४-२६

और इनके स्थायी भाव है–

रतिर्हासश्च शोकश्च क्रोधोत्साहौ भयं तथा ।
जुगुप्सा विस्मयश्चेति स्थायिभावाः प्रकीर्तिताः
निर्वेदस्थायिभावोस्ति शान्तोऽपि नवमो रसः । वहीं ३०, ३५

इनके व्यभिचारी या संचारी भाव ये है–

निर्वेद-ग्लानि-शङ्काख्यास्तथाऽसूया-मदश्रमाः ।
आलस्यं चैव दैन्यं च चिन्ता मोहः स्मृतिर्धृतिः ॥

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व्रीडा चपलता हर्ष आवेगो जडता तथा।
गर्वो विषाद औत्सुक्यं निद्राऽपस्मार एव च ।।
सुप्तं प्रबोधोऽमर्षश्चाप्यवहित्थमथोग्रता।
मतिर्व्याधिस्तथोन्मादस्तथा मरणमेव च।
त्रासश्चैव वितर्कश्च विज्ञेया व्यभिचारिणः ।। वही ४-३१ से ३४

उपर्युक्त उदाहरणों में रस तो स्पष्ट ही है। भाव के अन्तर्गत निम्नलिखित आते हैं-(१) रसावस्था को प्राप्त न होने वाले उद्‌बुद्धमात्र रति, हास आदि स्थायी भाव, (२) देव, मुनि, गुरु, नृप एवं पुत्र पुत्री के प्रति रति, (३) तथा : धानता से प्रतीत होने वाले निर्वेद आदि संचारी भाव। कभी कभीं किसी काव्य मे व्यभिचारी भाव ही प्रधानता व्यङ्ग्य होता है और विभावादि अनुचारी बनकर उस की पुष्टी करते हैं तो उस व्यभिचारी या संचारी को भाव कहते हैं। ऐसे स्थलों मे संचारी प्रधान होता है और स्थायी उसका अनुचर, जैसे भृत्य के विवाह अवसर पर भृत्य प्रधान होता हैं और स्वामी उसके पीछे चलता है। उदाहरणार्थ-

दिवि वा भुवि वा ममास्तु वासो नरके वा नरकान्तक प्रकामम्।
अवधीरितशारदारविन्दौ चरणौ ते मरणेऽपि चिन्तयामि ॥

मुकुन्दमाला के इस श्लोक मे मुकुन्द के प्रति रति व्यङ्ग्य है जो देवविषक है। ऐसे स्थलों मे जहाँ रति कान्त या कान्ता से भिन्न के प्रति होती है वहाँ वह रस कोटि तक न पहुँचकर केवल भाव बनकर रह जाती हैं। ऐसे ही -

हरस्तु किंचित्-परिवृत्त-धैर्यश्चन्द्रोदयारम्भ इवाम्बुराशिः।
उमामुखे विम्बफलाधरोष्ठे व्यापारयामास विलोचनानि ।।कुमार ३

यहाँ पार्वती विषयक शिव की रति व्यङ्ग्य है किन्तु यहाँ भी शृंगार का स्थायी भाव रति उद्‌बुद्ध होकर ही रह गया हैं। विभाव, अनुभाव और संचारियों से पुष्ट होकर रसकोटि तक नहीं पहुँच पाया। अतः यहां भी रति केवल भाव हैं।

रतिर्देवादिविषया व्यभिचारी तथाऽञ्जितः।
भावः प्रोक्तः, तदाभासा अनौचित्य-प्रर्वातताः ॥
भावस्य शान्तिरुदयः सन्धिः शबलता तथा।
मुख्ये रसेऽपि तेऽङ्गित्वं प्राप्नुवन्ति कदाचन। का. प्र. ४-३५ से ३७

रस यदि अनुचित रूप से प्रवर्तित हो तो वह रसाभास हो जाता है और भाव यदि अनुचित रूप से प्रवर्तित हों तो वह भावाभास कहलाता है। साहित्यदर्पण ने इसी बात को इस प्रकार कहा हैं -

संचारिणः प्रधानानि देवादि-विषया रतिः। सा. द. ३-२६
उदबुद्धमात्रः स्थायी च भाव इत्यभिधीयते ।। वही २६१
अनौचित्य-प्रवृत्तत्त्व आभासो रसभावयोः। सा. २-३-२६२
भावस्य शान्तावुदये सन्धिमिश्रितयोः क्रमात्।
भावस्य शान्तिरुदयः सन्धिः शबलता तथा। वही २६७

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रसगंगाधरकार भी 'अनुचित विभावालम्बनत्व' को रसाभासत्व मानते हैं। उनके विचार से अनुचित विभाग का आलम्बन कर उसके द्वारा उद्गत अनुचित इत्यादि रसाभास है। स्थायी भाव ही रस बनता है। अतः रसाभास का मूल है अनुचित रत्यादि और अनुचित रत्यादि का मूल है अनुचित विभाव। विभाग का अनौचित्य लोक व्यवहार से निश्चित होता है। किन्तु रसाभास का कारण विभाव का अनुचित होना ही नहीं, रति का अनुचित होना भी है। मान लीजिये किसी स्वयंवर में बहुत से युवक अभ्यार्थी होकर आये हैं। वहाँ विभाव तो अनुचित नही है किन्तु उन सब में रति अनुचित है। ऐसे ही यदि नायक नायिका को चाहता है किन्तु यदि नायिका के मन में रति अङ्कुरित नही है, अथवा नायिका प्रबुद्ध है और नायक अभी बालक है। ऐसे स्थलो में रति दोनों में न रहकर एक में होगीं। यहाँ विभाव तो अनुचित नहीं होगा किन्तु रति अनुचित होगी। इस प्रकार अनुचित विभावालम्बनजन्य, बहुनायक-विषयक, और अनुभवनिष्ठ रति में रसाभाव होता है। प्रतिकूल देश और काल में अपनी नायिका के प्रति व्यक्त रति भी अनुचित होती है। और अनुकूल देश और काल मे परकीया के प्रति कीं गयी रति भीं अनुचित नहीं होती। साहित्यदर्पण ने तो ऐसे कुछ स्थलों की ओर स्पष्ट संकेत भी कर दिया है। उसकें अनुसार उपनायकगत, गुरुपत्नीगत, बहुनायकनिष्ठ एवं अनुभयनिष्ठ रति अनुचित की श्रेणी में आती है। इसी प्रकार प्रतिनायकनिष्ठ, नीचपात्र के प्रति, तिर्यंक् आदि में निष्ठ रतिश्रृंगार मे अनौचित्य का कारण हैं। गुरु आदि पर क्रोध रौद्ररस में, नीचकुल में स्थित निर्वेद शान्त रस में गुरु आदि आलम्बन हांस्य मे, ब्राह्मणवध एवं कुकर्म के प्रति, तथा नीच पात्रगत उत्साह वीर रस मे और उत्तम पात्रगत होने पर भयानक रस मे अनौचित्य होता है। वंश्य मे लज्जा आदि भाव-गत अनौचित्य के स्थल है।

> राका-सुधाकर-मुखी तरलायताक्षी सा स्मेरयौवनतरङ्गितविभ्रमाक्षी।
> तत्किं करोमि विदधे कथमत्र मैत्रीं तत्स्वीकृतिव्यतिकरे क इवाभ्युपायः।

रावण की सीता के प्रति यह चिन्ता भी अनुचित भाव या भावाभास का उदाहरण है। अनुभव-निष्ठ होने से कुछ लोग इसे रसाभास का भी उदाहरण मानते है। काव्यशास्त्र के आचार्यो ने इस प्रकार के बहुत से उदाहरण रसाभाव और भावाभास के प्रसंग में दिये है।

इसी प्रसंग मे भावशान्ति भावोदय, भाव-सन्धि और भाव-शबलता पर भी एक दृष्टि डाल लेनी चाहिये। किसीं भाव के शमन, उदय, दो भावो की अनुकुलता से सहस्थिति की और कई भावों के एक साथ मिश्रण को क्रमशः भावोदय आदि की संज्ञा दी जाती है। साहित्य-दर्पणकार ने इनके अविवाद उदाहरण प्रस्तुत किये है और मम्मट ने भी। इन चारों स्थितियों के अभाव का नाम भावस्थिति है। और वह अञ्जित व्यभिचारी की परिधी में आति है। भावशान्ति आदि यद्यपि सामान्यतया रस के अंग होते है तो भी कभी कभी वे प्रधानतया अर्थात् अंगी के रूप में वर्णित कर दिये जाते है। ऐसे स्थलों में भावध्वनि होती है। यह पहले कहा जा चुका है।

विश्वनाथ के मत में रस, भाव, रसाभास, भावाभास, भावशान्ति, भावोदय, भाव-सन्धि और भाव-शबलता में सब भी आस्वाद्यमान होने के कारण रस ही कहलाते हैं—

> रसभावौ तदाभासौ भावस्य प्रशमोदयौ।
> सन्धिः शबलता चेति सर्वेऽपि रसनाद् रसाः।। सा. द. ३-२५६-६०

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वस्तु आस्वादन रूप रसनधर्म से सम्बन्धित होने के कारण भावादिको के लिये रस शब्द का प्रयोग उपचारवश ही होता है ।

मम्मट के अनुसार जहाँ ये रसाभास, भावाभास और भावशान्त्यादि अलंकार्य अर्थात् प्रधान रूप में स्थित होते हैं वहाँ वे असंलक्ष्य क्रम व्यङ्ग के आधार बनते हैं किन्तु जहाँ वे वाक्यार्थ के अंग बनकर आते हैं अर्थात् जहाँ प्रमुखता रसादि या वाच्यार्थ की होती हैं और रसाभासादि उसके उपकारक होकर आते हैं वहाँ अपरोक्षगुणीभूत व्यङ्ग्य होता है । विश्वनाथ कविराज ने भी इस विषयमें मम्मट का ही अनुसरण किया है । उदाहरण—

वन्दीकृत्य नृप, द्विषां मृगदृशस्ताः पश्यतां प्रेयसां,
श्लिष्यन्ति प्रणमन्ति लान्ति परितश्चुम्बन्ति ते सैनिकाः ।
अस्माकं सुकृतैर्दृशोर्निपतितेऽस्यौचित्यवारांनिधे,
विध्वस्ता विपदोऽखिलास्तदिति तैः प्रत्यर्थिभिः स्तूयसे ॥

यहाँ किसी राजा द्वारा दूसरे राजा को नष्ट कर उसके रनिवास की स्त्रियों को बन्दी बना लेने की स्थिति का वर्णन है । कवि कहता है कि हे राजन् ! आपके सैनिकगण आपके शत्रुओं की स्त्रियों को बन्दी बनाकर उनके प्रेमियों के देखते-देखते उनका आलिंगन करते हैं, मनानें के लिये उन्हे प्रणाम भीं करते हैं, उन्हे पकड़ते हैं और चूमते है किन्तु फिर भी आप के शत्रु कहते हैं कि हे औचित्य के सागर ! हमारे बडे पुण्य थे जो आपके दर्शन हुये और आपके देखते ही हमारी सारी विपत्तियाँ दूर हो गयी ।

इस श्लोक के प्रथमार्ध मे अनुरक्ति-रहित परस्त्री विषयक सैनिक-निष्ठ शृंगार का वर्णन है जो रसाभास है और द्वितीयार्ध मे शत्रुओं की विरोधी राजा के प्रति रति (भाव) का वर्णन ह जो भावाभास है । यहाँ रस और भाव दोनो अनौचित्य-प्रवृत्त हैं । यहाँ प्रधान है कवि का राज-विषयक रतिभाव और रसाभास एवं भावाभास उसके अंग या उपकारक कें रूप में स्थित है । इस लिये यहाँ अपराङ्ग गुणीभूत व्यङ्ग्य है । इसी प्रकार काव्य-प्रकाश ने "अविरल करवाल" आदि भाव-शान्ति का, "साकं कुरङ्गकदृशा" आदि भावोदय का 'असोढा तत्कालोल्लसत्' आदि भाव-सन्धि का और 'पश्येत् कश्चिच्चल चपल रे' आदि भाव-शबलता का उदाहरण प्रस्तुत किया है । प्राचीन आचार्यो के मत से ये क्रमश ऊर्जस्वी, समाहित, भावोदय, भाव-सन्धि और भाव-शबलाता नामक अलंकारो के उदाहरण है । प्राचीनों की उक्ति है— गुणीभूतो रसो रसवत्, भावस्तु प्रेयः, रसाभास-भावाभासो ऊर्जस्वि, भावशान्तिः समाहितम् । अलंकार सर्वस्वकारने भावोदय आदि कोभी अलंकार माना है । उसका कथन है—"रस-भाव-तदाभास-तत्प्रशमानां निबन्धनेन रसवत्, प्रेय ऊर्जस्वि समाहितानि, भावादयो, भावसन्धिः भावशबलता च पृथगलंकाराः" । मम्मट ने अलंकार और अलंकार्य का सम्यक् विवेचन कर रसभाव-तदाभास आदि के प्रधानतया व्यङ्ग्य होने पर उत्तमध्वनिकाव्य और इनके अप्रधानरूप से व्यङ्ग्य होने पर मध्यम अपराङ्गगुणीभूतव्यङ्ग्य काव्य माना । इसलिये उन्होने रसवत् और ऊर्जस्वि आदि अलंकारो की चर्चा नहीं की क्योकि जो अलंकार्य है उसे अलंकार की कोटि मे कैसा रखा जा सकता है ? उन्होने अपनी स्थिति को स्पष्ट करने के लिये कहा भी—"एते च रसवदाद्यलंकाराः । यद्यपि भावोदय-भावसन्धिभावशबलत्वानि नालंकारतया उक्तानि तथापि कश्चिद्

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ब्रूयादित्येवमुक्तम् । का. प्र. ३।१२।३ । आलंकारिको एवं ध्वनिवादियो मे यही मौलिक अन्तर इस विषय मे है ।

अलंकार-सर्वस्वकार ने रसवदादि की चर्चा करते हुए कहा है कि जिस निबन्धन में रस हो वहाँ रसवत्, जहाँ प्रियतर निवन्धन हो वहाँ प्रेय और जहाँ निबन्धन में ऊर्ज या बल हो वहाँ ऊर्जस्वि अलंकार होता है। यहाँ अनौचित्य-प्रवृत्ति ही बल या ऊर्ज है । जिन आचार्यो (दण्डी, भामह आदि) की दृष्टि में वाक्यार्थीभूत रसादि रसवदादि अलंकार है वहाँ अङ्गभूत रसादि के अंश मे उदात्तालंकार माना जायगी । 'यस्मिन् दर्शने वाक्यार्थीभूता रसादयो रसवदाद्यलंकाराः तत्राङ्गभूत-रसादि-विषये द्वितीयः उदात्तालंकार:' । आनन्दवर्धन आदि ध्वनिवादियों के मत में अङ्गभूत रसादि में ही रसवत् आदि अलंकार होते है और वाक्यार्थीभूत रसादि रसादि-ध्वनि के क्षेत्र मे चले जाते है वहाँ उदात्तालंकार के लिये अवकाश ही नहीं रहता फिर भी रुय्यक रसवत्, प्रेय और ऊर्जस्वि में द्वितीय "अङ्गभूतमहापुरुषचरितं च" वाला उदात्त मानते है । कुन्तक नें (३।११।२ वृत्ति) रसवत्, प्रेय और ऊर्जस्वी इन तीनो अलंकारो का खण्डन किया है । उन्होने दण्डी की "प्रेयः प्रियतराख्यानम्" आदि कारिका को अलग उद्धृत करक उसे खण्डित करने के साथ रसवत् की अपनी निजी व्याख्या इस प्रकार प्रस्तुत की है-

"रसेन वर्तते तुल्यं रसवत्व-विधानतः-योऽलंकारःस रसवत् तद्विदाह्लादनिर्मितः। (व.जी.)

अप्पय दीक्षित ने समाहितसहित चार तथा भावोदय, भावसन्धि और भावशबलता को मिलाकर कुल सात अलंकार माने है। उन्होने इनकी परिभाषा न देकर उदाहरणों द्वारा उन्हे स्पष्ट किया है ।

रसगंगाधर ने इस विषय पर सूक्ष्म विचार किया है और दो एक महत्त्वपूर्ण बाते कही है । यथा-"रसाद्याभासत्वं रसत्वादिता न समानाधिकरणम् । निर्मलस्यैव रसत्वात् । हेत्वाभासत्वमिव हेतुत्वेन इत्येके । न ह्यनुचितत्वेनात्महानिः अपि तु सदोषत्वादाभासव्यवहारः । अश्वाभासादिव्यवहारवत् इत्यपरे । "

अर्थात् रसाभासत्व और रसत्व दोनों बराबर नहीं है क्योंकि रस निर्मल होता है और रसाभाव अनौचित्य-ग्रस्त । जैसे हेतु और हेत्वाभास समान नहीं हो सकते ऐसे ही ये भी समाव नहीं माने जा सकते । यह एक पक्ष है। दुसरा पक्ष यह है कि अनुचित होने पर भी रस के स्वरूप की हानि नहीं होती क्योंकि कुछ भी हो, है तो वह रस ही । जैसे अश्व और अश्वाभास अर्थात् खच्चर । अन्य जाति के प्राणी कों तो खच्चर नहीं कहते ।

इसी प्रकार भावशान्ति आदि पर विस्तृत विचारणा के पश्चात् उन्होने प्रश्न उठाया है कि भावशान्त्यादि के समान रसशान्त्यादि का भी विवेचन क्यों नहीं किया गया और स्वयं ही उत्तर देते हुये कहा कि रसों के मूल में स्थायी भाव रहता है और यदि उसी की शान्ति हो गयी तो रसत्व ही नहीं रह जायगा। तब रसशान्ति कैसी ? यदि कहे कि रत्यादि की अभिव्यक्ति न होतां ही रस शान्ति है तो भी वही स्थिति होगी क्योंकि अभिव्यक्त रत्यादि ही रस होते है। इसोलिये रस शान्त्यादि पर विचार करना संभव नहीं है ।

उपर्युक्त विवेचन से एक महत्त्वपूर्ण बात स्पष्ट होती है कि हमारे आचार्यों ने भाव, रसाभास, भावाभास और भावशान्ति आदि में भी जो रस माना था वह यो ही नहीं, अपितु

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ठोस मनोवैज्ञानिक और व्यावहारिक अनुभव पर आश्रित था। भाव चाहे स्थायी हो या संचारी अलग-अलग और असंबद्ध रूप मे भी आते है। इस स्थिति में वे चाहे पूर्ण रस पर्यन्त पुष्ट भले ही न माने जाँय किन्तु उनका ग्रहण रस के समान ही होता है और वे श्रोता या पाठक के हृदय मे रस का संचार करते ही है। उदाहरणार्थ शकुन्तला पर क्रुद्ध होते हुये दुर्वास को देखकर पाठक को शकुन्तला के प्रति क्रोध का अनुभव नहीं होगा क्योंकि वहाँ शकुन्तला का ऐसा चित्रण नही हुआ है कि उस पर क्रोध उत्पन्न हो सके अर्थात् वह क्रोध का सामान्य आलम्बन बन सके। तब पाठक का ध्यान दुर्वास पर केन्द्रित हो जायगा और वह उन्हे क्रोधी समझेगा। अनुचित क्रोध के कारण पाठक के मन में दुर्वास के प्रति विरक्ति, जुगुप्सा या क्रोध का भाव उत्पन्न होगा। इसी प्रकार स्वतन्त्र रूप में आये संचारी पाठक के मन में विभिन्न भाव जाग्रत करेंगे। वह उस भाव का अनुभव तो नहीं करेगा अपितु उसके सहारे अन्य भावो का अनुभव करेगा। यह भावो की स्थिति-अवस्था की बात हुई। भावो के उदय और शान्ति का भी प्रभाव पाठक या श्रोता पर पड़ता है और उसका अनुभव भी उसे रस के समान होता है। साहित्यदर्पणकार ने "चरणपतनप्रत्याख्यानात्" आदि श्लोक को विषाद भाव के उदय का और "सुतनु जहिहि कोपम्" आदि श्लोक को मान या क्रोध की शान्ति का उदाहरण माना। ये शृंगार से सम्बन्धित उदाहरण है। यदि किसी कारणवश क्षुद्र जन में उदात्त भाव का उदय हो तो वह पाठक को विशेष सन्तुष्टि प्रदान करेगा। इसी प्रकार पाठक, अनिष्टपात्र के गर्वहरण और इष्ट पात्र के विषाद, शंका और भय की निवृत्ति के अवसर की प्रतीक्षा-सी करता रहता है। रामायण के रामपरशुराम संवाद में राम जब शिवधनुष्य चढ़ा देते है या कुमारसंभव में सती-विलाप के प्रसंग में जब आकाशवाणी होती है—"कुसुमायुधपत्नि दुर्लभस्तव भर्ता न चिराद्भविष्यति" तो पाठक विशेष तृप्ति या तोष का अनुभव करता है और उसकी चर्वणा भी रस के समान ही होती है। कभी-कभी किसी विशिष्ट भाव कें कारण एक ही प्रसंग में मनुष्य कल्पना द्वारा अनेक रूपों की उद्‌भावना करने लगता है। जैसे विक्रमोर्वशीय के इस श्लोक मे देखिये—

क्वाकार्यं शशलक्ष्मण: क्व च कुलं भूयोऽपि दृश्येत सा।
दोषाणां प्रशमाय: न: श्रुतमहो, कोपेऽपि कान्तं मुखम्॥

किं वक्ष्यन्त्यपकल्मषाः कृतधियः स्वप्नेऽपि सा दुर्लभा।
चेतः स्वास्थ्यमुपेहि, कः खलु युवा धन्योऽधरं पास्यति॥

इसके पहले वाक्य में वितर्क, दुसरे में उत्कण्ठा, तिसरे में मति, चौथे में स्मरण, पाँचवे में शंका, छठे में दैन्य, सातवे में धैर्य और आठवे में चिन्ता एवं ईर्ष्या व्यञ्जित है। यहाँ एक भाव के अधिक तीव्र होने के कारण पुरूरवा चित्त-विक्षेप की जैसी स्थिति में है जिससे उसका मन एक स्थान पर स्थिर नहीं रह पाता और प्रसंग रूप से अनेक भावों मे झूलता है। यहाँ पाठक की सहानुभूति पुरूरवा के साथ होती है और भावों का साधारणीकरकण होता है जिससे पाठक को रस भोग की उपलब्धि होती है। यहाँ यदि इन भावों को रस कोटि तक पुष्ट विप्रलम्भशृंगार के साथ संवद्ध माना जायगा तो इन सब का ग्रहण उसी कें अन्तर्गत संचारियों के रूप में होगा किन्तु असम्बद्ध रूप में अलग अलग देखे जाने पर ये सब भावशबलता कें उदाहरण होंगे यद्यपि दोनो स्थितीयों में ये आस्वाद्य रस के रूप मे ही होगे। वस्तुत: भाव-सन्धि और भाव-शबलता

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का प्रतिपादन रस के अंग कें रूप मे होना उचित नहीं है। इनका क्षेत्र वही है जहाँ दो या अधिक भाव किसी एक विशिष्ट प्रधान भाव के संचारी के रूप में न आकर स्वतंत्र रूप से विद्यमान हो।

रस हो या रसाभास, भाव हो या भावाभास सर्वत्र औचित्य पर दृष्टि रहना आवश्यक हैं। जब हम अनौचित्य-प्रवर्तित रस और भाव की वात कहते हैं तो उस अनौचित्य कल्पना में भी एक प्रकार के औचित्य पर दृष्टि रखते हैं। क्षेमेन्द्र ने ठीक कहा है–

काव्यस्यालमलंकारैः किं मिथ्या जनितैर्गुणैः। यस्य जीवितमौचित्यं विचिन्त्यापि न दृश्यते ॥

और उचित क्या है, इसका उत्तर भी उन्होने ही दे दिया है–

उचितं प्राहुराचार्याः सदृशं किल यस्य यत्। औ. वि. च. ७

और औचित्य की धारणा देशकाल और पात्र के अनुसार बदलती रहती है। हमारे काव्य ग्रन्थो मे वर्णित बहुत-सी शृंगारिक स्थितियाँ आज औचित्यपूर्ण नहीं मानी जा सकती। परकीय-विषयक बहुत से शृंगारवर्णन आज रति कें स्थान पर वितृष्णा ही उत्पन्न करेंगे। जिन वाक्यों से भी हास्य की निष्पत्ति होती रही होगी वे अब निपट फूहड़पन के उदाहरण लगते हैं। संस्कृत की अधिकांश हास्य रस-सम्बन्धीं रचनाओ की यही स्थिति है। इसी प्रकार अनौचित्य की धारणा भी अब बदल गयी है और रस एवं भाव सम्बन्धी कल्पना में भी अन्तर आया है। कभी कहा गया था–

रसः प्रधानः सर्वत्र भाव एव भवेत् क्वचित्। यशन्त यशोभूषण किन्तु जैसा कि स्वयं मुरारिदास ने ही कहा–

भावस्तु मानसो धर्मः विभावस्तस्य कारणम्।
अनुभावस्तु भावस्य बोधकः कविभिः स्मृतः ॥

भाव मन का धर्म है सही किन्तु उसकी गति बहुत कुछ विभावों पर निर्भर है। प्राचीनकाल के समान अब नायक-नायिका-रूप आलम्बन उतनें महत्त्वपूर्ण नहीं रह गये हैं और न उद्दीपन ही वैसा प्रभाव उत्पन्न करते हैं। सच तो यह है कि संचारी से लेकर स्थायी तक की लम्बी प्रक्रिया तक कें लिये न कवि के पास अवकाश है और न पाठक के पास। इसलिये अधिकतर आधुनिक कविता की विश्रान्ति भाव पर ही हो जाती है, वह रसावस्था पहुँच हीं नहीं पाती। अनेक बार तों वह भाव से भी विच्छिन्न-सी लगती है और कोरे चिन्तन या तर्कजाल को जन्म देती है। रस में अनौचित्य कें जिन स्थलो का निर्देश साहित्यदर्पणकार ने किया था और जिसे परम्परा से मान्यता मिलती चली आ रही थी उसमे भी अब परिष्कार की आवश्यकता है और वह भी शास्त्रानुकूल ही होगी। रसाभास के सम्बन्ध में अभिनवगुप्त ने कहा था–"विभावाभासादनुभावाभासाद्, व्यभिचार्याभासाद् रत्याभासे प्रतीते चर्वणाभाससारः शृंगाररसाभासः" अभि. भा.। अर्थात् विभावाभास, अनुभावाभास और व्यभिचार्याभास के द्वारा जब रत्यादि के आभास की प्रतीति होती है तो रति का वास्तविक परिपाक नहीं होता और केवल चर्वणाभास है और वह रसाभास कहलाता है। और आभास का आधार है अनौचित्य और अनौचित्य का आधार पण्डितराज जगन्नाथ के अनुसार है-जाति, देश, कां, वर्ण, आश्रम, वय, अवस्था, स्वभाव और व्यवहार आदि के विषय में जो क्रियाये लोक और शास्त्र से सिद्ध है उनसे तथा जो उचित द्रव्य, गुण और क्रियायें है उनके भिन्न या उनके विरुद्ध होना–

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"तच्च जाति-देशकाल-वर्णाश्रम-वयोऽवस्था-प्रकृति-व्यवहारादेः प्रपंच-जातस्य तस्य तस्य यल्लोंकशास्त्रसिद्धमुचितद्रव्यगुणक्रियादि तद्-भेदः ।" इसके अनुसार लोक और शास्त्र में जो बाते देश, काल, वय वर्णादि के लिये अनुचित मानीं गयी हों और जो वैज्ञानिक तथ्यो के विरुद्ध हो, वे अनुचित हैं । इसके अनुसार कविप्रौढोक्ति अब काव्य के लिये उपयोगी नहीं रह गयी है। इसी प्रकार अब न केवल उपनायकसंस्थ, मुनिगुरुपत्निगत और बहुनायक विषयक रति ही अनुचित मानी जाती है अपितु पत्नी से भिन्न अन्य किसी सें भी रति, रसाभास की ही सृष्टि करती है। अब यह पूरी तरह मान लिया गया हं कि रति एकनिष्ठ ही होती है और अनेक-निष्ठता से रति का स्वरूप ही विकृत हो जाता है। फिर अनुभवनिष्ठ रति कें विषय में, जिसे आचार्यो ने रसाभास की कोटि के अन्तर्गत माना है, विचार करने कें लिये पर्याप्त अवकाश है कि क्या जहाँ लोक और शास्त्र की बाधा नहीं है और जहाँ रस-प्रतीति भी बाधित या अपूर्ण नहीं होती उसेभी रसाभास के हीं अन्तर्गत माना जाय ? अचेतन विषयक रति और तिर्यग्रति के विषय में भी यही प्रश्न उपस्थित होता है। क्या "मधु द्विरेफः कुसुमैकपात्रे पपौ प्रियां स्वामनुवर्तमानः" जैंसे सहस्रों भावपूरित वर्णनों को आभासमात्र मान लिया जाया उचित है। यही बात शृंगारादि क्त रसों के विषय में भी कही जा सक्ती है। वीर के सम्बन्ध में ब्रह्म-वधाद्युत्साह ही अनुचित क्यों ? सभी प्रकार के बधो का उत्साह अनुचित क्यों नही ? फिर भी रस अधमपात्रगत होने पर क्या सदा अनुचित होता है । अनुचितत्व का मापदण्ड व्यक्ति होना चाहिये कि कार्य ? क्या शान्त कभी हीननिष्ठ हो ही नहीं सकता । व्यक्ति के चरित्र मे परिवर्तन होता रहता है। शान्त का पात्र होने पर वह हीन ही नही रह जायगा। यहीं बात क्रोध के विषय में है। जिन बातो के प्रति क्रोध कभी अनुचित माना जाता था उनके प्रति आज नहीं माना जाता। सामाजिक और राजनीतिक क्रान्ति एवं व्यापक धार्मिक चिन्तन ने श्रद्धा और आदर के विषयो में पर्याप्त अन्तर पैंदा कर दिया है। अत: बदली हुई परिस्थितिथीं एवं मान्यताओं की पृष्ठिभूमि मे हमारे शास्त्रीय मानदण्डो में अन्तर आना स्वाभाविक है और हमे उन आवश्यक संशोधनो को आत्मसात करने को प्रस्तुत रहना चाहिये। यही जीवन्त साहित्य का लक्षण है।

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बुद्धचरिते रामायणसाम्यम्

लेखिका : जयश्री चट्टोपाध्याय

रामायणं नाम सनातनं काव्यबीजम् । अतश्चोत्तरवर्त्तिषु काव्यमहाकाव्येष्वस्य कारणता दुर्लक्ष्या न जायते । वस्तुतस्तु रामायणानुभावमुक्ताः विरला दृश्यन्ते कवयः । एवं रामायणाब्धिफेनर्निर्मितो महाकवेरश्वघोषस्य बुद्धचरिताख्यः काव्यमहाशङ्खो येन खृष्टियप्रथमशताब्द्यामस्मात् समुदितोऽपि गम्भीरो नादः सर्वथा रामायणानुनादः । ग्रन्थारम्भे काव्यकोविदश्वघोषः पद्यविरचने वाल्मीकेरग्रयायितामनुस्मारयन्नाह–वाल्मीकिरादौ च ससर्ज पद्यम् १।४३ स्वमुखतोऽनुच्चारितोऽपि वाल्मीकिकृतवाग्द्वारेण कवेरस्य काव्याङ्गने प्रवेशः सचेतसामनुभववेद्यः । बुद्धचरिते कपिलवास्तुनगरी दशरथपालिताया अयोध्यायाः श्रियमास्वादयन्ती उपस्थिता । जनस्तत्र वित्तवैभववेन विगाहमानः सततं धर्मानुरतः–

नागौरवो बन्धुषु नाप्यदाता नैवाव्रती नानृतिको न हिंस्रः ।
आसीत्तदा कश्चन तस्य राज्ये राज्ञो ययतेरिव नाहुषस्य ॥ २।२२

दशरथनामानुल्लेखेऽपि सर्वत्रैवात्र वर्णनाप्रसङ्गे अयोध्यानगरी स्मरणमुपैति । तत्रापि–

नामृष्टमोजी नादाता नाप्यनङ्गदनिष्कधृक् । २।६।२२
नास्तिको नानृती वापि न कश्चिदबहुश्रुतः ।
नासूकयो न चाशक्तो नविद्वान् विद्यते क्वचित् ॥ २।६।२४

स्वर्गोपमायामयोध्यायां संकरो न दृश्यते (२।६।१२) न वा अगवाश्वधनधान्यवान् (२।६।७) कश्चिदस्ति । वर्णनायां यदस्फुटमत्र यदप्रकाशितं वा तदेवाश्रित्याश्वघोषस्य कल्पनास्रोतस्विनीव खरवेगा प्रवदति–

मुक्तश्च दुर्भिक्षभयामयेभ्यो हृष्टो जनः स्वर्ग इवाभिरेमे ।
पत्नीं पतिर्वा महिषी पतिं वा परस्परं न व्यभिचेरतुश्च ॥ २।२३

रामायणस्य विपुला ऋद्धिरितस्ततः सञ्चरति बुद्धचरिते । अशेषैश्वर्यप्रसूनामुत्तरकुरूणामुल्लेखोऽस्ति । किं बहुना, ऐश्वर्यस्य सर्वातिशायिनी प्रभा रामायणादेवाविर्भूय दीप्तोज्ज्वलेन गरिम्णा इहादि देदीप्यते । सिद्धार्थस्य जलदकल्पविमानवर्णनायां ललितवनितानां यौवनोद्धतमत्ततायां च रामायणस्य दीप्तिर्विद्युल्लेखेव विलसति । अत्रस्थैर्नृत्यगीतवादित्रैरपि रामायणस्य दूरश्रुतः स्वरझंकारः रसिकमनसि पर्यौत्सुक्यं सञ्चारयति ।

ततः शरत्तोयदपाण्डरेषु भूमौ विमानेष्विव रञ्जितेषु ।
हर्म्येषु सर्वर्त्तुसुखाश्रयेषु स्त्रीणामुदारैर्विजहार तूर्यैः ॥ २।२६
कलैर्हि चामीकरबद्धकक्षैर्नारीकराग्राभिहतैर्मृदङ्गैः ।
वराप्सरोनृत्यसमैश्च नृत्यैः कैलासवत्तद् भवनं रराज ॥ २।३०

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इयं सर्वर्तुसुखशालिता कविकल्पितापि, लोकोत्तरापि नादृष्टपूर्वा । रावणस्य पुष्पको रथः सर्वर्तुसुखाश्रयः, किमुत विमानानि । तस्य स्वर्णलङ्का साक्षात् श्रियः संजननी शरत्तोयदपाण्डरैर्विमानैः शोभते । हनुमानेवं ददर्श–

काञ्चनेनावृतां रम्यां प्राकारेण महापुरीम् ।
गृहैश्च गिरिसंकाशैः शारदाम्बुदसन्निभैः ॥ ५।२।२६
पाण्डुराभिः प्रतोलीभिरुच्चाभिरभिसंवृताम् ।
अट्टालकशताकीर्णां पताकाध्वजशोभिताम् ॥ ५।२।२७
भवनमपि तत्र कैलासनिलयप्रख्यमालिखन्तमिवाम्बरम् । ५।२।२३

नृत्यवादित्रकुशला वराङ्गना न तत्र दुरवापाः । नर्तकीनां नूपुरनिःस्वनैर्मृदङ्गघोषैः रशनाकलापैश्च नित्यमियं निनादिता–

नूपुराणां च घोषेण काञ्चीनां निःस्वनेन च ।
मृदङ्गतलनिर्घोषैर्घोषवद्भिर्विनादितम् ॥ ५।६।४३

एतेषु शरदभ्रसुन्दरेषु प्रासादेषु विद्युत इव वराङ्गना रूपार्चिषा ज्वलन्ति । सिद्धार्थस्य महाभिनिष्क्रमणादनन्तरं तद्दर्शनलोललोचनानामियमेका वर्णना नयनाभिरामतामेति–

अतिप्रहर्षादथ शोकमूर्छिताः कुमारसंदर्शनलोललोचनाः ।
गृहाद्विनिश्चक्रमुराशया स्त्रियः शरत्पयोदादिव विद्युतश्चलाः ॥ ८।२०

रसिकानामतीतावगाहि मानसं ध्रुवमत्र सुवर्णलङ्कास्थितानां वरारोहाणां स्मृतिमास्वाद्य नन्दति–

नारीप्रवेकैरिव दीप्यमानं
तडिद्भिरम्भोधरमर्च्यमानम् ।
हंसप्रवेकैरिव वाह्यमानं
श्रिया युतं खे सुकृतं विमानम् ॥ ५।७।७

संन्यासमाश्रितः कविर्नारीवर्णनायां न हि जरन्मीमांसको जातः । नारीमवलोक्य नायं नेत्रे निमील्य तिष्ठति । तत्रापि पूर्वसूरिणा कृते रमणीयोज्ज्वले पथि पादन्यासः कृत एव । कुशनाभस्य सालंकाराः शतकन्याः प्रावृषि शतह्रदा इव रामायणे विलसन्ति (२।३२।१२) अलंकारविमण्डिता सीता विद्युदिवात्र परिस्फुरति–

सा पद्मपीता हेमाभा रावणं जनकात्मजा ।
विद्युद् घनमिवाविश्य शुशुभे तप्तभूषणा ॥ ३।५२।२४

सर्वमेतद् भावस्थिरमासीदश्वघोषस्य । अतस्तत्कल्पनया नीलांशुकावृता वरस्त्रियो दीप्तोज्ज्वलरशनया रजन्यां विद्युत इव विलसन्ति–

मुहुर्मुहुर्मदव्याजस्रस्तनीलांशुका परा ।
आलक्ष्यरशना रेजे स्फुरद्विद्युदिव क्षपा ॥ ४।३३

प्रव्रज्यामङ्गीकृत्यापि नैकान्तिकतयाश्वघोषो विरागमापन्नः । अतस्तत्काव्ये रमणीरम्यता न खलु विरलतां याति ।

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अत्रैव पञ्चमसर्गे रावणस्य शयनागारात् कति चित्राणि समाहृतानि निद्रालसा नारी रामायणादेवात्र स्वानुभावैरुपस्थिता। वर्णनायामत्र परिवर्त्तनं स्तोकश उपलभ्यते। रामायणे ता गजेन्द्रमृदिता लताः। प्रसाधनविपर्यय एवंविधकल्पनायां कारणतामाचरति—

अकुण्डलधराश्चान्या विच्छिन्नमृदितस्रजः।
गजेन्द्रमृदिताः फुल्ला लता इव महावने ।। ५।६।४७

अश्वघोषस्य भावनायां निद्रावशास्ता गजभग्ना कर्णिकारशाखाः। —

नवहाटकभूषणास्तथान्या वसनं पीतमनुत्तमं वसानाः।
अवशा घन-निद्रया निपेतुर्गजभग्ना इव कर्णिकारशाखाः ।। ५।५२

रामायणादेव जलफेनप्रहसत्तटा तटिनीव तन्मानसमुपैति सुप्ता सुन्दरी।

विबभौ करलग्नवेणुरन्या स्तनविस्रस्तसितांशुका शयाना।
ऋजुषट्पदपङ्क्तिजुष्टपद्मा जलफेनप्रहसत्तटा नदीव ॥ ५।४६

नारीलास्यमिव नदीलास्यं रामायणे असकृदुच्छलितम्। फेननिर्मलहासिनी (२।५०।२६) गङ्गा मदिरोज्ज्वलवेषया नायिकेव तत्र विलसति। बुद्धचरिते चतुर्थसर्गे सितांशुकावृता दीर्घिकापि शयाना प्रमदेव सुखालसा भाति। सुप्ताङ्गनाश्च रामायणे एवं दृश्यन्ते—

हंसकारण्डवोपेनाश्चक्रवाकोपशोभिताः।
आपगा इव ता रेजुर्जघनैः पुलिनैरिव ।। ५।६।५०

किङ्किणीजालसंकाशास्ता हेमविपुलाम्बुजाः।
भावग्राहा यशस्तीराः सुप्ता नद्य इवावभुः ।। ५।६।५२

बुद्धचरितस्याष्टमे सर्गे पीनपयोधरा नार्यश्चक्रवाकोपशोभिता आपगा इवाश्वघोषस्य मानसमुपयान्ति—

करप्रहारप्रचलैश्च ता बभुस्तथापि नार्यः सहितोन्नतैः स्तनैः।
वननिलाघूर्णितपद्मकम्पितैः रथाङ्गनाम्नां मिथुनैरिवापगाः ।। ८।२६

सुवर्णकलशप्रख्यान् नारीपयोधरान् वर्णयतोऽस्य मनसि नूनमियं स्मृतिर्जागरूका आसीत—

पाणिभ्यां च कुचौ काचित् सुवर्णकलशोपमौ।
उपगुह्याबला सुप्ता निद्राबलपराजिता ।। ५।२०।४७

वाद्यप्रिया रावणवनिता निद्रायामपि वाद्यानि परिष्वज्य शेरते। प्रियेष्विव वाद्येष्वभिरतास्ता शयनेऽपि वाद्यानि न मुञ्चन्ति—

पटहं चारुसर्वाङ्गी न्यस्य शेते शुभस्तनी।
चिरस्य रमणं लब्ध्वा परिष्वज्येव कामिनी ।। ५।२०।३९

अन्या कनकसंकाशैर्मृदुपीनैर्मनोरमैः
मृदङ्गं परिविद्धाङ्गैः प्रसुप्ता मत्तलोचना ।। ५।२०।४२

भुजपाशान्तरस्थेन कक्षगेन कृशोदरी।
पणवेन सदानिन्द्या सुप्ता मदकृतश्रमा ।। ५।२०।४३

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बुद्धचरितेऽपि पुराङ्गनानां वाद्यप्रियता अविशेषेणावतरति। परं रामायणे यदस्ति संक्षिप्तं तदेवात्र वर्णनागौरवात् प्रकीर्णतामेति। प्रकाशरीतेरनाडम्बरतां विहाय कविरत्र वर्णाढ्यविचित्रतां न्यस्यति।

नवपुष्करगर्भकोमलाभ्यां तपनीयोज्ज्वलसंगताङ्गदाभ्याम्।
स्वपिति स्म तथापरा भुजाभ्यां परिरभ्य प्रियवन्मृदङ्गमेव ।। ५।५०
पणवं युवतिर्भुजांसदेशादवविस्रंसितचारुपाशमन्या।
सविलासरतान्ततान्तमूर्वोर्विवरे कान्तमिवाभिनीय शिश्ये। ५।५६

रामायणस्य प्रमदावनादेवात्र निमीलितारविन्दानीव प्रमदामुखानि स्वसौरभं तन्वन्ति-

अपश्यत् पद्मगन्धीनि वदनानि सुयोषिताम्। ५।९।३६
प्रबुद्धानीव पद्मानि तासां भूत्वा क्षपाक्षये
पुनः संवृतपत्राणि रात्राविव बभुस्तदा ।। ५।९।३७

वर्णननिपुणाश्वघोष एतदेव व्यावृत्य प्राह-

अपरा न बभुर्निमीलिताक्ष्यो विपुलाक्ष्योऽपि शुभभ्रुवोऽपि सत्यः।
प्रतिसंकुचितारविन्दकोशाः सवितर्यस्तमिते यथा नलिन्यः ।। ५।५७

रामायणादेव कामिनीशोकविवर्धनः अशोकोऽत्रावतरति। षट्पदनिषेवितः कामिनामयमत्यन्तमशोकः शोकवर्धनो (४।२।५९) विरहिभावनायां रामस्य अङ्गार इव ज्वलति। अन्तरितविरहप्रसङ्गेऽपि कविसन्न्यासिना संस्कारवशादेवमुपनिबद्धम्।-

अशोको दृश्यतामेष कामिशोकविवर्धनः।
स्रवन्ति भ्रमरा यत्र दह्यमाना इवाग्निना ।। ४।४५

चूताना साङ्गरागता उभयत्र समानापि बुद्धचरिते साङ्गरागा नारीव चूतयष्टिर्विन्यस्ता। अस्या नायकरूपेण शुक्लाम्बरधरस्तिलकवृक्षः शोभते-

चूतयष्टया समाश्लिष्टो दृश्यतां तिलकद्रुमः
शुक्लवासा इव नरः स्त्रिया पीताङ्गरागया ॥ ४।४६

रामायणे साङ्गरागा नरा इव चूता विलसन्ति-

अमी लक्ष्मण दृश्यन्ते चूताः कुसुमशालिनः।
विभ्रमोत्सिक्तमनसः साङ्गरागा नरा इव ।। ४।२।६०

बुद्धचरिते सिद्धार्थो मेघस्तनितनिर्घोषः, कुत्र वा दुन्दुभिस्वरानुकारी। रामायणे दशरथोऽपि तथा-

दुन्दुभिस्वरकल्पेन गम्भीरेणानुनादिना।
स्वरेण महता राजा जीमूत इव नादयन् ।।२।२।२

उभयत्रापि नायकानां निह्रादवता स्वरेण संलापः श्रूयते, दृश्यते च मृगशावाक्षी इति सुन्दर्या विशेषणम्।

सिंहसत्त्वगतिरिति रावणविशेषणं हृदये धृत्वा सिद्धार्थः सिंहगतिश्चित्रितः। 'वदतां वर' इति विशेषणमविशेषेण रामबुद्धयोर्वाग्मितां स्तौति। द्विपराजविक्रमः (८।२२) सिद्धार्थो मत्तमातङ्ग-

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विक्रमस्य रामस्य छायेव प्रतिभाति। द्वावपि तौ इक्ष्वाकुवंशवर्धनौ। करुणवेदिनो बुद्धस्य चरितवर्णनायां वर्णनीयभिन्नत्वेऽपि रामचरितमनेकशो गाढगौरवच्छायया सञ्चरते। मन्ये अयमेको हेतू रामचरितनिर्मितौ बुद्धच्छायानुकारितायाम् उइन्टारनित्सोयेवारमदाभागयोर्विश्वासं द्रढयति। संयोगा विप्रयोगान्ताः इति रामोक्तेः प्रतिध्वनिरस्य बुद्धस्य कण्ठे श्रूयते–

नियतं विप्रयोगान्तस्तथा भूतसमागमः। ६।४६

स्रोतसि गाह्मानयोः काष्ठयोरिव जनयोरनित्यः संयोगः रामस्यानुमतः। बुध्दस्तु मेघयोरिवायं संबन्धः सर्वथास्थिर इत्युपदिशति–

समेत्य च यथा भूयो व्यपयान्ति बलाहकाः।
संयोगो विप्रयोगश्च तथा मे प्राणिनां मताः॥ ६।४७

वस्तुतस्तु रामायणस्यायोध्याकाण्डे पञ्चाधिकशततमें सर्गे योऽनित्यतावादः राममुखाद् बीजाकारेणोपन्यस्तः स एवात्र महीरुहरूपेणाश्वघोषस्य काव्यमाद्यन्तमाच्छाद्य तिष्ठति, येनास्य कान्तासम्मितो ग्रन्थः प्रभुसम्मितानित्यताश्रयेण स्वसौन्दर्यमनेकशस्तिरस्कृत्य 'प्रच्छन्नश्च प्रकाशश्च चन्द्रमा इव लक्ष्यते'। जीवनस्य क्षणलास्यमापीय काव्यममृतस्यन्दि संवेदनमुपन्यस्यति। परं 'सहैव मृत्युर्व्रजति सह मृत्युर्निषीदति' २।२०५।२२ इति भावनाताडितोऽयमश्वघोषो जीवनगौरवं तुच्छं चकार। स्थिरोऽस्ति तच्चेतनायां हीनस्य मध्यस्य महात्मनो वा सर्वस्य लोके नियतो विनाशः ३।५६ अतोऽयं स्वेच्छावृतविरागः स्वशक्तिमत्तया इष्टं स्पृहणीयमपि रम्यमुपेक्षितुं यतते। अनेन हेतुना कविरयं रमणीरूपनिर्माणदक्षोऽपि रूपस्यास्य न्यक्कारतां जनयन्नाद–

विवृतास्यपुटा विवृद्धगात्री प्रपतद्वक्त्रजला प्रकाशगुह्या।
अपरा मदघूर्णितेव शिश्ये न बभासे विकृतं वपुः पुपोष॥ ५।६२

नायकमुखमवलम्ब्य कविकण्ठः क्वचिदेवं स्त्रीषु जुगुप्सते–

अशुचिर्विकृतश्च जीवलोके वनितानामयमीदृशः स्वभावः।
वसनाभरणैस्तु वञ्च्यमानः पुरुषः स्त्रीविषयेषु रागमेति॥ ५।६४

नात्रादिकवेरनुगामिता दृश्यते। परं कवित्वमपच्छिद्याश्वघोषस्य कामकाञ्चनविरक्ता सन्यासिता तैवात्र प्रकाशिता। उभयत्र जीवेषु स्नेहः साधारणोऽपि रामायणे निसर्गानुरागात् बुद्धचरिते जीवानुकम्पित्वात् प्रसरमेति। रामायणे निसर्गानुरागी रामो माल्यवतीं नदीमासाद्य राज्यच्युतोऽपि रेमे–

ननन्द दृष्टो मृगपक्षिजुष्टां
जहौ च दुःख पुरविप्रवासात्॥ २।५६।३५

सिध्दार्थस्तु मृत्युदुःखाकीर्णां धरणीमवेक्ष्य शोकमाप।

हलभिन्नविकीर्णशष्पदर्भां हतसूक्ष्मक्रिमिकीटजन्तुकीर्णाम्।
समवेक्ष्य रसां तथविधां तां स्वजनस्येव वधे भृशं शुशोच॥ ५।५

बुद्धचरिते सिद्धार्थं सस्पृहमीक्षमाणानामयमभिसन्धिः–

दृष्ट्वा च तं राजसुतं स्त्रियस्ता
जाज्वल्यमानं वपुषा श्रिया च।

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धन्यास्य भार्येति शनैरवोच-
ञ्शुद्धमनोभिः खलु नान्यभावात् ॥ ३।२३

एवमपि मन्यते काचित्-

सुखिता बत निर्वृता च सा स्त्री पतिरीदृक्ष इहायताक्षि यस्याः ॥ ५।२४

राममवेक्षमाणानामपि सैकावस्था प्रागेव चित्रिता-

सर्वसीमन्तिनीभ्यश्च सीतां सीमन्तिनीं वराम् ॥ २।१६।४०
अमन्यन्त हि ता नार्यो रामस्य हृदयप्रियाम् । २।१६।४१

अस्मिन् काव्ये सिध्दार्थस्य महाभिनिष्क्रमणादनन्तर रामायणस्य प्रभावः संलक्ष्यतरः प्रतीयते। राज्याद् बहिर्गते राजपुत्रे कण्ठासक्तकण्ठाकुलमार्गचत्वरा हतश्रीरयोध्याश्वघोषस्य मानसमवतरति। तेनात्रापि-विनाकृतास्तेन सदावरोधनैर्भृशं रुदन्तीव विमानपङ्क्तयः ॥ ८।३७ बुद्धविरहे दिवाकरेणेव विनाकृतं नभः कपिलवास्तु ८।५ रामविरहे यथासीदयोध्या 'गतप्रभा द्यौरिव भास्करं विना' २।६६।२८

रामे प्रव्रजिते, मृते च दशरथे मातुलालयादयोध्यामागच्छतो भरतस्य मनसि शून्या नगरी अरण्यकल्पा प्रतिभाति, विलासोद्यानानां पूर्वावस्थां स्मृत्वा स्मृत्वा एवमयं सविषादमाह-

तान्यद्यानुरुदन्तीव परित्यक्तानि कामिभिः ॥ २।७२।२३
अरण्यभूतेव पुरी सारथे प्रतिभाति माम् । २।७२।२४

अत्रापि राजपुत्रविरहादुपवनं वनोपमं न शोभते-

सपुण्डरीकैरपि शोभितं जलैरलंकृतं पुष्पधरैर्नगैरपि ।
तदेव तस्योपवनं वनोपमं गतप्रहर्षैर्न रराज नागरैः ॥ ८।६

पौराणामत्र वनं प्रति जिगमिषा सर्वथायोध्यावासिनां हृदयच्छायानुकारिणी-

इदं पुरं तेन विवर्जितं वनं
वनं च सत्तेन समन्वितं पुरम् । ८।२३

रामायणे पुरप्रतिनिधिर्वसिष्ठः रामानुगामितामेव सर्वेषामनुमन्यमानः कैकेयीमेवमाह-

न हि तद् भविता राष्ट्रं यत्र रामो न भूपतिः ।
तद् वनं भविता राष्ट्रं यत्र रामो निवत्स्यति ॥ २।३७।२५

नायकविरहाद् यथा चेतने तथैवाचेतने या दुर्मनायमानता रामायणे समैव परिलक्षिता इहापि बुद्धचरिते नैषास्खलद्गतिरेव । रामवियोगजदुःखं सर्वजीवसाधारणमासीदयोध्यायाम्-

व्यसृजन् कवलान नागा गावो वत्सान् न पोषयन् । २।४२।२०

तदेवाव्यभिचारेणात्रापि तिष्ठति,-बुद्धविरहिताश्वः

निवृत्य चैवाभिमुखस्तपोवनं
भृशं जिहेषे करुणं मुहुर्मुहुः ।
क्षुधान्वितोऽप्यध्वनि शष्पमम्बु वा
यथा पुरा नाभिननन्द नाददे ॥ ८।४

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रामायणे सुमन्त्रसकाशं दशरथस्यायं विलापः –

दुःखस्यानुचितो दुःखं सुमन्त्र शयनोचितः ।
भूमिपालात्मजो भूमौ शेते कथमनाथवत् ॥ २।५८।६

छन्दकस्य सैका चिन्ता प्रकारान्तरेण हृदयं निर्दहति–

विमानशयनार्हं हि सौकुमार्यमिदं क्व च ।
खरदर्भाङ्कुरवती तपोवनमही क्व च ॥ ६।२८

रामायणे सीतायाः कृते कौसल्या एवं विलपति–

कथमुष्णं च शीतं च मैथिली विसहिष्यते ॥ २।६।२४

सिद्धार्थमाता गौतमी एवमत्र विशङ्कमाना–

कथं नु शीतोष्णजलागमेषु तच्
छरीरमोजस्वि वने भविष्यति । ८।५६

पतिप्रणयपाशच्छिन्ना यशोधरा करुणस्य मूर्तिरूपेणात्मसन्तापमेवं निवेदयति–

ममापि कामं हृदयं सुदारुणं शिलामयं वाप्ययसोऽपि वा कृतम् ।
अनाथवच्छ्रीरहिते सुखोचिते वनं गते भर्तरि यन्न दीर्यते ॥ ८।६६

अस्मिन्नपि विलापे रामायणगतायास्तारायाः करुणमेव परिदेवनं श्रूयते–

अश्मसारमयं नूनमिदं मे हृदयं दृढम् ॥ ४।२३।१०
भर्तारं निहतं दृष्ट्वा यन्नाद्य शतधा कृतम् ॥ ४।२३।११

चिन्तयति सा पत्युरप्सरोविलासम्–

रूपयौवनदृप्तानां दक्षिणानां च मानद ।
नूनमप्सरसामार्यं चित्तानि प्रमथिष्यसि ॥ ४।२०।१३

यशोधराया ईर्ष्याकुलं चेतोऽपि एवं निश्चिनोति–नूनमस्या भर्ता महेन्द्रलोकेऽप्सरसो जिघृक्षति । (८।६४) वनं गते रामे कौसल्या यथासीत् कुररीवोच्छ्वसिता तथैवात्र पुत्रवियुक्ता गौतमी–

विषादपारिप्लवलोचना ततः
प्रनष्टपोता कुररीव दुःखिता । ८।५२

रामायणादेव रूपकल्पानामनेकशोऽत्र परिग्रहो दृश्यते । तदुत्थितोपमा शैलूषी नृत्यन्ती एव रसिकानां चेतोंऽत्रापि दृढमाकर्षति । रामायणे वनप्रस्थितं रामं बद्धवत्सा यथा धेनू राममाताभ्य-धावत । २।४०।४३ रामविरहात् शून्यहृदया सा दशरथमेवमाह–

साहं गौरिव सिंहेन विवत्सा वत्सला कृता ॥ २।४३।१८

सिध्दार्थवियोगादपि प्रनष्टवत्सा महिषीव वत्सला ८।२४ गौतमी कविमर्मस्पर्शिनी रामायणानु-चरितामस्य न निह्नुते अत्रैव नवमसर्गे पुरोहितमुखादपि प्रनष्टवत्सा धेनुरिवेयं पुत्रवत्सला गौतमी शोकस्वनितदुःखेनात्मानमुपनयति–

संवर्धयित्रीं समवेदि देवीमगस्त्यजुष्टां दिशमप्रयाताम् ।
प्रनष्टवत्सामिव वत्सलां गामजस्रमार्तां करुणं रुदन्तीम् ॥ ६।२६

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रामवियोगविचलितो भरतं इव शोकाभिहतः शुध्दोदनो धरणीं गतः। द्वयोरेकमेवोपमानं दृश्यते–शचीपतेर्वृत्त इवोत्सवे ध्वजः (८।७२) महाप्राणस्य पतने रामायणे पतितशक्रध्वजसाम्यमसकृद्-दृश्यते। नदीरयाहृत तट इवायं शुध्दोदनः शोकवेगाभिताडितः सिध्दार्थस्य पुनरावर्तनं याचते–

तदेहि धर्मप्रिय मत्प्रियार्थं धर्मार्थमेव त्यज बुद्धिमेताम्।
अयं हि मां शोकरयः प्रवृद्धो नदीरयः कूलमिवाभिहन्ति॥ ६।२५

तनयविरहात् शोकावेगस्य नदीवेगेन साम्यमुपपादितं प्रागेव दशरथेन–

अयमात्मभवः शोको मामनाथमचेतनम्।
संसाधयति वेगेन यथा कूलं नदीरयः॥ २।६४।७४

नदीरंहसा विक्षुब्धस्तट इवायं दशरथः स्वशोकच्छायया शुध्दोदनमावृणोति, दृढं प्रभाषयति च वर्णनाधर्मितायामश्वघोषस्य रामायणापेक्षिताम्।–

दशरथ इव रामशोकवश्यो
बहु विललाप नृपो विसंज्ञकल्पः॥ ८।८२

रावणेन ह्रियमाणायाः सिताया वदनं सर्वथा निरलंकृतं श्रिया हीनं दिवा चन्द्र इव सुधियामसन्तोषं जनयन्ति–

शुशुभे न विना रामं दिवा चन्द्र इवोदितः॥ ३।५२।२२

अत्र सिध्दार्थवर्जिताः कान्ता मृजया विनाकृता रजनीक्षयात् तारकाणां दैन्यमनुव्रजन्तीति विशेषः–

स्त्रियो न रेजुर्मृजया विनाकृताः
दिवीव तारा रजनीक्षयारुणाः॥ ८।२१

जलप्रपाताश्रुमुखाः पर्वता रामायणे दृष्टपूर्वा, अत्र पर्यश्रुनयनासु नारीषु पर्वतानामारोपः नवायमानतामेति वर्णनानिपुणाश्वघोषस्य निपुणतरकविकौशलात्–

अधीरमन्याः पतिशोकमूर्छिता
विलोचनप्रस्रवणैर्मुखैः स्त्रियः।
सिषिञ्चिरे प्रोषितचन्दनान् स्तनान्
धराधरः प्रस्रवणैरिवोपलान्॥ ८।२६

रामायणे रावणमृत्योरनन्तरं काचिदस्य भार्या सविषादमेवमुपन्यस्ता–

काचिदङ्के शिरः कृत्वा रुरोद मुखमीक्षती।
स्नापयन्ती मुखं बाष्पैस्तुषारैरिव पङ्कजम्॥ ६।२२०।२०

अत्र सुन्दर्याः साश्रुमुखं तुषाराहतं पद्मामिव शोभते। अश्वघोषस्य कल्पनायां वृष्टिताडितं मुखारविन्दं रोरुद्यमानानां रमणीयतामाधत्ते–

ततस्तथा शोकविलापविक्लवां यशोधरां प्रेक्ष्य वसुंधरागताम्।
मन्दारविन्दैरिव वृष्टिताडितैर्मुखैः सबाष्पैर्वनिता विचुक्रुशुः॥ ८।७१

अत्रामात्यपुरोहितौ सिध्दार्थस्य प्रत्यानयनाय प्रस्थितौ। रामानयनाय वसिष्ठवामदेवयोरिव तयोरियं सिध्दार्थसमागमो वर्णितो नवमसर्गे–

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यानं विहायोपययौ ततस्तं पुरोहितो मन्त्रधरेण सार्धम् ।
यथा वनस्थं सहवामदेवो रामं दिदृक्षुर्मुनिरौर्वशेयः ।। ९।९

रामं निनीषतोर्वसिष्ठवामदेवयोरुल्लेखदर्शनादत्र भरतस्य रामानुगमनवृत्तान्तोऽश्वघोषस्य विदितो नासीद्, अयं वृत्तान्त उत्तरकाले केनापि संयोजित इति इ. इच् जोनस्टन्महाभागो मन्यते। नात्रास्माकं स्वरसः। राजपुरोहितेन वसिष्ठस्य, राजमन्त्रिणा च वामदेवस्य साम्यमत्र समीचीनं प्रतीयते। अस्मिन् प्रसङ्गे भरतोल्लेखस्य कुतोऽस्ति अवसरः? न कोऽपि सिध्दार्थभ्राता तं नेतुं वनमुपस्थितः येन भरतस्योपमा दातुं शक्यते। औचित्यमनुसरतैव कविना भरतप्रसङ्गे मौनमाचरितम्। किं बहुना, भरतस्य रामानुगमनमविदितमासीच्चेदश्वघोषस्य कथं वा वनागतस्य भरतस्योक्तिरेव तेनात्र मन्त्रिमुखमाश्रित्य विशदीकृता? राममाह भरतः –

कश्च प्रत्यक्षमुत्सृज्य संशयस्थमलक्षणम् ।
आयतिस्थं चरेद् धर्मं क्षत्रबन्धुरनिश्चितम् ।। २।१०६।२०

मन्त्रिमहाभागोऽपि सिध्दार्थमाहु–

नूनं च बुद्धिस्तव नातिसूक्ष्मा धर्मार्थकामेष्वविचक्षणा वा ।
हेतोरदृष्टस्य फलस्य यस्त्वं प्रत्यक्षमर्थं परिभूय यासि ।। ९।५४
पुनर्भवोऽस्तीति च केचिदाहुर्नास्तीति केचिन्नियतप्रतिज्ञाः ।
एवं यदा संशयितोऽयमर्थस्तस्मात् क्षमं भोक्तुमुपस्थिता श्रीः ।। ९।५५

वस्तुतस्तु भरतेन सह वसिष्ठवामदेवयोर्वने रामानुगमनं रामायणे दृश्यते। भरतं वर्जयित्वा केवलमनयोर्वने रामानुगमनस्य सुदृढं प्रमाणं नास्ति किञ्चित्। बुध्दचरिते नक्षत्रसहायश्चन्द्रो यथान्तरीक्षं तथैव सदृशानुयात्रः सिध्दार्थश्चलत्पताकं पुष्पास्तृतं मार्गमापेदे। ३।१ पौरजननानुसृतः राजपुत्रस्तारासनाथस्य चन्द्रस्य श्रियमनुर्कुवन् रामायणमेव स्मृतेरातिथ्यं प्रापयति, यत्र रमणीरमणरावणः स्त्रीभिर्वृतस्तारायुक्तस्य चन्द्रस्य श्रियमनुकुरुते–

स च ताभिः परिवृतः शुशुभे राक्षसाधिपः ।
यथा ह्युडुपतिः श्रीमांस्ताराभिरिव संवृतः ।। ५।९।४१

सुन्दरीणां स्त्रीणां तारकासादृश्यं तासामधिपत्वात् रावणस्यापि ताराधिपसाम्यं जनयन्ती इयमुपमा सार्थकतरा प्रतीयते। पेशस्कारी यथा पेशसो मात्रामपादाय नवतरमन्यमलङ्कारं कुरुते तथैवाश्वघोषो विद्यमानाद् अपि रामायणीयोपादानादभिनवतरं रूपकल्पं निर्मिणोति। अयोध्याकाण्डे अष्टादशसर्गे कैकेयीवरप्रार्थनानन्तरं पित्राहूतो रामः उक्तानृतमृषिमिव पितरं विचलितं ददर्श। पद्मचण्डोद्याने स्त्रीभिर्वृतो जन्मजरान्तचिकीर्षुः सिध्दार्थो 'नववृतो मुनिरिव विघ्नकातरः' (३।६५) रामायणादेवाश्वघोषस्य ग्रहणचातुर्यं स्तौति। सिध्दार्थमवलोकयन्तीनां वरस्त्रीणां मन्मथाक्षिप्तमनसामतितृष्णा नयनमाश्रित्य बहिरुद्गच्छति–

तस्थुश्च परिवार्यैनं मन्मथाक्षिप्तचेतसः ।
निश्चलैः प्रीतिविकचैः पिबन्त्यः इव लोचनैः ।। ४।१२

रूपपिपासितस्य नयनस्यार्तिरत्र अतलान्तकामनामालिङ्ग्य कवेरौचित्यं शंसति। रसमौलीभूतः शृङ्गारो नयनार्तिमाश्लिष्य यथात्र सुष्ठु व्यज्यते, प्रजाश्चक्षुषा प्रपिबन्निव रामः (२।४५।५) न तथा हृदयङ्गमः। रामायणस्योत्तरकाण्डे पुनरपि लवकुशावीक्षमाणानां नेत्रपिपासा वर्णिता।

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अत्राराडोऽपि सिध्दार्थं दिदृक्षुर्बहुमानविशालाभ्यां दर्शनाभ्यां पिबन्निव' तिष्ठति। नवयौवनारूढस्य सिध्दार्थस्य परिविव्रजिषां श्रुत्वा 'करिणेवाभिहतो द्रुमश्चचाल च' (५।२६) बाष्पकण्ठः शुध्दोदनः। रामायणे रामस्यापि निदारुणं वाग्वज्रं श्रुत्वा 'गजेन्द्रहस्ताभिहतेव वल्लरी' (६।११५।२५) सीतासीत् साश्रुनयना। लतेवानवद्याङ्गी सीता यथा समुचिता तथैव पुरुषोऽयं शुध्दोदनः औचित्यावगाहिन्या कविकल्पनया करिणेवाभिहतो द्रुमः सन् सहृदय-हृदयं मथ्नाति। विमान-मारुह्य मेरुकल्पमासनमलङ्करोति विवस्वानिव रामः

> तथासनवरं प्राप्य व्यदीपयत राघवः ॥ २।३।३५
>
> स्वयैव प्रभया मेरुमुदये विमलो रविः। २।३।३६

मेरुसूर्ययोरयं रूपारोपः पेशलः प्रतिभाति बुध्दचरिते। तत्र मेरुवदुन्नतं विमानं स्वतेजसा सिध्दार्थः सूर्य इव दीपयति न तु आसनम्। अत इयमुपमा समधिकहृद्या रसानुग्रहिणी–

> विगते दिवसे ततो विमानं वपुषा सूर्य इव प्रदीप्यमानः
>
> तिमिरं विजिघांसुरात्ममासा रविरुद्यन्निव मेरुमारुरोह ॥ ५।४३

मेघच्छेदी चन्द्र उपमानतामुभयत्राचरति। रामायणे 'विधूय जलदान् नीलाञ्शशिलेखा शरत्स्विव' (६।५।२७) सीता राक्षसानवधूय नूनमुत्पतिष्यतीति राघवाशयो व्यक्त एव। अत्र तु सिध्दार्थस्य तुहिनावच्छिन्ने पथि 'घनविवरप्रसृता इवेन्दुपादा' (५।८६) देवा आलोकं विकिरन्ति। बुध्दचरिते पदान्तरेण रूपकल्पान्तरन्यासः कश्चिद् दृश्यते, यथा–रामायणस्य संध्याभ्रसंवीत इवाद्रिराजः (६।६५।३०) संध्याभ्रसंवीत इवोडुराजः (६।६५) जायते। कस्यचिदपि वस्तुनः अनायासं परित्यागं द्योतयितुं भुक्तोच्छिष्टमालिकाया उपमा उभयत्र लब्धावसरा। रामायणे वालिमेवमाह तारा–

> साधु क्रोधमिमं वीर नदीवेगमिवागतम्।
>
> शयनादुत्थितः काल्यं त्यज भुक्तामिव स्रजम् ॥ ४।१५।७

रामायणादिममलङ्कारं समाहृत्य स्वकाव्यस्य द्वादशे सर्गे निपुणतरमुपस्थापयति कविरश्वघोषः। नवे वयसि सिध्दार्थस्य विषयवैराग्यं दृष्ट्वा तमेवमाह अराड–

> नाश्चर्यं जीर्णवयसो यज्जग्मुः पार्थिवा वनम्।
>
> अपत्येभ्यः श्रियं दत्वा मुक्तोच्छिष्टामिव स्रजम् ॥ १२।७

भुक्तसमृध्देः परिभुक्तमालिकायाः साम्यं यथा हृद्यं न तथा क्रोधेनास्याः औपम्यं हृदयावगाहि। वाल्मीकिग्रथितवस्तुन उपमानमादाय स्वेन महिम्नाश्वघोषः कुत्रचिदेवं स्वतन्त्रो जातः। सीता 'श्रीरिव रूपिणी' १।७७।२८ रावणस्य कामाच्छन्ने चित्ते सा 'रतिर्वा स्वैरचारिणी' (३।४६।१७) प्रतीयते। वराङ्गनानां तृषिहृदये अयमपि सिध्दार्थः 'कामो विग्रहवानिति'। ४।४ नायक-नायिकादीनां रूपमाश्रित्य अमूर्तवस्तूनामेवं साकारतामुपपादयन्नश्वघोषः आदिकवेरनुवर्तिता-माश्रयति। मारस्य युध्दकालं वर्णयन्नपि अश्वघोषो वाल्मीकिमेव शरणं गतः। वर्णनाभङ्ग्या किञ्चित् प्रकारान्तरं विधाय प्रागुदृष्टस्यापि चित्ररूपस्य एवमयं नवतां विधत्ते–

> तं प्रेक्ष्य मारस्य च पूर्वरात्रे शाक्यर्षभस्यैव च युद्धकालम्।
>
> न द्यौश्चकाशे पृथिवी चकम्पे प्रजज्वलुश्चैव दिशः सशब्दाः ॥ २३।२८

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विष्वग् ववौ वायुरुदीर्णवेगस्तारा न रेजुर्न बभौ शशाङ्कः ।
तमश्च भूयो विततान रात्रिः सर्वे च संचुक्षुभिरे समुद्राः ॥ १३।२६

रामायणे रामे वनं प्रव्रजिते–

दिशः पर्याकुलाः सर्वास्तिमिरेणेव संवृताः
न ग्रहो नापि नक्षत्रं प्रचकाशे न किंचन ॥ २।४१।१४

न वाति पवनः शीतो न शशी सौम्यदर्शनः ।
न सूर्यस्तपते लोकं सर्वं पर्याकुलं जगत् ॥ २।४१।१८

सिध्दार्थजीवनस्य संकटिते मुहूर्ते रामजीवनस्यापि संकटसंदर्शनात् सचकिता प्रकृतिः साडम्बरमात्मानं प्रकाशयति । परं वर्णना यादिकाव्ये रेखामात्रेणाभासिता रविरत्र स्वकल्पनया तस्या वर्णाढ्योज्ज्वलतां प्रददाति । रामायणरचयितुरिव अस्यापि काव्ये मानवजीवनस्य घोरघनसंकटे निसर्गप्रकृतिर्निश्चेतनापि कविमनोमाधुर्येणाहृतचित्तसम्पदा सजीवा जीवानुकारिणी प्रतीयते । मारसैन्यानां पराभवं दर्शयिताश्वघोषः पुनरपि रामायणगतं रूपकल्पमाहृत्य वाल्मीकेरधमर्णो जातः –

केचित् समुद्यम्य शिलास्तरूंश्च
विषेहिरे नैव मुनौ विमोक्तुम् ।
पेतुः सवृक्षाः सशिलास्तथैव
वज्रावभग्ना इव विन्ध्यपादाः ॥ १३।३८

रामायणस्य युध्दकाण्डे निहतराक्षसवर्णनायां वज्राहतपर्वतस्योपमानतासकृत् श्रुतेर्विषयतां याति । अत्र तु बज्राहतपर्वतस्य विन्ध्यपाद इति नाम्ना विशेषतां प्रदाय विक्रमस्य विशालतां सूचयति कविः । रामायणे वज्राहतेन येन केनापि पर्वतेन हतराक्षसस्य सादृश्यं कविरविशेषेण दर्शयति । संग्रामवर्णनायां मारस्य, रामायणस्य युध्दचित्रं प्रायोनेत्रमुपैति । क्वचिदत्र बुध्दचरिते उपाख्यानगतं साम्यमविशेषेणावतरति । घृताचीविश्वामित्रयोरुपाख्यानमश्वघोषेण रामायणादेवाहृतम् । प्रेम्णा हृतमनसा कालस्य परिसरो नावबुध्यते इत्युभयत्र अयमेकः प्रतिपाद्यः –

विश्वामित्रो महर्षिश्च विगाढोऽपि महत्तपः
दश वर्षाण्यहर्मेने घृताच्याप्सरसा हृतः ॥ ४।२०

रामायणेऽपि तथा–

घृताच्यां किल संसक्तो दश वर्षाणि लक्ष्मण ।
अहोऽमन्यत धर्मात्मा विश्वमित्रो महामुनिः । ४।३५।७

अयं खलु श्लोकः सर्वस्यामपि रामायणीयशाखायां विद्यते । अतोऽस्य प्रक्षिप्ततार्थां जोन्स्टन्महाभागस्य मतं न सुचिन्तितमेव । न वाश्वघोषस्य प्रभावेण रामायणे घृताच्याः प्रवेशः अनुमातव्यः । रामायणादेवेदमुपाख्यानं सर्वथाविकृतं बुध्दचरिते प्रसरति । गीतरवैर्मृगविघातनमुल्लिखितमस्ति बुध्दचरिते–गीतैर्ह्रियन्ते हि मृगाः (११।३।५) रामायणेऽपि कैकेयीमाक्षिपति सरोषं दशरथः – गीतशब्देन संरुध्य लुब्धो मृगमिवावधीः ॥ २।१२।७७ गीतैर्मृगवधस्य दृष्टान्त आदिकाव्यदत्र प्रसक्त इत्यनुमानमेकान्ततः परिहातुं न शक्यते । यतो रामायणेनैवोच्छ्वसति कवेरस्य प्रतिभानम् । अनुरागस्थले अत्रापि भावपदपरिग्रहो दृश्यते–

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तत्प्रीतोऽस्मि तवानेन महाभागेन कर्मणा ।
यस्य ते मयि भावोऽयं फलेभ्योऽपि पराङ्मुखः ॥ ६।८

यथा रामायणे तथैवात्र साङ्गरूपकस्य बहुलाविर्भावः कवेर्बुध्दिदीप्तां मानसिकतामुपायनीकृत्य तिष्ठति । वास्तवानुगा कल्पना कवेरस्य मननस्य तीक्ष्णतां न जहाति । नायमावेगसर्वस्वः । साङ्गरूपकें संयमानुवन्धिनी कल्पना सुमिता सुशृङ्खला स्वच्छन्दविहारं विहाय सर्वथा बुद्ध्या विलसति । त्रयोदशसर्गे मारस्य विषादः साङ्रूपकेण एवमवतरति–

असौ मुनिर्निश्चयवर्म बिभ्रत् सत्त्वायुधं बुद्धिशरं विकृष्य ।
जिगीषुरास्ते विषयान् मदीयान् तस्मादयं मे मनसो विषादः ॥ १३।४

प्राचुर्यं साङ्गरूपकस्य रामायणमङ्मलङ्कृत्य राजते येनायमश्वघोषः प्रचोदितः सफलानुकारी जातः वस्तुतस्तु साङ्गरूपकेण महाकाव्यस्य गाम्भीर्यमास्वादवेद्यं भवति । एवमर्धंचतुर्दशसर्गान्तं यावल्लब्धमस्माभिः संस्कृतं बुध्दचरितं सर्वत्रैव तत्रोपमापरिग्रहे, चित्रधर्मिवर्णनायां, प्रयोगरीत्यां च रायायणस्य छायां दुरत्ययां प्रतिपद्यते । द्वयोरेव महाकाव्ययार्मध्ये साम्यमेवमविरलप्रायं तिष्ठति । कविरयं साकेतनिवासी, रामाश्रितां स्वदेशगौरवगाथां सर्वथा विस्मर्तुमशक्तः । कुत्रचिदयं साभिप्रायं रामायणमनुसरति, कुत्र वा रामायणं प्रति संस्कारागतः स्नेहः कवेरबोधपूर्वमत्र रचनायां परिस्फुरति । एतेन धर्मान्तरितस्यापि कवेरश्वघोषस्य रामायणे भावैकरसा मनःस्थितिः सुनिश्चला प्रतीयते ।

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THE STUDY OF AESTHETICS AS RELATED TO THE SOCIETY OF KĀLIDĀSA

By

ASIT KUMAR DATTA

Aesthetics is a social phenomenon. It is akin to human social relation sum-total rational, emotional, ideological reflection of politics and economy of a given society. It has no sectarian omnipresent entity cut off from the navel string of the society. Then what is an aesthetic experience ?

It is an experience, no doubt. But what sort of experience it is, we have to define. We may make it out concretely. While reading a poem we can perceive a sum-total poetical experience of the poet, namely his emotion imagination, fancy and view-point of his life, sometime his reaction against the worldly activities.

So, aesthetics conforms to the laws of beauty to be an essential dimension of human existence. Fundamentally aesthetics is related to the total productive relationship, and artistic activity of human being is rooted in an original praxis. Praxis is a dimension of man as an active, creative being, and therefore the foundation of artistic praxis must be sought in the basic and profound praxis that informs the consciousness and existence of man. Furthermore, praxis is a primary relationship between man and nature; and it is naturally referred to man's real effective action on nature, manifested above all by material production. This action which is a transformation of the given world, is not demanded purely and simply by the need to exist, but by man's need to affirm his humanity, to keep or raise himself to a human level. Praxis is the creation or restoration of a new external or internal reality. The creative power of man unfolds in the creation of humanised objects and of his own nature. Man is already creator since he produces objects that satisfy human needs; a new product emerges from his work one that is human or humanised and that praxis exists only because of and for him.

Aesthetics is, to a large extent, a perception that it, as a particular relationship between man and reality, has been forged historically and socially in the process of transformiug nature and creating a world of human objects.

As a human being, his wealth is measured by the extent of his relations with world, that is, by the extent of which he feels the need to appropriate

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reality in an infinite number of ways. Human wealth is the wealth of need and of relations with the world.

He is simultaneously the human being in need of a totality of human manifestations of life. So, aesthetics is a realisation of the fact that the work of art is an object in which subject expresses, externalises, and recognises itself To arrive at this concept of art it is necessary to see in the objetification of the human being a need that art, in contradiction to alienated work satisfies positively. Since man can only realise himself by getting out of himself, by projecting himself, that is, by objectifying himself art plays a very important role in the process of humanising man. But this in turn means that this objectification must be conveyed in all its positiveness, on a real, concrete, socio-historical basis.

So. aesthetic creation is understood as the expression and objectification of the human being.

* * * *

2. Now, we would like to estimate and to become familiar with the aesthetic experience of the great poet and dramatist Kālidāsa and its relatoin to the then society.

First, we have to look round the socio-economic condition of the Gupta Empire. Originally Gupta dynasty had no respectable heridity and ancestry, not even a high tribal origin. Samudra Gupta was famous for clearing out of new and petty or old and decaying kingdoms which meant peace and prosperity for the country. The accumulated surplus looted from numerous defeated princelings helped maintain a luxurious but cultured court and powerful army for a long time. yet with the quite low taxes commented upon by Chinese pilgrims and attested by the copper plate charters of these Gupta Kings. Samudra Gupta exterminated nine Naga Kings in Aryavarta proper and 'reduced all kings of forest tribes to servitude.'

Small-scale argiculture flourshied in this age and forest chiefs were strengthened by the intrusion of small-scale agriculture to became raiders upon older settlements, Samudra Gupta cleared the Gangetic heartland of this obstacle to peaceful food production. So, Chandra Gupta II (AD 379-414) styled Vikramāditya inherited a kingdom that was completely at peace and propperous beyond wortds. Thus most of India and freshly won territories extending Assam, Afganisthan and possibly towards Central Asia were then part of the Gupta Empire or within their sphere of influence.

In this social and economic structure Kālidāsa was a great poet and eminent dramatist. The contemporary culture of a society depends largely in its productive activities and total human relationships. Artistic sense and

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activity is solely related to the social phenomenon, To state concretely, creation of Kālidāsa could neither be found in Vedic age or in pre-Vedic era, not because of its different or divergent age or era but because of social character, productive ralations and sum-total socio-economic structure.

So, it is obvious that the artistic creation, poems, dramas, etc. is rooted to a particular concrete socio-historical basis. Aesthetics experience is along with this concept. If we would conceive it negatively, we should say had Gupta Empire been in normal state, Kālidāsa belonged to huntsman barbarian herd of sings. It is the social behaviour, productive human relationship that determines the artistic sense, aesthetic creation and experience. Social structure is the basis, that may be barbarian, slave, feudal or capitalistic. Kālidāsa delineated a comprehensive human relationship of his age. Dushyanta, Śakuntala are the characters of his drama representing the idea of relationship of the society. Love, separation, duty, pangs are all social aspects. King's behaviour to his wife, his sorrow and reunion with wife and son are all social things. Kālidāsa belonged to society knowingly or unknowingly he first conceives a basis and in it life is based with its desires, aspirations, pangs of separation, above all total human activities. Kaṇva taught Śakuntala how to behave with her husband and co-wives. It is assumed that poligamy was in the society. All that was characterised in the drama was experienced by the poet. Aesthetic experience is rooted in the society of that era. Flight of imagination portrayed in *Meghadūta* is of romantic nature. It has a pertinent bearing on the mind of the then people. People of that age were rich and wealthy and had sometime to relish the fancy of the poet. The rich heritage of Gupta period and floursbing state looms large on the *Meghadūta* and *Kumārasaṁbhava*. The poetic activities are not self-born or omnipresent It is rooted to the navel string of the society of Kalidasa.

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FOUNDATIONS OF PROPRIETY

By

SAMIR KR. DATTA

The concept of Propriety or *Aucitya* appears to be a later development in the fieid of Indian Aesthetic, in as much as, Kshemendra is the first literary critic to give a fuller treatment to it and indicate its application to all poetical elements. When Bharata, the earliest exponent of the Theory of *Rasa* however. enunciates his Doctrines on attainment of Poetic Experience and explains the process of aesthetic enjoyment as one brought into being through experience of the excitant, the ensuent and the accessory, he unknowingly admits the proposition of propriety. In a similar manner when Dandin defines Poetry as a linguistic composition competent to give a charming content into expression he accepts Propriety as an essential principle since it is conformity to this principle alone that infuses charm in a content and makes it acceptable to the connoisseur. This can be asserted with reference to Vamana also since when he declares the principle of beauty as an essentiality in poetry he betrays unknowingly his awarness of the concept of appropriateness without which the principle of charmingness cannot rest itself.

Anandavardhana, the bailliant exponent of the doctrine of Dhvani realises this secret as a result of which he puts great emphasis on the concept of Propriety, and affirms that it is violation of this supreme principle that hampers attainment of poetic experience by distracting the mind of the absorbed reader from the main theme of the work. Taking cue from Anandavardhana, Kshemendra builds up his thesis in which he gives an extended scope to the all-absorbing principle of Propriety and declares that there can be no literary excellence without appropriateness, - no instrument of decoration without Propriety, - and no poetic experience without Conformity to this supreme principle An analysis of all poetical and dramatic elements shows the verocity of this statement. The concept of Propriety, therfore is as old as the science of literary criticism itself and the germs of this doctrine are contained in the speculations of earlier theoreticians beginning from Bharata of the morning of human civilisation.

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वैदिक वाङ्गमय में काव्यविधाओं का विकास

By

PRATIBHA DEOUSKAR

वेद भारतीय साहित्य के मूल स्रोत हैं। भारतीय काव्य का प्रथम उन्मेष ही नहीं, काव्य विषयक अवधारणाओं का जन्म भी वेदों की रचना के साथ हुआ। ऋग्वेद भारतीय कविता का प्रथम सोपान है। इसमें उत्कृष्ट भावपूर्ण काव्य तत्त्व के दर्शन तो होते हैं, भारतीय साहित्य की अनेक काव्य विधाओं का प्रारम्भिक रूप भी इसी में मिलता है। इसके साथ हीं ऋग्वेद में हम कतिपय काव्य विधाओं का नामोल्लेख तथा तत्तद्विषयक अवधारणा की झलक भी देखते हैं। ऋग्वेद में उल्लिखित प्रमुख काव्य विधाएं स्तुति, ब्रह्म, स्तोम, सूक्त, काव्य, वाक्, गीः, उक्थ, मनीषा आदि हैं। इनके उल्लेख विभिन्न स्थानो पर मिलते हैं, जैसे–

इयं वामस्य मन्मना इन्द्राग्नीं पूर्व्या
स्तुतिः अभ्राद् वृष्टिरिवाजनि – ऋ. ७।९४।१
इन्द्र ब्रह्म क्रियमाणा जुषस्व
या ते शविष्ठा नव्या अकर्मा। – ऋ. ५।१०।१५
यत्र धीरा मनसा वाचमक्रत।
उत त्वः पश्यन्न ददर्श वाचमुत त्व शण्वन्न शृणोत्येनाम् – ऋ. १०।७१।४
गिरः शुम्भन्त्यत्रयः। – ऋ. ५।३९।५
स वावृधे काव्येन। – ऋ. ३।१।८
अयं कृत्नुरगृभीतो विश्वजिदुद्भिदित् सोमः।
ऋषिर्विप्रः काव्येन। – ऋ. ८।७९।१
पतङ्गो वाचं मनसा बिभर्ति – ऋतस्य पदे कवयो निपान्ति। – ऋ. १०।११७।२
त्वदग्ने काव्या त्वन्मनीषास्त्वदुक्था जायन्ते राध्यानि। ऋ. ४।११।३

अथर्ववेद के काल तक आते आते काव्य विधाओं की धारणा और भी सुस्पष्ट हो चली थी। अथर्ववेद में उपर्युक्त विधाओ के अतिरिक्त इतिहास, पुराण, गाथा, नाराशंसी आदि नवीन विधाओं में साहित्य रचना के प्रचलन की भीं सूचना मिलती है –

तस्य महतो भूतस्य निःश्वसितमेतद् यदितिहासो
पुराणं गाथा नाराशंसी च। – अथर्व १५।६।११

इसके अतिरिक्त काव्य तथा उसकीं रचना की अवधारणा भी इस काल में परिपक्व हो चुकी थी। सृष्टि को परमेश्वर का काव्य कहा गया है –

अन्ति सन्तं न जहात्यन्ति सन्तं न पश्यति।
देवस्य पश्य काव्यं न ममार न जीर्यति॥ – अथर्व. १०।८।३२

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अथर्ववेद की कविता के भी अनेक स्तर हैं तथा इसमें अन्य अनेक काव्य विधाओं की सूचना मिलती है।

पाश्चात्य लेखक "अथर्वा" शब्द का अर्थ 'जादू का पुरोहित' करते हैं। उनके अनुसार अथर्वांगिरस का अर्थ है जादू टोने के मन्त्र। इन मन्त्रो में आशीर्वाद, इष्ट वस्तु की प्राप्ति, शाप-शत्रू को हानि पहुंचाना, रोगों को दूर करना, जिनको भेषज्यानि कहते हैं, भूत-प्रेतों को भगाना, कीट पतंगों का नाश इत्यादि का वर्णन है। अथर्ववेद में ऋग्वेद के देवता-इन्द्र, अग्नि वरुण, यम आदि की स्तुतियां भीं हैं तथा पाप, पुण्य, धर्म, अध्यात्म का विवेचन भी है। अथर्ववेद-ब्रह्मविद्या और आत्मज्ञान का वेद भी माना जाता है।

अथर्ववेद में कई काव्य प्रकार इस प्रकार से उल्लिखित हैं—

गेय, हरि, स्तु, अर्क, उक्थ, स्तोत्र, स्तोम, धी, मनीषा, शंस, मन्मन्, मति, गाथा, गीः, वाक्, ब्रह्म आदि।

अथर्ववेद में प्रायोगिक काव्य भी दृष्टिगोचर होते हैं जैसे कृत्य के समय प्रयुक्त मन्त्र। इस प्रकार के काव्य किसी विशेषप्रयोग के उद्देश्य से होते है। इन विधाओं का आगे संक्षिप्त विवेचन प्रस्तुत है।

अथर्ववेद में 'काव्य' शब्द को सूचित करने के लिए निम्नलिखित शब्द प्रयुक्त है—

१) ऋक्-काव्य की एक इकाई ऋक् हैं। वैसे तो ऋग्वेद में भी 'ऋक्' का प्रयोग किया गया है तथा इसकी रचना आदि के बारे में भी दिवेचन किया गया है। अथर्ववेदीय रचनाएं भी ऋक् के रूप में रचित की गई है। ब्राह्मण कवियों नें अथर्ववेद की ऋचाओं का निर्माण किया।[1]

२) अर्क=यह एक प्रकार का गीत है। इसकी रचना गायत्री छन्द में होतीं हैं। कवि ही अर्क गाते है।[2]

३) उक्थ-यह भी एक प्रकार का गीत है। भारद्वाज इसे गाते है।[3] अग्नि 'उक्थ' का प्रेरणा स्रोत है।[4] वस्तुतः 'उक्थ' ही वे गीत है जो अथर्ववेद के ऋचाओं का निर्माण करते है।

४) स्तोत्र-प्रशंसा रूपी यह गीत वरुण देव ने अथर्वो को अनुग्रह के रूप में दिये थे जो कि अथर्ववेद के अनुसार मानव जाति में प्रचलित है।[5]

५) स्तोम-ऋग्वेद (१।११४।९ तथा ३।५।२) के अनुसार यह एक प्रकार की प्रार्थना है जो कि कवि द्वारा इन्द्र आदि देवो के सम्मान में यह गायी जाती है। इसके विस्तारक मरुत् हैं।[6]

६) धीः-यह भी एक प्रकार की प्रार्थना है। इसका उद्देश्य इन्द्र देवता को उपस्थित करना होता है।[7] आश्विनौ कवि को इसकी रचना में सहायता देते है।[8] मूलतः धीः का अर्थ काव्य में

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१. अथर्ववेद १०।१।१२
२. अथर्ववेद १३।१।१३
३. वही २।१२।२
४. वही ६।३५।२
५. वही ५।११।८
६. वही ८।६।९, ७।५०।३
७. वही २।५।४
८. वही ६।४।३

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किसी विधा की रचना में स्वाभाविक कौशल से है। यह इसका सामान्य अर्थ में कवि की बुद्धि या मेधा को सूचित करती है तथा क्रिया के अर्थ में ध्यानस्थ होने का अभिप्राय प्रकट करती है।[9]

७) मनीषा - यह समर्पण गीत होता है जो कि इन्द्र को समर्पित किया जाता है। सायण ने इसे प्रार्थना के रूप में पारिभाषिक किया है।[10]

८) शंस - यह प्रार्थना है। शंस शब्द 'शंस्' धातु (प्रशंसा करना) से उद्भूत है।

९) मन्मन् - यह भी प्रार्थना का एक रूप है जिसका स्वरूप केंवल मानसिक चिंतन में ही निहित है।[11] ऋग्वेद में इसका उल्लेख है—

प्र विष्णवे शूषमेतु मन्म। — १।१५४।३

१०) मति - यह भी विचार रूपी प्रार्थना है जो कि इन्द्र और सोम के प्रति की जाती है। वस्तुतः 'मति' काव्य रूपी रचना है जो कवि के विचार प्रक्रिया से उत्पन्न होती है।[12]

११) गाथा - अथर्ववेद में तीन बार आने वाला यह शब्द गीत के रूप में प्रार्थना का पारिचायक है। वसरों के मुख से प्रकाशित यह प्रार्थना मुख्यतः सूर्य की उपासना हेतु प्रयुक्त की जाती है।[13]

१२) गीः - गीत या प्रार्थना रूपी इस काव्य विधा का इन्द्र रसास्वादन करते हुए वर्णित है।[14] सोम देव की स्तुति भी 'गीः' के माध्यम से की जाती है। 'गीः' के प्रयोग से यज्ञ सम्पन्न बनता है।[15]

प्रायोगिक काव्य

अथर्ववेद के कवियों ने अनेकानेक प्रयोगात्मक उद्देश्यों से काव्य की रचना की। प्रमुख उद्देश्य निम्नानुसार है—

(१) प्रेतात्माओं के विनाशार्थं;
(२) दूसरे व्यक्ति कें मन कों वश में करनें के लिए;
(३) दुर्भावनओं कों दूर करने के लिए;
(४) राजा कों युद्ध और शान्ति में सहायता देने के लिए;
(५) घरेलू झगडों को निपटाने के लिए;
(६) पाप के प्रायश्चित के लिए;

ऋक् को पाठ करने से ही अथर्ववेद में वर्णित अनुष्ठान सम्पन्न होते हैं। कौशिकसूत्र में अथर्ववेद की इन ऋचाओं के विनियोग के सम्बन्ध में विस्तृत निर्देश दिए हुए हैं।

निष्कर्षतः हम यह कह सकते हैं कि काव्य वास्तविक उद्देश्यों से युक्त अथर्ववेद का मूल रचना संसार है।

९. वही ७।१७।२ एवं ८।३।२२
१०. वही १९।४२।३
११. वही ५।१२।२
१२. वही ७।२२।१
१३. अथर्ववेद १४।१।७ और १०।१०।२०
१४. वही २।५।४
१५. वही १।१५।९

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वैदिक संहिताओं में हमें तत्कालीन कतिपय काव्य विधाओं का नामतः उल्लेख प्राप्त होता है और इसके साथ ही अनेक परवर्ती काव्यविधाओं के पूर्व रूपभी हम इनमें देख सकते हैं तथा इन संहिताओं में काव्य के विभिन्न रूप दृष्टिगोचर होते है, जिनके आधार पर हम ऐसी काव्य विधाओं की कल्पना भी कर सकते हैं जिनका निरूपण काव्यशास्त्र के भारतीय आचार्यों ने नहीं किया। सारांशतः वैदिक काव्य में सूक्त तथा मन्त्र कें अतिरिक्त निम्नलिखित प्रमुख काव्य विधाएं प्रचलित थी–

(१) इतिहास-घटना या इतिवृत्त प्रधान काव्य।

(२) पुराण-आख्यान प्रधान काव्य।

(३) गाथा-मुक्तक श्रेणी का काव्य।

(४) नाराशंसी-प्रशस्ति श्रेणी का काव्य।

इन चारों का उल्लेख अथर्ववेद में किया गया है–

तमृचश्च सामानि च यजूंषि च ब्रह्म चानुव्यचलन्।। ८।।

तमितिहासश्च पुराणं च गाथाश्च नाराशंसी चानुव्यचलन्।। ११।।

– (अथर्ववेद १५।६।८, ११)

(५) वीर काव्य-जैसे ऋग्वेद के इन्द्र संबंधी सूक्त १।३२, २।१२

(६) प्रशस्ति काव्य-वेद में आयीं प्रायः सभी देव स्तुतियां को इसमे रखा जा सकता है।

(७) मानवीकरणात्मक काव्य-इनमें प्रकृति के विविध रूपों का मानवीकरण किया गया है, जैसे उषस् सूक्तो में (द्र. ऋ. १।४८; ४।५१ आदि)

(८) ग्राम गीत-जैसे ऋग्वेद का अरण्यानीसूक्त (१०।१४६)

(९) वर्णन प्रधान काव्य-इनमें किसी दृश्य, ऋतु आदि कें वर्णंन की प्रधानता होती है जैसे मण्डूकसूक्त (७।१०३) मे वर्षा के वर्णन का प्राधान्य हैं। रात्रिसूक्त (ऋ. १०।१२७) भी इसका एक सुन्दर उदाहरण है।

(१०) गेय काव्य-इसमे गेय तत्त्व की प्रधानता अधिक होती है। सामवेद कें सूक्त इस श्रेणी में आते है। परवर्ती युग में अभिनवगुप्त ने गेय काल या राग काव्य की विधा का उल्लेख किया है, जो सामवेद की परंपरा में हो सकता है।

(११) विनियोग काव्य-इसका प्रधान प्रयोजन यज्ञ आदि में व्यवहृत होना है। डॉ. एन. जे शेन्डे ने इस प्रकार के काव्य को व्यावहारिक काव्य (प्रॅक्टीकल पोएट्री) की संज्ञा भी दीं हैं।[16]

(१२) आर्ष काव्य-यह काव्य साक्षात्कार-जन्य है। इसकी रचना प्रक्रिया अलौकिक ही कहीं जा सकती है। महर्षि अरविंद ने वेद को इस दृष्टि से दिव्य ज्ञान या दिव्य काव्य कीं

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१६. कवि एण्ड काव्य इन दी अथर्ववेद-एन जे शेन्डे, पृ. १५

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संज्ञा दी है। वेंद के अनेक स्थलो पर प्रकट अलौकिक अनुभूतियों को देखकर यह धारणा दृढ़ होती है कि ऋषि-कवि काव्य की रचना नहीं, साक्षात्कार या दर्शन करता है। यास्क ने इसी आधार पर कहा-"ऋषिर्दर्शनात्। स्तोमान् ददर्शेत्यौपमन्यवः"।

इस प्रकार वैदिक संहिताओं के आधार पर भारतीय साहित्य कें उषःकाल में ही काव्य विधाओं में सम्पन्न वैविध्य तथा तत्सम्बन्धी क्रमशः प्रस्फुटित और परिपक्व होती अवधारणाओं का पता चलता है। संहिताओं की रचना कें पश्चात् ब्राह्मण तथा उपनिषत् साहित्य में इतिहास और पुराण इन दो विधाओं को विशेष महत्त्व मिला। अथर्ववेद में इनका उल्लेख किया गया था। अनन्तर छान्दोग्य उपनिषद् मे इन्हे "पंचम वेद" कहा गया (छां. उप. ७।२)। इसकें अतिरिक्त उपनिषत्काल में आख्यान का भी विकास हो चुका था। छान्दोग्य में ही आख्यान को चारों वेदों के पश्चात् पंचम स्थान दिया गया है -

अधीत्य चतुरो वेदान् सांगानाख्यानपञ्चमान् (७।९।२९)

तथा वेदानध्यापयामास सांगानाख्यान-पञ्चमान्। (वही १।६३।८९)

उत्तर वैदिक काल में इतिहास तथा आख्यान की अवधारणाएं सुस्ष्ट रूप में सामने आ चुकी थीं। यास्क ने वेद के कुछ सूक्तों को "इतिहास" तथा "आख्यान" की संज्ञा दी है (निरुक्त ११।२५)। ब्राह्मण ग्रन्थो मे भी वेद के कुछ अंशो-जैसे शुनःशेप संबंधी प्रसंग-को आख्यान की संज्ञा दी गयी है। अश्वमेध तथा राजसूय यज्ञो के अवसर पर ये आख्यान आख्यानविद् लोगों के द्वारा जनता के सामने सुनाये जाते थे।

वैदिक संहिताओं मे यत्र तत्र संवादो के रूप में या प्रकारान्तर से आख्यान के संकेत बिखरे हुए हैं।

वस्तुतः बृहद्देवता ही वैदिक आख्यानों को स्पष्ट करती है। ऋ. १०।२५; में पुरूरवा-उर्वशी का संवाद है, जिसे श. ब्रा. ११।५।१ तथा विष्णुपुराण ४।६ में आख्यान के रूप में निरूपित किया गया है। श. ब्रा. में इसे विशद रूप में प्रस्तुत किया गया है-

'उर्वशी हाप्सराः पुरूरवसमैडं' चकमे तं ह विन्दमानोवाच त्रिः स्म माह्नो वैतसेन दण्डेन हतादकामाँ स्म मा निपद्यासै मो स्म त्वा नग्नं दर्शमेष वै न स्त्रीणामुपचार इति। सा हास्मिञ्ज्योगुवासापि हास्माद् गर्भिण्यास तावज्ज्योग्घास्मिन्नुवास ततो ह गन्धर्वाः समूदिरे ज्योग्वा इयमुर्वशी मनुष्येष्ववात्सीदुपजानीत यथेयं पुनरागच्छेदिति तस्यै हाविर्द्युरणा शयन उपबध्दास ततो ह गन्धर्वा अन्यतरमुरणं प्रमेथुः। सा होवाचावीर इव बत मेऽजन इव पुत्रं हरन्तीति द्वितीयं प्रमेथुः सा ह तथैवोवाच। अथ हायमीक्षांचक्रे कथं नु तदवीरं कथमजनं स्याद्यत्राहं स्यामिति स नग्न एवानूत्पपात चिरं तन्मेने यद्वासः पर्यधास्यत ततो ह गन्धर्वा विद्युतं जनयांचक्रुस्तं यथा दिवैवं नग्नं ददर्श ततो हैवेयं तिरोबभूव पुनरैमीत्यैत्तिरोभूतां स आध्या जल्पन्कुरुक्षेत्रं समया चचारान्यतः प्लक्षेति बिसवती तस्यै हाध्यन्तेन वव्राज तद्ध ता अप्सरस आतयो भूत्वा परिपुप्लुविरे। तं हेयं ज्ञात्वोवाच अयं वै स मनुष्यो यस्मिन्नहमवात्समिति ता होचुस्तस्मै वा आविरसामेति तथेति तस्मै हाविरासुः। तां हायं ज्ञात्वाभिप्रोवाद हये जाये मनसा' .. (श.ब्रा.११।५।१)

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इसी प्रकार ऋ. १०।१०८; में सरमा और पणि का संवाद है, जिसे बृहद्दे॰ ८।२६।३५; वराह पु. १६।१०।३६ में आख्यान के रूप में निरूपित किया गया है। निरुक्त ११।२५ मे इसे विशद रूप में प्रस्तुत किया गया है–

अनयागच्छन्तीं सरमां दृष्ट्वा पणयो वदन्ति । सरमा सरणशीलैतन्नामिका देवशुनी किमिच्छन्ती किं प्रार्थयमाना सती इदम् अस्मदीयं स्थानं प्र आनट् प्राप्नोत् ॥ आङ्पूर्वो नशिः व्याप्तिकर्मा । तस्य लुङि 'मन्त्रे घस-' इत्यादिना च्लेर्लुक् । छन्दस्यपि दृश्यत इत्याडागमः ॥ पराचैः पराञ्चि पराङ्मुखान्यावृत्तिवर्जितानि यानि गमनानि तैः जगुरिः उद्गूर्णैः । महता प्रयत्नेनापि गन्तुं न शक्यत इत्यर्थः ॥ 'गॄ निगरणे' । 'आदृगमहन्' इत्यादिना किन्प्रत्ययः 'बहुलं छन्दसि' (पा. सू. ७।१।१०३) इत्युत्वम् ॥ तादृशोऽयम् अध्वा दूरे हि विप्रकृष्टः खलु । यद्वा पराचैः पराञ्चनैर्जगुरिरत्यर्थं गन्त्री पार्ष्णिभागमनालोकमाना सतीदं स्थानं प्राप्नोति । दूरेऽयमध्वा यदृच्छया गन्तुं न शक्यते । अतो वयमेतां पृच्छामः । हे सरमे का कीदृशीं अस्मे हितिः । को स्मास्वर्थंहितिः । कोऽस्मासु त्वदपेक्षितार्थो निहितः । यद्वा । अस्मासु कोऽर्थो गतः । दधातेर्हिनोतेर्वाक्तिनि रूपम् । आगच्छन्त्यास्तव का कीदृशी परितक्म्या रात्रिः आसीत् । यद्वा । तकतिर्गत्यर्थः । परितकनं परितो गमनं भ्रमणं वा कीदृशमासीत् । कथं च रसायाः शब्दायमानाया अन्तरिक्षनद्या योजनशतविस्तीर्णायाः पयांसि उदकानि अतरः तीर्णवत्यसि । एतद्वद । अत्र किमिच्छन्ती सरमेदं प्रानट्' (निरुक्त ११।२५) ।

ऋ. १०।९८ में शन्तनु के राज्य में अकाल पड़ने के आख्यान का संकेत है । जिसे निरुक्त २।१०; बृहद्देवता ७।१५५।१५७; ८।१।८; विष्णुपुराण ४।२० में स्पष्ट किया गया है।

ऋ. १।११७।७ तथा १०-३९-४० मे घोषा का आख्यान सूचित है । जिसे बृहद्देवता ७।४२।४८ में इसे विशद रूप में प्रस्तुत किया गया है ।

ऋ. १०।१७, १, २ मे सरण्यू का संवाद है । जिसे बृहद्देवता ६।१६२।१६३ ७।१।६ में आख्यान के रूप में निरूपित किया गया है ।

ऋ. १।११६।१२ मे अश्विनीकुमारों का आख्यान सूचित होता है जिसे बृहद्देवता ३।१८।२४, श. ब्रा. १४।१।१।१८-२५ इत्यादि में विस्तृत रूप से निरूपित किया गया है ।

इसी प्रकार ऋ. ५।५०-८१ तथा बृहद्देवता ५।५०-६० में राजा दार्भ्यं रथवीति और श्यावाश्व का आख्यान मिलता है ।

ऋ. १।१०५; बृहद्देवता ३।१३२-१३७ इ. में त्रित का आख्यान है ।

इसी प्रकार ऋ. १।१४०-१६४ में दीर्घतमा का संवाद है, जो बृहद्देवता ४।११-२५ में आख्यान के रूप में विस्तृत रूप से प्रस्तुत किया है ।

ऋ. १।२४-२७ में शुनःशेप का संवाद है, जिसे ऐतरेय ब्रा. ७।१३-१८ में आख्यान के रूप में निरूपित किया गया है ।

ऋ. १०।१० में यम-यमी का संवाद हैं, जो बृहद्देवता ६।५४ में आख्यान के रूप में सूचित है ।

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इसी प्रकार छान्दो. उप. अध्याय ४ खण्ड ७-१२ मे इन्द्र की आत्मविषयक जिज्ञासा का वर्णन है। छान्दोग्य उप. अध्याय-४, खण्ड-२ मे रैक्व का आख्यान है तथा खण्ड ४-६ में सत्यकाम जाबल के आख्यान के द्वारा सत्य की महत्ता वर्णित है। छान्दो. उप. अध्याय १ खण्ड १०-११ में उषस्ति का आख्यान है। केनोपनिषद् खण्ड ३, ४ में देवताओं की शक्ति परीक्षा वर्णित है। कठोपनिषद् अध्याय-१ प्रथम वल्ली में नचिकेता का आख्यान मिलता है।

वैदिक काल के पश्चात् आख्यान के साथ 'आख्यायिका' का भीं विकास हुआ। आख्यान पद्य में होता था, तो आख्यायिका गद्य में। ब्राह्मण तथा उपनिषद् ग्रन्थो में गद्य की विधाएं सामने आ रही थीं अतः आख्यान के साथ साथ आख्यायिका का प्रचलन स्वाभाविक था। पाणिनी के वार्तिककार कात्यायन ने ४।२।६० के वार्तिक 'आख्यानाख्यायिकेतिहासपुराणेभ्यश्च' में आख्यान तथा आख्यायिका का पृथक् पृथक् उल्लेख किया है। पतञ्जलि ने इस सूत्र के भाष्य में आख्यान का उदाहरण महाभारत के ययाति प्रसंग को माना है, तथा आख्यायिका के उदाहरण-वासवदत्ता, सुमनोत्तरा और भैमरथी-ये तीन दिये हैं।

वैदिक वाङ्मय में काव्यविधाओं का स्वरूप

उपर्युक्त उल्लेखों से वैदिक साहित्य में श्रव्य-काव्य की अवधारणा के विकास का पता चलता है। इसके साथ ही संहिताओं तथा ब्राह्मण ग्रन्थो में परवर्ति काव्यविधाओं का प्रारंभिक रूप भी दिखाई पड़ता है। नाटक के पूर्व रूप की दृष्टि से जिस प्रकार ऋग्वेद के यम-यमी, उर्वशी-पुरूरवा, अगस्त्य-लोपामुद्रा, सरमा-पणि के संवादसूक्त उदाहृत होते हैं उसी प्रकार इन्द्र-सम्बन्धी अनेक सूक्तों को महाकाव्य के पूर्व रूप की दष्टि से प्रस्तुत किया जा सकता है, तथा कितव रात्रि और उषस्-सूक्तों में निश्चय ही उत्तम गीतिकाव्य के तत्व विद्यमाम हैं। महाकाव्यों के लक्षण में विद्यमान उदात्त वस्तु, प्रतिनायक का वध, धीरोदात्त नायक, नायक-प्रकर्ष, युद्ध आदि तत्त्व इन्द्र-सूक्तों में मिलते हैं। उषस् सूक्तों-श्रृंगारित कल्पना, मनोहर दृश्यांकन, अनुत्तम सौंदर्य-बोध आदि तत्व विलसित हैं, जिनका समुन्मेष परवर्ती खण्ड-काव्यों, गीतिकाव्यों में हुआ। भावों की निश्चल अभिव्यक्ति की दृष्टि कितव-सूक्त उदाहरणीय है। वर्णन कला की दृष्टि से अरण्यानी तथा रात्रि-सूक्त उत्कृष्ट है। मृत्यु-सूक्त (ऋ. १०।१८) में शोक की कारुणिक अभिव्यञ्जना हुई है। वस्तुतः वैदिक काव्य परवर्ती समस्त काव्यविधाओं का उपजीव्य है।

इतिहास पुराणकाल

इतिहास तथा पुराणों के काल मे काव्यविधाओं का विभाजन सुस्पष्ट आकार ले चुका था। वैदिक काल की अनेक विधाएं लुप्त हो गयी थी। जैसे सूक्त, उक्थ आदि तथा उनका स्थान नवीन विधाओं नें ले लिया था, जिनमें आख्यान, चरित, काव्य आदि की अवधारणाएं सामने आ रही थी। रामायण में उस काल में प्रचलित काव्य कें साथ गाथा आदि विधाओं का संकेत हुआ है। आख्यान, चरित, काव्य आदि की अवधारणाएं सामने आ रही थी। शब्द काव्य के पर्याय के रूप में प्रयुक्त होनें लगे थे। रामायण कों आदिकाव्य, काव्य आख्यान, महत् काव्य आदि कहा गया है–

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आदिकाव्यमिदं चार्षं पुरा वाल्मीकिना कृतम् । ६।१२८।१०६ (आर्षकाव्य)

शृंगारहास्यकरुणरौद्रवीरभयानकैः ।

वीरादिभी रसैर्युक्तं काव्यमेतदगायताम् ॥ –१।४।९

काव्यं रामायणं कृत्स्नं सीतायाश्चरितं महत् ।

पौलस्त्यवधमित्येव चकार चरितव्रतः ॥ –१।४।७ (चरित)

कर्ता काव्यस्य महतः क्व चासौ मुनिपुङ्गवः । –१।९४।२३ (महाकाव्य)

कल्याणी बत गाथेयं लौकिकी प्रतिभाति माम् । (५।३४।६)

इक्ष्वाकूणामिदं तेषां राज्ञां वंशे महात्मनाम् ।

महदुत्पन्नमाख्यानं रामायणमिति श्रुतम् ॥ १।५।३

सर्वमेतत् पुरावृत्तमाख्यानं भद्रमस्तु वः । ६।१३१।११९ ७।१११।४

महाभारत काल में आख्यान तथा उपाख्यान को विशेष महत्त्व मिला था । नल तथा सावित्री के उपाख्यान उस समय प्रसिद्ध थे तथा आख्यान को तो पंचम वेद भी कहा जाता था–

सांगोपनिषदान् वेदान् चतुराख्यानपञ्चमान् । द्रोण. १।३१

वेदानाख्यान-पञ्चमान् । –कर्ण. १।४४

इदं सर्वैः कविवरैराख्यानमुपजीव्यते । –अनुक्र. १।७३

आख्यान के अतिरिक्त महाभारत में कथा का भी महत्त्व प्रतीत होता है । गाथा, पुराण आदि अन्य प्रचलित विधाएं थी, जिनके उल्लेख मिलते है । उपाख्यान का अनेकत्र उल्लेख हुआ है (द्र.–आदि पर्व १।६१, उद्योगपर्व १८।१६) कथा के विषय में–

यस्य बुद्धिः परिभवेत् तमतीतेन सान्त्वयेत् ।
चित्रार्थैः पूर्वराज्ञां कथाश्रयैः – – १।१४९।४७

इससे स्पष्ट है कि कथा अतीत से सम्बद्ध होती थी, आख्यान के लिये प्राचीन कथा पर आधारित होना आवश्यक नहीं था । आगे चल कर काव्यशास्त्र में कथा और आख्यायिका के लक्षण निर्धारण में इस परम्परा का प्रभाव है । गाथा के अतिरिक्त इतिहास, उपजीव्य काव्य आदि की कोटियों मे विभाजन का प्रचलन भी महाभारत से ज्ञात होता है । –

सर्वेषां कविमुख्यानामुपजीव्यो भविष्यति ।
पर्जन्य इव भूतानामक्षयो भारतद्रुमः । –अनुक्र. १।९२
आचख्युः कवयः केचित् सम्प्रत्याचक्षते परे ।
आख्यास्यन्ति तथैवान्ये इतिहासमिमं भुवि ॥ आदि. १।२४
अत्र गाथा मयोद्गीताः कीर्तयन्ति पुराविदः । –१३।४५।१७

इतिहास का साहित्यिक विधा के रूप में सर्वप्रथम सुस्पष्ट उल्लेख विष्णुधर्मोत्तरपुराण ने किया है –

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धर्मार्थकाममोक्षाणां शास्त्रं स्यादुपदेशकम् ।
पूर्वैराचरितं सद्भिर्धर्मकामार्थसाधकम् ।।
मोक्षस्य यत्रोपन्यास इतिहासः स उच्यते ।
तदेव काव्यमित्युक्तं चोपदेशं विना कृतम् ।। –वि. ध. पु. तृ. खण्ड १५।२

रामायण और महाभारत काल कें पश्चात् विष्णुधर्मोत्तरपुराण मे महाकाव्य, गीत, प्रहेलिका आदि अनेक काव्य विधाओं का उल्लेख है । यद्यपि अग्निपुराण में काव्यविधाओं का विशद विवेचन किया है, पर यह पुराण परवर्ती माना गया है । संस्कृत कवियों में अनेक काव्य-विधाओं का उल्लेख करने वालो में बाण अग्रणी हैं जिन्होने कादम्बरी कें शूद्रक वर्णन में "काव्य-नाटकाख्यानकाख्यायिका-लेख्यव्याख्यानादिक्रियानिपुणैः" – तथा "आख्यानाख्यायिकेतिहासपुराणाकर्णनेन"[२] – कहकर अपने समय में प्रचलित काव्यविधाओं की सूचना दी है । इसी प्रकार प्रहेलिकाविधा और द्विसंधानविधा का भी वेद में संकेत मिलता है ।

इस प्रकार वैदिक काल से लेकर छठी शती तक काव्य विधाओं की अवधारणा का विकास और वर्गीकरण जिस रूप में हुआ, उससे काव्यशास्त्र के आचार्यो को पुष्कल आधारभूत सामग्री प्राप्त हुई थी तथा भामह आदि आचार्यो ने काव्यविधा के परम्परागत विभाजन का आधार ले कर उसे परिपक्व तर्कसंगत रूप प्रदान किया ।

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THE ANUBANDHACATUṢṬAYA OF ALAMKĀRAŚĀSTRA

By

S. R. IVATURI

In this paper an attempt has been made to discuss the anubandhas-catuṣṭaya of Alaṁkāraśāstra.

अधिकारी च विषयः सम्बन्धश्च प्रयोजनाम् ।
शास्त्रारम्भफलं प्राहुरनुबन्धयतुष्टयम् ॥

But, we can observe that none of our Ācaryas of Alaṁkāraśāstra had taken pains to explain these four essemtials to a book namely the persons fit to the study, the subject the reatlion between the subject and the book and also adhikārin and the book and the fruit of the work. First let us take the subject. The word Alaṁkāraśāstra is difficult to define, in that, it treats from the power of word to the experience of rasa, which is almost equal to the eternal bliss. Not only that, there are not any rules that only such and such a work will be put under the head of alaṁkāraśāstra. The varieties of this śāstra have already been dealt with by great scholars such as Dr. P. V. Kane etc. But in all this confusion we find a single thread which links all these different fields that is kāvya. Because, whether it's Poem or Drama, Suggestion or Inference style or embellishment, primary or secondary meaning, word or sentence, constituent or defect, if revolves around kāvya. Hence we are to define Alaṁkāraśāstra as that which deals with kāvya. That is why from *Kaviknṭhābharaṇa* to *Dhvanyāloka*, *Kuvalayānanda* to *Sāhityadarpaṇa* all are treated under one head – Alaṁkāraśāstra. So we can settle the subject of Alaṁkāraśāstra as kavya.

2. Now coming to the adhikārin let us first examine the various views expressed by our Ācaryas. Bhāmaha simply says that he has written his work for सुजनावगमाय. Daṇḍin is not particular about this point. He says प्रजानां व्युत्पत्तिमभिसन्धाय, (I-9). But it is Vāmana who writes an adhikāra prakaraṇa. He says that Poets are of two types, discriminate and indiscriminate; of these the formar are to be instructed अरोचकिनः सतृणाभ्यवहारिणश्च कवयः पूर्वे शिष्याः विवेकित्वात् I, 2.1, 2 K. A. Thus both Daṇḍin and Vāmana refer to poets while Bhāmaha generally says the intelligent. Again we find the specific term of either शिष्य or कवि in the works of Kṣemendra and Rājaśekhara. Kṣemendra says his work is for his disciples in *Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa* (I. 2) while Rājaśekhara says व्याकरोत् काव्यमीमांसां कविभ्यो राजशेखरः (K. M. VI. 1)

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But of course these two works come under the head of Śikṣāgranthas. Ānandavardhana's reference to sahṛdayas (सहृदयमनःप्रीतये Dh. I. 1) Dhanañjaya and Appayya Dīkṣita refer to the less of the wit (K. Ānanda I. 1) Rasagaṅgādharakāra hopes that his work will delight the Kavikulas. Kāvyaprakāśakāra, Sāhityadarpaṇakāra are silent. Vyaktivivekakāra wants ātmasadṛśas.

From the above we can observe that most of the ācāryas meant poets only as their adhikārins whereas a few say the aesthetics. And others are divergent in their views. Before coming to a conclusion let's examine the nature and the contents of these works.

We find generally in a work on Alaṁkāraśāstra, definition of kāvya, chapters on defects, constituentss, embellishments and in the later works chapters on rasa and etc. We can name then as the principles of writing and principles of criticism. So we can say that the principles of writing are for a poet and the principles of criticism are for a critic.

To explain this poet, the portions such as these that deal with the Vyutpatti and abhyāsa, selection of subject, delineation of rasa etc. are meant for only the poet. Whereas the definitions of alaṁkāras etc. are meant for a critic and not for a poet. And we have a third category, the aesthete for him belong the chapters, on the defects that obstruct the enjoyment of rasa, such as the seven defects of Abhinavagupta.

So we can conclude that there are three adhikārins for Alaṁkāraśāstra, namely, the poet, the critic and the aesthete. Here critic means the Vimarśaka and the aesthete the Sahṛdaya, and whether they are one and same or different, is not dealt here. But still, they are taken as two different types of people.

Now coming to the prayojana of the śāstra, again we find a surprising silence on the part of our ācāryas about this point. Only the poets of the earlier days say anything about this, the later poets being silent for most of the time.

Daṇḍin says clearly, गुणदोषानशास्त्रज्ञः कथ विभजते जनः (Kāvyādarśa I. 8). By this he means more a critic and his work of classitying the good and the bad than a poet trying to write the best. A similar view has been expressed by Vāmana when he says शास्त्रतस्ते । He explains that learning from the science the poet should leave the defects acd accept constituents and figures. Rudraṭa's opinion is writing peetry is the trait of his work. A similar view is explained by Bhāmaha. Ānandavardhana says सहृदयमनः प्रीतये (Dh. I. 1). But all these views are only for their particular works excepting of course Daṇḍin etc. But it is Viśvanātha who tries to analyse the traits of

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Alaṁkāraśāstra, but he entrely goes on a wrong track. He says : अस्य ग्रन्थस्य काव्याङ्गतया काव्यफलैरेव फलवत्त्वमिति काव्यफलान्याह - चतुर्वर्गफलप्राप्ति : etc. (S.D.I. 2).

Let's take Mammata's enumeration of the traits of kāvya. They are 1. Fame 2. Wealth 3. Knowledge of worldly behaviour 4. Destruction of evils 5. Immediate Bliss and 6. Instruction as a wife does. And in both he says कवेः सहृदयस्य च यथायोगं करोतीति meaning some are for the poet and some for the aesthete. But Viśvanātha cannot mean or identify the above traits for Alaṁkāraśāstra, as it is too obvious. He may mean like Rudraṭa good poerty and from it the above traits are the results. But has not Alaṁkāraśāstra got a prayojana for itself ? It surely has, that is the knowledge of kāvya. It is kāvyajñāna it imparts into the reader whether he is a poet or a critic or an aesthete, whether good poetry results from it or not, aesthetes get delighted or not, is more in the words of kāvyakāras and it is not for Alaṁkāraśāstra.

4. Now the relation from the above :

(a) The relation between the śāstra and the subject is that of the establisher and the established.

(b) The relation between the śāstra and the poet and the critic is that of the instructor and the instructed.

(c) The reletion betweenn the śāstra and the aesthete is that of the assistant and the assisted.

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UNKNOWN SANSKRIT POETS OF KARNATAKA

By

H. P. MALLEDEVARU

The sacred land of Bharatavarṣa has given birth to numerous poets and authors. Most of their work is in Sanskrit, the *lingua franka* of India for many centuries, at least in the field of *belles-lettres*, philosophy and fine arts. In every part of the country, great poets were born and gave immortal works to the future generations. Karnataka does not lag behind in this matter.

However, it must be admitted that cruel time has devastated many a work, and often precious ones. As Thomas Grey said –

"Full many a flower is born to blush unseen
And waste its fragrance on the desert air"

The fact that hundreds of good works of poetry, philosophy and drama have not been noticed and recognised, is not due to the incompetence of the poets, but only to the ravages of time. We may however feel happy that at least of some works of a few poets have been pseserved in manuscripts which have withstood the attacks of worms, fire, negligence etc. An attempt is made in this paper to draw the attention of this august gathering of scholars to some important authors from Karnataka, whose works are fortunately preserved in manuscripts in the Oriental Research Institute, Mysore.

First of all, Venkāmātya deserves our attention. He lived in the 18th century A. D. and is also known as Pradhāna Venkappayya, Venkabhūpati and Venkasūri. As his names suggest, he was the chief minister of the Mysore province for a few years. He faced many ups and downs in the political arena. In spite of all these odds, the poetic genius in him blossomed and produced voluminous and valuable literature. He was a good dramatist with a good knowledge of works on dramaturgy. He saw that out of the ten types of drama enumerated by rheoreticians, only Nāṭaka and Prakaraṇa have been written in sufficient numbers while examples of Dima, Samavakāra etc. are rare. Therefore he wrote works belonging to those types. Presently such works that are available to us are : *Kāmavilāsabhāṇa*, *Mahendravijayaḍima*, *Vīrarāghavavyāyoga*, *Lakṣmīsvayaṁvarasamavakāra*, *Rukmiṇīsvayaṁvarāṅka*, *Kukṣimbharabhaikṣavaprahasana*, *Sītākalyāṇavīthī* and *Urvaśīsārva-bhaumehamṛga*.

Venkappayya was proficient not only in writing Dṛśyakāvyas but in other forms of literature also. Following the great writer Bāṇa, he has written

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Sudhāiharī, on the model of *Kādambari* and expresses the fact in the beginning :

बाणेन सत्कविशिरोमणिनारचि प्राक्
कादम्बरीमधुरसारधुरीणरीतिः ।
एषा सुधारसझरी विबुधावलीनां
आनन्ददास्तु गुणदोषविदामुदारा ।।

Venkappayya's mastery on classical Sanskrit is evident in every passage of this Gadyakāvya. Similarly, his another work, viz., *Jagannāthavijayam*, bears ample evidence to his genius. In this Mahākāvya describing the story of Kṛṣṇa, Venkappayya, has exhibited his wonderful knowledge of grammar. This work is actually equal to the famous *Bhaṭṭikāvya* in depicting the flexibility of Sanskrit idiom and the vastness of its vocabulary. An example may not be out of place :

कुशलं शिशुके विधिर्विधेयात्
कुतुकं नः कुलदेवता प्रदेयात् ।
विभृयात् अयमर्भकः कुलं चे –
त्यधुर्कि व्रजगाः प्रियं भविष्णुम् ।। (3.37)

In addition to the above, Venkappayya has also composed the *Kuśalavacampū*. He has a number of stotras to his credit besides a treatise called *Alaṅkāramaṇidarpaṇa* on poetics. All this testifies to the claim of the author made in the colophons of his work thus : इति श्रीमद्रामपुराधीशश्रीरघुनाथचरणद्वन्द्वाराधनलब्धसम्पत्सारस्वतवैभवविश्वजनीनविद्यश्रीवेङ्कयार्यप्रधानशिरोमणिविरचिते श्रीमति महाकाव्ये जगन्नाथविजये–

One Venkāṭacala, belonging to the 18th century has composed a subhāṣita work called *Āryollāsa*. Each one of the poems in this work is a blend of paronomasia (Sleṣa) and Arthāntaranyāsa. To give an example :

परुषगिरोऽपि महान्तो ननु दयितारो भवन्ति दातारः ।
गर्जन्नपि पर्जन्यः पाता दाता च भवति भुवनस्य ।।

This also shows the lucidity of this poet's diction.

Basavabhūpāla, a king of Keladi in Karnataka during the 18th century was a great patron of learning. He caused the compilation of massive work *Subhāṣitasuradruma* a collection of wise and witty sayings. This work, when published, will be bigger than *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*, *Subhāṣitāvali* or *Subhaṣitasudhānidhi*.

Lingarāja, a king of Coorg, has translated Nijaguṇaśivayogin's *Vivekacintāmaṇī* into Sanskrit. *Vivekacintāmaṇī* is the first encyclopaedia

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in Kannada literature. Its Sanskrit version is sure to attract the attention of scholars outside Karnataka also when the work sees the light of the day.

Sandeśakāvyas usually follow and imitate Kalidāsa's *Meghasandeśa*. One Sandeśakāvya from Karnāṭaka brings novelty to this genre. It is *Madhuroṣṭhīsandeśa* composed in Campū style in which a gopī (cowherdess) sends a message to Śrikṛṣṇa through a peacock.

Vīrabhadravijaya by Ekāmradīkṣita is a campū depicting a historical theme. It describes the social conditions of the 16th century in South India besides giving a graphic description of the car festival (Rathotsava) of Vīrabhadra.

Rāmakathāsudhodaya by Śrīnivāsa is a fine work resembling in a way the *Gītagovinda* of Jayadeva. It is composed with musical rāgas so that each stanza can be sung in the traditional musical way. He describes the arrival of Viśvāmitra in Ayodhyā as follows :

विश्वामित्रमनुपश्यत शश्वदागतं
विश्वासैकपात्रमिति विश्ववैभवम् ।
विमलमुरुजटाधरं अमलवरगुणाकरं
अमरवरदतपःकरणमतुलसंविदम् ।।

Rama is described thus ;

जयभानुकुलचन्द्र जयजन्यनिस्तन्द्र
जयसुगुणगुणसान्द्र जयकोसलेन्द्र
जयपाल्यमुनिचन्द्र जयगुप्तधरणीन्द्र
जयविनयदमरेन्द्र जय रामचन्द्र etc.

Praudhadevarāya, the great monarch or Vijayanagar, was known until now, only as a patron of literature and art. He was more than that. He has composed a vṛtti on the *Vedāntasūtras* following Śaṅkara's advaita :

यद् भाषामृतपानेन जरामरणवर्जितम् ।
पदं याता हि विबुधा शङ्करं नौमि तं गुरुम् ।।

is his invocatory verse. I am happy to say that the Oriental Research Institute, Mysore has published this *Brahmasūtravṛtti* this year.

Sṛṅgāramañjarī by Ajitasena is a work on Alaṁkāraśāstra. This has been translated into Kannada also. Both the original and the translation await publication.

A poet, whose pen-name is Śivacaraṇasarojareṇu has written a poem by name *Kumāravijaya* while Hariyajvā has contributed *Vivekamihira*. Śrīnivāsa's *Bālakṛṣṇāyanam* and *Cintāmaṇīvijaya* of Aṇṇayyadikṣita's disciple also deserve mention.

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Our efforts in search for works known and unknown should continue. *Chandobhāṣyarāja* a work on prosody by Bhāskararāya, who is the well-known author of *Latitāsahasranāmabhāṣya*, was known to exist, but its manuscripts were not available anywhere. Just two years ago, the Oriental Research Institute, Mysore came across a precious manuscript of this work. With sincere efforts, it would be possible to bring to light many works hitherto unknown or believed to be lost. The present paper is only a clue to the treasure of manuscripts that lie hidden in the several libraries of the county, temples, maṭhs and private individuals. I feel that it is the responsibility of scholars to bring to light such precious manuscripts, and hope that such a laudable objective could be achieved by the learned scholars so as to enrich Sanskrit literature.

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A NEW INTERPRETATION OF *RAGHUVAṀŚA* 2.39

By

G. B. PALSULE

1. The *Raghuvaṁśa* stanza 2.39 runs as follows :

तस्यालमेषा क्षुधितस्य तृप्त्यै प्रदिष्टकाला परमेश्वरेण ।
उपस्थिता शोणितपारणा मे सुरद्विषश्चान्द्रमसी सुधेव ॥

On this Mallinātha comments as follows :

परमेश्वरेण प्रदिष्टः कालो भोजनवेला यस्याः सा उपस्थिता प्राप्ता एषा गोरूपा शोणितपारणा ...: सुरद्विषः राहोः चन्द्रमस इयं चान्द्रमसी सुधेव क्षुधितस्य बुभुक्षितस्य तस्य अङ्कागतसत्त्ववृत्तेः मे मम सिंहस्य तृप्त्यै अलं पर्याप्ता ।

Since the basic principle of Mallinātha's commentary is to explain the words of the text strictly according to the prose order (इहान्वयमुखेनैव सर्वं व्याख्यायते मया), no doubt is left in the reader's mind as to how he construes the words of the original. According to his construction the purport of the present stanza is that the cow, his meal after the fast, whose hour is fixed by the Almighty, and who has approached him now is sufficient to satisfy the hungry lion. To put it specifically, the cow's capacity to allay the lion's hunger is the predicate in the sentence. The other adjectival expressions are taken as used attributively.

Of the other commentators of the *Raghuvaṁśa*, Nārāyaṇa-Paṇḍita explains similarly : उपस्थिता एषा शोणितपारणा क्षुधितस्य मे तृप्त्यै अलम् । Similarly also Cāritravardhana : .... कालोऽवसरो मृत्युर्वा यस्याः सेयं शोणितपारणा उपोषितस्य भोजनं, तृप्त्यै अलं पूर्णा ।

2. It is not possible to see the prose order followed by other commentators who do not follow the *anvayamukha* method of interpretation. Aruṇagirinātha, who introduces the stanza with the remark ; अथ मावश्यकत्वेन अमोचनीयत्वं दर्शयति, तस्येति comments as follows :

तस्य प्रतिपादितप्रकारस्य । अलं पर्याप्ता । एषेति । गृष्टित्वात् पूर्णधातुशरीरेत्यर्थः । अत एव शोणितपारणात्वारोपः । शोणितस्य तु सद्यस्तृप्तिहेतुत्वादुपादानम् । क्षुधितस्य । क्षुधितो हि किं नाद्यादिति भावः । तृप्त्यै इति । अपर्याप्तिबुद्धिहेतुकम् उपेक्षणीयत्वं निराकरोति ।

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प्रदिष्टकालेति । षष्ठादिकालविशेषविधिर्द्योत्यते । परमेश्वरेण अलङ्घनीयाज्ञेन । उपस्थिता दैवात् स्वयमुपस्थिता । अतो न कथंचिदपि त्यक्ष्यामीति वाक्यशेषः ।

Although this commentary usually shows a superb knack in bringing out hidden significances of Kālidāsa's words, I am afraid Aruṇagirinātha has here missed the real significance of the poet's words.

3. The modern annotators and translators are also seen to accept the prose order followed by Mallinātha as is clear from their translations. I quote some below :

"For the satisfaction of me, grown hungry, this meal of blood (i. e. bloody breakfast of cow), the time of which is fixed by the mighty Lord and which has presented itself before me is quite sufficient, as suffices the nectar of the moon (to give satisfaction) to the enemy of the gods (i. e. Rāhu)" (NANDARGIKAR)

".. This feast of blood after my fast .. is enough for the gratification of me, hungry as I am .. " (KALE)

"For the satisfaction of me .. this (cow), a feast-after-fast of blood .. is quite sufficient .. " (KARMARKAR).

4. Here is the problem. According to Mallinātha (and those who follow him) the word *alam* (evidently to be taken as followed by *asti*) is the predicate. This construction serves to point out, as shown above, that the cow is sufficient to satisfy the hunger of the lion. But, so what? We may well ask. Does this fact by itself justify the lion's action? The lion is apparently trying to impress on Dilīpa's mind how he, the lion, is perfectly justified in seizing the cow and devouring her to satisfy his hunger. Even accepting that the cow is fat enough for the purpose, that does not give a moral sanction to the lion's action. Since Mallinātha's construction does not bring out any moral justification, we look for a different construction of the stanza. There is no doubt that Aruṇagirinātha has correctly grasped the purport of the stanza as आवश्यकत्वेन अमोचनीयत्वम्. Let us see which other possible prose order of the stanza serves this purpose well.

5. If we turn to Vallabha's commentary we find that he does not take *alam* as a predicate; instead he connects it with *kṣudhitasya*. He comments :

हे राजन् । तस्य मे मम, एषा गौः शोणितपारणा । उपस्थिता शोणितशरीरवृत्तिः प्राप्ता । रुधिरदेहयात्रापतत् । किमर्थम् ? तृप्त्यै तृप्तिहेतवे । किंभूतस्य मे ? अलम् अत्यर्थं क्षुधितस्य । किंभूता गौः ? परमेश्वरेण संदिष्टकाला विधिनोपदिष्टमरणवेला । दैवेन प्रेरितेत्यर्थः । Similarly Hemādri also, following Vallabha, says :

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अलं क्षुधितस्य तस्य सिंहरूपिणो मे तृप्त्यै एषा रुधिरपारणा उपस्थिता ।

6. There are two points which are to be noted in this interpretation : (1) *alam* is taken as an adverb going with *kṣudhitasya*, the whole expression meaning 'exceedingly hungry'. But this is not quite satisfactory. अलं क्षुधितस्य meaning अत्यर्थं क्षुधितस्य is rather jarring. It does not seem to be a usual idiom.[1] There is no sanction for अलम् = अत्यर्थम् either in old lexicons or in the modern ones. Besides, the old difficulty remains the same here also. Even assuming that the lion is 'exceedingly hungry', will it justify his killing the cow? Of course बुभुक्षितः किं न करोति पापम्? is true. But one expects the lion, who is nothing less than an attendant of Śiva himself, to advance a higher, a more logical, and a more profound reason which would justify his action. (2) The prose order मे तृप्त्यै उपस्थिता looks very appropriate and happy on the surface. But, to employ an expression of the Sanskrit language, it is only *āpātaramaṇīya*. Those who are at home with the style of Kālidāsa will readily agree with me if I say that if Kālidāsa had intended this prose order, he would have, in all probability, added the word *iva : me tṛptyai iva upasthitā* 'the cow has presented herself as if to satisfy me.'

7. But I must say that I find one aspect of Vallabha's construction very satisfactory, viz., taking *upasthitā* as the predicate. Since it is a past passive participle which can function as a finite verb, it serves well as a predicate. Only I would prefer to include the words *pradiṣṭakālā parameśvareṇa* also in the predicate.

That is the crucial expression in the stanza which provides the higher sanction for the lion's right to kill and devour the cow. To explain : The lion is employed by the Lord to guard the Devadāru tree. He is not to leave his post (like Rāhu). It is therefore the duty of the Lord to provide him food from time to time, and to provide it on the spot. (He is *aṅkāgatasattva-vṛtti.*) In accordance with this responsibility, to-day the Lord has decided that the cow shall be his food. The cow has thus approached the lion in obedience to the Divine decree. If the lion ate her up, it would not be just to satisfy his palate or fill up the wretched belly (although that is necessary), but it will be in accordance with Divine dispensation. The lion is thus acquitted of a wanton act of cruelty. This idea of Divine dispensation is better brought out if the expression *pradiṣṭakālā parameśvareṇa* is made a part of the predicate rather than that of the subject.

8. Lastly, there is one thing. I have said above that I cannot take *alam* with *kṣudhitasya*. I follow Mallinātha in construing it with *tṛptyai*. Where I differ from him is that I take the words *tṛptyai alam* as a part of the subject thus making it a statement of fact, and not of justification.

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1. Still see Raghu. X, 80,

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9. The prose order of the stanza, then, which I propose, is : तस्य मे क्षुधितस्य तृप्त्यै अलं (सती) एषा शोणितपारणा परमेश्वरेण प्रदिष्टकाला (अत एव) उपस्थिता ......

I translate accordingly :

This feast-after of fast blood, which is sufficient to satisfy me, thus situated and hungry, has presented {itself, its time being ordained by the supreme Lord, ...

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DEFINITION OF POETRY IN *SAHITYA-SUDHA-SINDHU*

By

RAM PRATAP

Just like Mammaṭa who in his *Kāvyaprakāśa* has incorporated and presented in a systemic way the views of all his predecessores prevailing upto 11th century Viśvanāthadeva too presents before us a complete scheme of poetics incorporating the ideas of all thinkers in this field upto the end of the 16th century A. D. His keen insight into the theories propounded by his predecessers his lucid style of explaining and discussing them, his brevity of exposition bringing scattered and vast material into a definite focus and his own creative ability have made his work so important that he can claim to stand in the line of great pioneers of Sanskrit poeties

In the beginning of the first chapter the author has placed the views of former Acharyas regarding definition of poetry in two categories. Under the first category came those who regard the existence of poety both in word and sense He has not mentioned the names of propounders of this view but it seems he is referring indirectly to Bhāmaha and Mammaṭa.

अदोषौ तद्धि शब्दार्थौ सालङ्कारौ गुणान्वितौ ।
काव्यमेतदिति प्राहुरलङ्कारविशारदाः ॥

शब्दार्थौ सहितौ काव्यम् तददोषौ शब्दार्थौ सगुणावनलंकृती पुनः क्वापि आस्वादजीवातुः पद-(२) समूहः काव्यमिति चण्डीदासप्रभृतयः

Under the second category are placed and others who consider the existence of poetry in word. He has refuted the views by arguing thus : If word and sense are both to be regarded as Kāvya then one would have to believe in the existence of two Kāvyas viz. शब्दकाव्य and अर्थकाव्य but it is not possible for them to coexist in a particular poetry.

He quotes definition. of poetry given by भोजराज in सरस्वतीकण्ठाभरण gives the definition of poetry thus.

अदोषं गुणवत्काव्यमलङ्कारैरलंकृतम् ।
रसान्वितं कविः कुर्वन् कीर्ति स्वर्गं च विन्दति ॥ सरस्वतीकण्ठाभरण, २

The author seems to be a staunch supporter of the views of भोजराज in which the former includes the word रस and he has laid more stress on the

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attainment of the highest delight which is the main purpose of poetry. वस्तुतस्तु अदोषं गुणयत्काव्यमित्यादिवाक्यप्रतिपादितस्वर्गविशेषजनकतावच्छेदकं काव्यमखण्डं कल्पनीयं तदेव लक्षणमस्तु किमनेनानुगतेन लक्षणेन ।

Here in his statement he uses the the word अखण्ड which may have threefold meaning (1) Union of word and sense (2) Synthesis of विभावs, अनुभावs and व्यभिचारभावs with स्थायिभावs (3) Union of knowledge and supreme delight.

Thus he advocates that real poetry is a combination of the four elements दोषहीनता, गुण, अलङ्कार and रस and it exists for giving the highest bliss. His own definition of poetry is as follows : The sentence mere listering of which gives birth to highest delight akin to the taste ultimate reality is called poetry.

जायते परमानन्दो ब्रह्मानन्दसहोदरः ।
यस्य श्रवणमात्रेण तद् वाक्यं काव्यमुच्यते ॥ सा. सु. सि. १, ४

The terms अखण्ड and ब्रह्मानन्दसहोदर are significant in both definitions given in the साहित्यसुधासिन्धु.

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ISLAMIC STUDIES SECTION

TRADITIONAL EDUCATION IN INDIA
SOME SUGGESTIONS TO MAKE IT EFFECTIVE AND USEFUL

By

AKHLAQ AHMAD

When the English got mastery over India in the middle of the 19th century, the whole set-up was changed. The new situation created many problems for the Muslims. The British Government introduced its own system of education and had little sympathy with the traditional institutions which were left on their own resources. The political and economic changes in British India very much affected the pattern of traditional life. Mostly the superstitious beliefs and practices were out of focus in the new system of education. The teachers and the taughts had no influence on the society but the society and the environment of the community had its influence upon them. The new secular education became the means of relationship between the various communities in the country and allowed to exercise all kinds of practices in the society. Gradually Indians became indifferent to their indigenous schools and they became so much enamoured of English education that they paid little attention to their past civilization and culture.

In the 20th century the oriental world is reawakening from its slumber of the past. It is shaking off the shackles of conservatism that had retarded its onward march to progress. In a word, the whole of the East is coming under the influence of the West. The East is increasingly realizing that it has to regain its past glory by identifying itself to the new technical revolution that is taking place in the West today. The greatest tragedy of the traditional schools was that they refused to recognise the existence of the new would. They resisted very strongly any move that would introduce them to this new age with its scientific achievements and social developments. Their refusal to see the new developments resulted in their isolation from the present day world which was largely responsible for their decline.

It is an undeniable fact that the traditional education is disowned even by the poor classes in the Muslim community which were always eager to send their children to Maktabs and Madrasahs. The result is that these classes who liberally donated to these institutions are now reluctant to give any kind of financial support. Since the Government is indifferent towards them and

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the support that they got from a particular section is not forthcoming most of them are languishing for want of resources. Now the question is how to infuse a new life into them and how to make them useful to the society so as to attract the Muslims towards them. When we speak of infusion of new life we do not mean that they may be completely changed. They may be reoriented but this reorientation should be done in a manner that fundamentals of Islam might not be lost sight of. There would be no difference between them and other schools, if former too train the intelligence and leave the spirit untouched. These institutions can play an effective role in the life of Muslims today if they keep in view the three objectives which an education seeks to achieve. Frist is to secure a balanced development of personality. Second is to train the individual in such a manner that he may fully indentify himself to the social life of his community. Third is the inculcation of religious and moral outlook. Now the problem is how these institutions can realize these objectives. This is possible only when they organize their syllabii on modern lines.

Now we would like to pinpoint specific areas which require the attention of our Muslim educationists and educators.

First we take up the teaching of Arabic in traditional institutions which requires a thorough examination so as to make it useful to its recipients. There is no doubt that the classical language of Islam is Arabic which belongs to the family of Semitic languages. During the 19th century the new political social, economic and intellectual movements resulting from contact with Europe prepared the way for a revival of Arabic letters, particularly in Syria and Egypt. In Egyt a movement to reconcile the two schools, classical and modernist, was initiated by Shaykh Mohammad Abduh (D. 1905) but it broke up after his death into conservative and modornist wings. Like poetry Arabic prose too came under the influence of European writers and here too the contribution of Shaykh Abduh is quite impressive. Saiyed Jamal-Uddin Afghani also contributed to the development of modern Arabic prose. Thus through the efforts of Abduh and his followers Arabic entered the modern world and produced literature on modern subjects. But it kept its gaze continuously on the past Islamic values. From the group of this new school various writers of the modern style sprang up such as Ahmad Amin, Abbas Muhammad-Aqqad, Towfiq al-Hakim, Abdal-Qadival Mazini, and Taha Hussin.[1]

In India undue emphasis is laid over the teaching of classical Arabic in most of traditional schools. The arrangement for teaching of modern Arabic

1. Albert Housani, Arcbic thought In Liberal Age, London 1970, p. 325

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in these schools is inadequate and unsatisfactory. Students of these institutions are very proficient in classical Arabic and some of them can even compete with the students of Arabic-speaking countries. But generally they are poor in modern Arabic with the result that they betray utter ignorance of the modern Arabic world. It was Maulana Shibli Numani who first raised his voice against this too much accent upon the classical Arabic at the expense of modern form of the language which the Arabs have been using for five hundred years. " It is a deplorable fact ", he says " that this one-sided concentration (upon the classical form of the language) has kept us ignorant of the modern language. ... For five centuries Arabs have been writing their poetry in this new language. Their (standard) prose-writings too are in this very language. People would be surprised to know that if these modern quasidas are recited without vowel they would be lacking in rhythm.[2] This was the reason that Maulana Shibli was very much particular that Nadva should not be deficient in this respect. Consequently Nadva made adequate provision for teaching of modern Arabic to its student. It is gratifying to note that products of Nadva are well versed in both writing and speaking the modern language. Since they know the modern Arabic well they can keep pace with the new thinking and recent trends in the modern Arab world.

Arabic is not only the classical language of Islam but the language of over 100 millions in Asia and Africa, the official language of 18 states out of 122 in the United Nation, and the fifth language of interpretation in the United Nations after French, English, Russian and Spanish. Its importance cannot be ignored in the filed of diplomacy and trade, it may be used for the social reforms in the Arab world. Its knowledge may help to seek livelihood in the middle East.[3]

In the teaching of Arabic there is one great defect which is that no adequate attention is paid to its linguistic side. It is very necessary that provision should be made for teaching of comparative grammar of the Semitic languages for any person who wants to acquirs a competent knowledge of Arabic Linguistics, Study of Semitic languages is indispensable. Moreover, modern Arabic should be taught through " direct method." The proper study of language is not possible through translation method which most of the Madrasahs have adopted in teaching of Arabic. It is good that it is now being increasingly realized that undue emphasis upon grammar is not conducive to the learning of this language. As a matter of fact some of the institutions are not so dogmatic as they used to be in the past in this regard.

2. Shibli Numani, Maqalat-i-Shibli, Azargarh, 1965, vol 3, p. 87.
3. A. A. A. Fyzee, the Muslim Minority In India, Quest, October/December, 1967 No. 55. p, 19.

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In the past traditional schools did not give much importance to the teaching of history, although historiography was well developed science in Islamic countries. We find that there were only few books on Islamic history and those too did not conform to the principles of historical writing. According to Maulana Shibli whatever books of history were prescribed in the syllabus of traditional schools they were not there because of their historical importance but because of the fact that they were considered as models of prose[4] Moreover, it is also a fact that most of the histories written on Islam lacked critical analysis.

There is an urgent need for re-orientation of text-books of history in context of the modern world. Today history is regarded as the study of the past of man in his social, politicial, economic and moral relations. Hence there should be more cultural and social aspects in this subject. Moreover, there should be good arrangement made for teaching of comparative study ef various religions existing in India. Besides the knowledge of Islamic history, students of these innstitutions should be taught history of India right from the Vedic period down to the modern age. In view of the fact that social and natiooal integration of different communities is crucial to the creation of united India these institutions, while teaching this subject, should make efforts to inculcate in their students the concept of national solidarity and unity. It is very essential that they should be well informed of the history of other communities, their cultural attainments and their contribution to civilization. It is a fact that students of these schools are kept completely in the dark about the achievements of other cultural groups and communities

Philosophy which includes logic also was the subject to which our traditional schools seemed to be very much attached. In Dars-i-Nizamiah we find that there were more books prescribed on this subject, than on Hadith or Quran. Even today it has not lost its importance. It has still got some relevance even in this age of experimentation. The need for the pursuit of wisdom which the philosophy seeks to aim at is still felt. But it is also a fact that philosophy taught in these schools is the Greek philosophy as interpreted by Muslim philosophers and it simply ignores the modern developments which cannot be dismissed as of no significance. In this connection it may be pointed out that in traditional schools traditional logic is given importance than that of philosophy. But like Philosophy here too modern developments on this subject have no place. It may be suggested that it would be qnite appropriate if Indian system of logic is also included in the syllabus.

In Madrasahs Fiqh is taught most unimaginatively. Students are never told about recent trends in Islam and their impact upon the Islamic legal

4. Shibli, Ibid, p. 89.

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literature. There is a need that teaching of Fiqh should be completely overhauled so that these institutions might be aware of recent thinking on the subject.

Hadith is the next important subject taught in traditional school. It cannot be again said that traditions have played a vital role in the early history of Islam. Their influrnce on the Muslim thought is very deep and paramount. For critical scholarship, traditions are the main source for the study of the development of doctrine during the first few centuries of Islam.

Hadith was undoubtedly a very important source of Muslim law. But its importance in the development of other subjects like literature and social sciences in the Muslim world is far greater than this. It has decidedly played a vital role in the growth and development of Arabic literature.

In Indian Madrasahs Hadith did not get the recognition which it got in other Muslim countries. In Dars-i-Nizamiah we find only a few books on the subject. Even today teaching of "Hadith" leaves much to be desired. Students are never given to make a critical analysis of the traditions. Generally, they are not well informed about the history of Tadween-i-Hadith, fabricatism of Hadith etc. They cannot meet out the objections which the European orientalists have levelled against the traditions. "As a matter of fact, the whole system of teaching particularly of Hadith, in India and (so for as I know) in the whole Islamic world has been reduced to mere formality. Very few of the teachers possess any knowledge of 'Asma al-Rijal a subject so essential for the study of Hadith.[5]"

It cannot be overemphasised that present syllabus in these schools which is known as Dars-i-Nizamiah is inadequate and outmoded and requires a drastic change. It is unrelated to the realities of life and has kept itself unconcerned with the tremendous explosion of knowledge which has changed the entire universe. It is encouraging to find that Muslim educationists have raised their voice against the inadequacies of Dars-i-Nizamiah and have urged for its reorientation in order to make it more useful to the students in the context of the present day world.

It is good that in some sections steps are already being taken in this direction. The only fear is that they should not be discouraged by non-availability of good books on modern subjects and consequenly they should not be satisfied simply by replacing books.

There is no doubt that Dars-i-Nizamiah was quite in accordance with the needs of its time and was meeting adequately the demands of that period

5. Mohd-Zubyr Siddiqi, *Hadith Literature Its origin, Development, Special Features and Criticism*, Calcutta, 1961 p. 139.

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Moreover, there was, at that time, no boundary line between spiritual and secular education. The administrators of the State, business-men, poets and writers, all were suitably equipped for their respective fields through this system of education.

Today, the political and social structure, economic and monetary conditions, trade and industry, national and international situations and everything has undergone revolutionary change. Innumerable new problems have arisen. The life has become more complicated than it was in the past. It is now necessary that this syllabus which worked well in the medieval period should be so reoriented that it may adequately meet the needs of the present time.

In view of this fact the following changes may be suggested :

(1) In view of the present day needs and problems it is desirable to include subjects like economics, political science, psychology, etc. in the syllabus.

(2) Some books taught in the traditional schools have become outdated and are not of much use. Since these books depict a picture of the old world which has changed beyond recognition and students reading them can never feel that they are in the new age. This is particularly true of books of philosophy and logic. These books should be replaced by latest ones.

(3) Students of these institutions display a lack of general knowledge. To understand the present movements and to find solutions to the problems of modern life subjects like History, Geography, General Knowledge and other relevant subjects shoulds be included in the syllabus.

(4) The following sciences and subjects should be compulsory and these should be graded from the first upto the last days :

(a *Holy Quran and Qnranic knowledge* :

Under the present system, it is generally at the last stage of education that a little of Tafseer is included in the syllabus, or else it is on the completion of the course that some Tafseer is taught in a period of one-and-half to two months in a very perfunctory manner.

(b) *Hadith and Usul-Hadith, including History of Hadith* :

In order to fix the correct status of Hadith-i-Nabvi and to understand the present mischief of disbelief in Hadith, apart from Usul-i-Hadith, a profound study of history of Tadween-i-Hadith is also essential.

(c) *Fiqh aud Usul-i-Fiqh* :

Particularly it is important to have a right approach towards Ijtihad and Usul-i-Ijtihad.

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(d) *History of Islam* (Political as well as cultural)

(e) *Arabic literature and language* : Particularly, the modern trends in Arabic literature, essay-writing and proper arrangements for teaching conversational language).

(f) A comparative study of different faiths should be included in the syllabus (It will be necessary to include special subjects for the specialists).

(g) One Enropean language - e. g. German, French or English should be included as an optional subject so that one could be suitably prepared to propagate Islam in Western countries and also understand Western civilization and their literature.

(h) Science should be included as compulsory subject even at the elementary stages.

Vocational and Technical Education : We are not in favour that every student be given a vocational and technical education. This will not only inevitably lead them away from their real goal during learning period, but also they would not be able, on completing their education, to dedicate their lives to religion.

It would be a better proposal that only those students should receive vocational training who are not going to specialize in religious affairs. Those who propose to take up research and writing religious articles as life-long works should not be distracted from this and should be kept away from vocational training. For an ordinary student it would be good that he should receive some technical training in one or the other vocation. In this way they would be able to be self-dependent and not merely confined within Mosques and Madrasah. Whichever field they enter, they will also carry their point of view with them there.

What should precisely this technical and vocational education be? Each institution can select any art of occupational training keeping in view its own convenience and resources, students' ability and conditions under which they are working.

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THE MOGHUL TAMASA

By

KRUSHNA CHARAN BEHERA

Tamasa, a form of folk drama in Orissa, is found to be performed even today at and around Bhadrak in Balasore district of Orissa. It has been named as "Chaiti Tamasa" because of its performance during the month of Caitra (March-April) every year. Banshiballav Goswami, a gifted poet of late 18th century, wrote some Tamasas of which the Moghul Tamasa is very popular.

Most probably, Tamasa was in oral and aural traditions long before the poet Banshiballav put it into written words. But there is no way out now to know the nature and contents of early Tamasas. Had there been no Tamasa-form before him, Banshiballav could not have ventured all of a sudden to write down the scripts for Tamasa-performance. Banshiballav was born in a Brahmin family known for its learning and scholarship, at the village Sangat on the outskirts of Bhadrak. As some circumstancial and other evidences show, he can be placed in the middle of the 18th century. At that time Orissa was under Maratha rule (1751–1803). Since the Moghul regime Bhadrak had become an important administrative and cultural centre in Orissa. It was also a place cf pilgrimage for the goddess Bhadrakali, its presiding deity. The Grand Trunk road from Bengal passed through Bhadrak upto Puri touching Jajpur, Cuttack and Bhubaneswar in the middle. So administrative officers, business executives, military personnels, religious preachers and other cultural leaders were always in touch with this small town. As it was customary at that time, Banshiballav was taught Persian and Arabic besides Bengali, Urdu, Sanskrit and his mother-tongue, Oriya. It was evident from his Mahadeva-tarifs or eulogies of lord Śiva that he was a staunch devotee of Śiva and worshipped his village Śiva-liṅga named "Hatanagar".

It is not known how many Tamasas Banshiballav wrote. But the manuscripts of his seven Tamasas are still to be found at Bhadrak. These are as follows :

(1) *Bheel Tamasa* :

A Bheel in a jungle attacks a Brahmin pilgrim for money and is turned into a pious man through the advice and initiation of the Brahmin. The time of performance of this Tamasa is one whole night.

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(2) *Chehoda Tamasa* :

The Chehodas (sweepers) of a Muslim ruler are not doing their duties under the spell of intoxicants. They quarrel with each other before their supervisors. The Chehodins (wives of Chehodas) come in search of them and are happily united with them. The time of performance is also one whole night.

(3) *Yogi Tamasa* :

An ascetic (yogi) comes with his disciple and is followed by his wife, who persuades him to return to worldly life. But the yogi declines and sets out on pilgrimage with the disciples. Time of performance one is whole night.

(4) *Phakir Tamasa* :

Four Muslim mendicants (phakirs) come back from their piligrimage and describe their experiences. A Hindu phakir also accompanies them. The wives of Muslims phakirs come and rejoice their happy union. Time of performance is one whole night.

(5) *Lolin-Mojabai Tamasa* :

Four Muslim officers come in search of beautiful prostitutes. Two prostitutes named Lolin and Mojabai attract them with postures and gestures. One milk-man comes with his wife to sell milk and milk products. The Muslim officers try to eat away the milk and milk-products forcibly, but the milkman cleverly escapes. At last the Muslim officers retire with the prostitutes. The time of performance is one whole night.

(6) *Radha-Krishna Tamasa* :

Some episodes like hiding of Gopi's clothes by Sri Krishana from Gopalila of *Śrīmadbhāgavata* are performed in this Tamasa for about two hours just after the performance of Moghul Tamasa.

(7) *Moghul Tamasa* :

It is still popular and the only one even now perofrmed among all the extant Tamasas of Banshiballav. The time of its performance along with the performance of Radha-Krishna Tamasa at the end is of the duration of a whole night. The Moghul Tamasa collected and edited by the present author had been published in 1966 by M/S. Bhagabat Press, Bhadrak, Orissa.

In brief the story of the Moghul Tamasa goes like this : At first two (some times four) chopdars or personal attendants of Mirja Sahib (a Moghul or Muslim ruler) come to announce and alert the public that Mirja Sahib is arriving. Mirja Sahib arrives in a procession with pomp and splendour and sits on the decorated throne. He then summons his servants and

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service-holders like vestiwals (waterman), jhaduwala (cleaner), hookawala, pankhawala etc. one after another and hears their complaints through chopdars. The servants do not get their salaries regularly and are not sincere in their duties. All of them are addicts of different intoxicants. They are rebuked and warned by Mirja Sahid.

After gathering informations about the present place and the people, Mirja Sahib boasts of his titles, his intelligence and scholarship, his gardens and estates in order to assert himself. A bard and four Nanaks (Sikh Gurus) come to Mirja Sahib for some financial assistsnce and they are rewarded. Then the local Zamindar is summoned and is ordered to provide Mrija Sahib with goats, beautiful damsels etc. for the latter's feast and merrymaking. The Zamindar tries to fulfil the desires of Mirja Sahib, who being dissatisfied with the Zamindar's gifts summons milk-maids (some times one). When the milk-maids are present, Mirja Sahib approaches them with carnal desires. Being frightened with objectionable dealings of Mirja Sahib the milk-maids flee for rescue.

The Moghul Tamasa is farcical in its tone and temper. It has been a vehicle for satire on the corrupt Muslim administrators, their subordinates, and attendants of the 18th century Orisa. Beneath its playful and humorous exterior, it seems, there is a serious design to laugh at the absurdities of social aberrations. There are about eighteen characters in the Moghul Tamasa, Mirja Sahib being the main character. His extravagance, corrupt practices, erotic and autocratic attitude have been clearly depicted in the play. His dialogues are in corrupt Perisian. Chopdars and other servants of Mirja Sahib speak Urdu, Hindi and Bengali languages. The milk-maids, the Zamindar and his attendants speak in Oriya only. As peculiar to a folk drama, there are more songs in the Moghul Tamasa than prose dialogues, which are often improvised by the performers. No songs in Persian languages are found; they are in Urdu, Hindi, Bengali and Oriya languages. Dances are also frequent.

All the performers of the Moghul Tamasa are male. They come from both the communities–Hindu and Muslim. They are dressed according to their roles. The dress of Mirja Sahib is that of a Nawab, pompous and gorgeous. The Chopdars and other servants of Mirja Sahib wear Muslin dresses. The Zamindar dresses like a Vaishnav and the milk-maids like ordinary Oriya Hindu women.

The Moghul Tamasa is performed usually in front of a temple of Śiva in open-air, with a throne installed on a raised platform for Mirja Sahib. The audiences consisting of Hindus and Muslims alike sit around the acting area on three sides. The teacher or directoı of Tamasa-party along with other

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singers and instrumentalists (asarwala) takes his place on one side of the stage. Asarwalas take active part in singing and playing musical instruments in the Tamasa performance.

As ascertained from its subject matter, languages, place of performance, actors and the audience, the Moghul Tamasa has immensly helped in bringing communal harmony and amity among the people in a particular region of the country for last two hundred years. As such it has paved the way for national integration.

The Tamasas of Orissa may be compared with those of Maharastra. Just like the Moghul Tamasa, Marathi Tamasa as a form of folk drama, flourished during the Maratha regime in the 18th century. " Tamasa came to rely increasingly on lewd gestures and erotic songs and dances."[1] What Balwant Gargi said about Marathi Tamasa can also be said about Oriya Tamasa. Both are farcical and humorous in nature. Songs and dances predominate in both of them. The character of milk-maid in Oriya Tamasa has its counterpart in ' Goalin (milk-maid) of Marathi Tamasa. The stage and auditorium of both the Tamasas are almost of the same pattern.

The Moghul Tamasa very well establishes the Islamic influence on Oriya literature. Orissa came undr Muslim rule in 1568 A. D. From this time onwards for about 200 years of Muslim rule and about 50 years of Maratha regime, Persian enjoyed the status of official language of the province. Other Islamic languages like Arabic and Urdu also had their way. As a result of this the poets and scholars of Orissa were introduced to the rich Islamic literature, about which critics have said : " The aesthetic and poetic values of Islamic poetry depend to a grea textent on form and style, on the artful composition of words, the music of the words, the sophisticated use of similies and metaphors."[2] So an emphasis on style and form in the then Oriya literature was conspicuous. The poetry of Upendra Bhanja and others (the 17th. and 18th centuries) is bright example of this tendency. Pala and Tamasa forms of Oriya folk drama flourished during this period with Islamic influence.

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1. *Theatre in India* Balwant Gargi, Theatre Arts Books, New York (1962) p. 89.
2. *Islamic literature* Najib Ullah, Washington Square Press, New York (1963), Preface, p. XII.

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सूफीमत और ख्वाजा बन्दानवाज़ गेसूदराज़

ए. एच. कादरी

मूलनाम : ख्वाजा बन्दानवाज गेसूदराज का मूल नाम सय्यद मुहम्मद हुसैनी था।[1] उन्हे सय्यद दीवाना, अब्बुलफ़ताह्, सदरुद्दीन शेहवाज आदि उपनामों से भी जाना जाता है।

जन्म : ४ रजब ७२१ हिजरी (३० जुलै १३२१ ई.) दिल्ली

मृत्यु : १६ जिलक़ाद ८२५ हिजरी (१ नवम्बर १४२२ ई.) गुलबर्गा (कर्नाटक)

जन्मस्थान : इनके जन्मस्थान को लेकर किसी भी प्रकारका मतभेद नही हैं। दिल्ली में ही इनका जन्म हुआ था। तुगलक वंश के राज्य की स्थापना के समय दिल्ली चार हिस्सों में बटी हुई थी। १. पुरानी दिल्ली २. सीरी ३. तुगलकाबाद ४. जहाँपनाह इनमे से आपका जन्म जहाँपनाह (आज की नई दिल्ली) खतिर-ए-शेरखाँ में हुआ था।[2] उन दिनों दिल्ली के चार दरवाजे थे, जिन मे से एक बदायूँ दरवाजा था, इसी दरवाजे के निकट इनका मकान था।

पूर्वज : अबुलहसन जुनैदी नामक पहले व्यक्ती हर्रात खुरासान (अरब) से फौज के साथ आये थे।[3] यह बडे ही विद्वान व्यक्ती थे। इनका परिवार दिल्ली में बस गया था। इनकी पीढी में सय्यद अली जुनैदी नामक व्यक्ती हो गए। इन्हे तीन लडके हुए, जिनमे से एक का नाम सय्यद युसुफ राजाहुसैनी था। युसुफ राजाहुसैनी को ही राजू कत्ताल हुसैनी कहा जाता हैं, उनकी मजार खुल्दाबाद (दकन) में है, यह ही गेसूदराज के पिता थे। इस वंश के भारत मे आई हुआी पहली पीढी कें पुरुष अबुलहसन जुनैदी कीं कब्र आज भी दिल्ली की अयाज मस्जीद में है। इनका वंशवृक्ष सहाबी हजरत इम्माम जाफर सादिक (७०२ – ७६५ ई.) तक जा पहुँचता है। इस प्रकार गेसूदराज की वंशावली का आरंभिक सूफियों के साथ जुड जाता हैं।

इनके पिता दिल्ली कें श्रेष्ठ सूफियों में गिने जाते थे। वे निजामुद्दीन औलिया के शिष्य थे। युसुफ हुसैनी एक आदर्श लेखक और कवी भी थे। उनकी पुस्तक तुहपतुननसा, बहुत प्रसिद्ध है। आपने पुत्र बन्दानवाज को सूफीमत की शिक्षा-दीक्षा देने के लिए उन्होने यह पुस्तक लिखी थी।

इस प्रकार ख्वाजा बन्दानवाज का वंश सूफी मतों को मानने वालो के अंतर्गत आता है। इनकी कई पीढियाँ सूफी मतपर दृढ विश्वास रखनें वाली थी। दुसरी और पिता द्वारा काव्य-

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१. गेसूदराज : व्यक्तित्व और कृतित्व - डॉ. ए. एच. कादरी, अप्रकाशित प्रबंध, पृ. ३३
२. सियरे मुहम्मदी - मुहम्मदअली सामानी - अनु. नजीर अहमद, पृ. ७
३. मुकम्मल तारीख़ - ए - इस्लाम - मुफ्ति शौकतअली फ़हमी, पृ. ९५५

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प्रतिभा भीं इन्हे अनुवंशिक रूप से प्राप्त हुयी थी। पिता से इन्हे काव्यसंस्कार और सूफीमत पर अगाध श्रद्धा प्राप्त हुई।

शिक्षा-दीक्षा : चूंकि वे बहुत बडे खानदान से संबंधित थे, और उनके मामू सय्यद इब्राहिम मस्तूफी देवगिरी के सुभेदार थे, इसी कारण इनकी शिक्षा-दीक्षा की व्यवस्था ठीक ढंग से की गई थी। इनकी आरंभिक शिक्षा इनके पिता द्वारा ही शुरु हुई थी। पिताकी मृत्यु के बाद सय्यद सैफुद्दीन कथेली, मौ. ताजोद्दीन, डॉ. शेख अयनुद्दीन गजुलइल्म बिजापुरी[4] काझी मुक्तदिर जैसे शिक्षकों द्वारा गेसूदराज को शिक्षा मिली। और इनके अपने कथनानुसार ख्वाजा नसीरुद्दीन चिराग दिल्ली से इन्हे दीक्षा मिली।

"ख्वाजा नसीरुद्दीन जिन्हे साईयाँ पीव बनाई।[5]"—बन्दानवाज

गेसूदराज की प्रगतिभा, मौलिकता, सेवावृत्ती, वैराग्यवृत्ती सहज संवेदनशीलता और ईश्वर को पाने की जिज्ञासा से गुरु नसीरुद्दीन चिराग दिल्ली अत्यंत प्रभावित होकर ही आयु के ३४ वर्ष मे इ. १३५५ में उन्हे दीक्षा दी थी।

रचनाएँ : गेसूदराज का रचना संसार समृद्ध और विशाल है। उनकें नाम पर कुल १०५ रचनाएँ मिलती है। जो तीन भाषाओं अरबी, फारसी और दक्खिनी में लिखी गई है। इन तीनों भाषाओं पर इनका समान अधिकार था। उनके द्वारा लिखी गई गद्य की हस्तलिखित प्रतियाँ विविध पुस्तकालयों[6] में आज भी सुरक्षित है। अब तक उनकी दक्खिनी की ३० रचनाओंका पता चला है।[7] उनमे से (१) तिलावतिलवजूद (२) दुररे असरार (३) शिकार नामा (४) मेअराजुल आशिकीन कृतियाँ हिन्द्री गद्य की पहली रचनाएँ मानी जाती है, जिस तरह उत्तर में अमीर खुसरो खडीबोली कें आद्य कवि साबित हुए है, ठीक उसी प्रकार दखन में ख्वाजा बन्दानवाज गेसूदराज दक्खिनी हिन्दी के और पर्यायरूपसे खडीबोली या राष्ट्रभाषा हिन्दी के पहले[8] गद्यकार साबित होते है।

मृत्यु : गुलबर्गा (दखन) मे गेसूदराज का देहान्त। १ नवम्बर १४२२ ई. स. को हुआ। रहस्यात्मक साधना, ईश्वर के प्रति जबरदस्त निष्ठा और मानवीय संवेदनशीलता इनमें सदा बनी रही। मृत्यु के आखिरी समय में भी उस वक्त के बहमनी राजा अहमदशा हवली बहमी (१४२२–१४३५ ई.) को बुलाकर इन्होने इतनी ही इच्छा प्रकट की, कि उनके अनुयायिकों—जो हिन्दू और मुस्लिम दोनो मजहबों से संबंधित थे सताया न जाए, "हमारे चाहने वालो के साथ ऐसाही बर्ताव करो जैसा हमने उनके साथ किया है।"[9]

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४. वाकियाते मुमलिकते बिजापुर-बशीर अहमद देहलवी, पृ. ८५
५. हकीकत रामकली-दक्खिनी कलाम बन्दानवाज हस्तलिखित, पृ. १७
६. सालारजंग पुस्तकालय-हैद्राबाद आसफिया कुतुबखाना-हैद्राबाद, कुतुबखाना गैजतैन गुलबर्गा, इदार-ए-अदबियते उर्दू हैद्राबाद
७. गेसूदराज : व्यक्तित्व और कृतित्व-डॉ. ए. एच. कादरी अप्रकाशित प्रबंध, पृ. ६१, ६२
८. गेसूदराज : व्यक्तित्व और कृतित्व-डॉ. ए. एच. कादरी, अप्रकाशित प्रबंध, पृ. ३०७
दक्खिनी हिन्दी काव्यधारा-महापंडित राहुल सांकृत्यायन, पृ. ३
९. गेसूदराज : व्यक्तित्व और कृतित्व, डॉ. ए. एच. कादरी, अप्रकाशित प्रबंध, पृ. ६७

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सूफीमत : सूफीमत के प्रसिद्ध विद्वान निकोलसन के अनुसार-"बसरा का जाहिद (८६९ ई.) पहली व्यक्ती है जिसने सूफी शब्द का प्रयोग किया है।"[10] मासिजो ने माना है की, अब्दक-अल-सूफी (जिसकी मृत्यु ८२५ ई. में हुई) ने प्रथमतः इस शब्द का प्रयोग किया है।[11]

सूफ का अर्थ है उन और सूफी शब्द घरबार रहित, घुमक्कड, दयालु, संतोषी, परहेजगार एवं विरक्त मुस्लिम साधक के लिए प्रचलित हुआ। ऐसे मुस्लिम साधक मोटा ऊनी वस्त्र पहनते थे। शायद इसी कारण सूफी शब्द इस प्रकार के लोगों के लिए चल पडा होगा। ये तपस्वियों की तरह रहते थे और विरक्तिमार्गी और शांतिवादी होते थे।

सूफीमत इस्लाम का एक अंग है। इस्लाम की तरह इसका भी आधार कुरआन और हदीस है इसी कारण सूफी दर्शन इस्लाम के विकास के साथ विकसित होता गया।

ख्वाजा बन्दानवाज ने जिस सूफीमत को जीवित करके उसकी प्रचार और प्रसार किया उसकी बुनियाद, ईश्वर के प्रति सच्चा और निष्कपट प्रेम तथा ईश्वर की ओर ध्यान दिलाना है। इसी प्रकार का तसव्वुफ इस्लाम के आरंभिक काल के सूफियों में पया जाता था। मुहम्मद (स.) की मृत्यु के बाद कुछ ही वर्षो में संन्यस्त वृत्ती के इन लोगों के आसपास धीरे-धीरे अनुयायियों का जमघट सुरू हुआ इन आरंभिक साधकों में अबुहसन हशमी बसरावी (६४३-७२८ ई.) बलख के इब्राहीम बिन अधम (मृ. ७८३ ई.) तथा प्रसिद्ध रबिया बसरी (७१३-८०२ ई.) आदि की गनना होती है।

बन्दानवाज एक सिद्ध साधक के रूप में हिन्दू और मुसलमान दोनों के द्वारा समाहृत थे। आज भी गुलबर्गा (कर्नाटक) में इनकी दरगाह हिन्दू-मुस्लिम दोनों में वैसे ही प्रसिद्ध है जैसे अजमेर मे ख्वाजा मुईनुद्दीन चिश्ती की दरगाह। ख्वाजा मुईनुद्दीन गरीबनवाज आफताबे हिन्द (भारत भास्कर) और गेसूदराज बन्दानवाज शहिंशाह-ए-दकन" कहलाते है।

सूफियों के कारण ही इस्लाम धर्म के अंतर्गत नये दार्शनिक विवेचन की प्रवृत्ती जाग उठी। चिंतनशील साधको ने स्वभावतः अपने आराध्य के स्वरूप, जगतकी रचना के उद्देश और अपना अंतिम लक्ष्य और इन तीनों के पारस्परिक संबध आदि पर ध्यान देना आरंभ किया। ख्वाजा बन्दानवाज और आरंभिक सूफियों द्वारा जिन दार्शनिक तत्त्वोंपर विचार हुआ है जिस में से कुछ तत्त्वों की चर्चा यहाँ की जा रही है।

(१) साधना का मार्ग:प्रेम : संपूर्ण साधना पद्धति में गेसूदराज दो बातों पर सर्वाधिक जोर देते है (१) आत्मचिंतन (२) प्रेम। वास्तव मे सूफियों की साधना ही प्रेमपर आश्रित है। उनकी रति का आलंबन ईश्वर ही है।[12] ख्वाजा बन्दानवाज की सभी गद्य-पद्य रचनाओं के प्रेम की महिमा और एकाग्रता का विवेचन हुआ है, जैसे-" सक मीम की सिफ्त सू

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१०. दि मिस्टिक ऑफ इस्लाम-निकोलसन, पृ. १०८

११. हिन्दी साहित्यकोश-भाग १ रामपूजन तिवारी, पृ. ८६०

१२. सूफीमत और हिन्दी साहित्य-विमलकुमार जैन, पृ. १२८

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आशिक व माशूक किया।"[13] "आल्लाह मुहम्मद बातां करनें इश्क कूं बुलाए। इश्क मुश्ताक होंकर आशिका की बातां माशूक कूं, माशूक की बातां आशिक कूं सुनाए।"[14] "आज बिरहे की आग, मुझ तने लागेंरे।"[15]

(२) ईश्वर प्राप्ति : ईश्वर की प्राप्ति के लिए जो सूफी निकलते हैं वे खुद को सालिक कहते है। सूफीमत इस सालीक के लिए निश्चि साधना पद्धतियाँ बतलाई गयी धीरे-धीरे एक-एक मुकामात से गुजरते हुए उसे आपने अंतिम लक्ष्य परमात्मा के मीलन तक पहुँचना पडता हं, उसे फना-फिल हक कहते है। इमाम गजाली (११११ ई.) लिखते है—"अल्लाह सत्तर हजार पर्दो के भितर है, जिने में कुछ प्रकाशमय और कुछ अंधकारमय है और यदि उन अवरणों को हटाले तो जिस किसी की दृष्टी उसपर पडेगीं वह उसके प्रखर प्रकाश द्वारा दग्ध हो जायगा।"[16]

सालिक के लिए पांच मंजिले—शरिअत, तरीकत, हकीकत, मअरिफत और वहदानियत-प्रमुख माने गए है। वास्तव में इस पाच लोकों की स्थिति सूफियों की कल्पना में है। वे ब्रह्मांड में नहीं वरन् पिंड में ही इन अवस्थाओ के अंतर्गत विहार का आनंद नाथपंथी सिद्धों की भाँति लेते है।

(३) ईश्वर मीलन : "फना व बका"-ज्ञान मार्ग के द्वारा माअरिफत के माध्यम से साधक प्रियतम के वस्ल मे डूब जाता है। और वह फना (लय) दशा में पहुँच जात है। फना मे साधक को "मैं और तू" का ज्ञान नही रखता उसकी सत्ता का लय परमात्मा मे हो जाता है।

नवी शताब्दीके सूफी साधक अलकराज नें फना को साधना की अंतिम स्थिती न मानकर बका को माना है। क्यों की दोनो में ऐक्यहो जाने के बाद इस्क का पूरा पूरा आनंद ही नहीं मिलता। परमात्मा के साथ ऐक्य भी हो और जीवनधारनकर साथ साथ रहना भी हो, तभी इस्क का आनंद मिल सकता है। इस कारण फना के बाद बका की कल्पना कर ली गई है। सूफी साधक क्रमशः शोरीअत, तरीकत, हकीकत औंर फनाकी अवस्थाओं से गुजरते हुए बका की अवस्था में स्थिर हो जाता है। वस्ल (मीलन) फना औंर बकाके पूर्व की स्थिति है। ख्वाजा बन्दानवाज ने इस स्थिति को शब्दबद्ध करनेका प्रयत्न किया है—

"पानीं में नमक डाल बसों देखना इसे।
जब भूल गया नमक तो नमक बोलना किसे॥

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१३. बन्दानवाज कृत दुररे असरार-देखिये गेसूदराज : व्यक्ति और कृतित्व ले. डॉ. ए. एच. कादरी, अप्रकाशित प्रबंध पृ. ७८

१४. बन्दानवाज कृत मेअराणुल आशिकीन-देखिए गेसूदराज व्यक्तित्व और कृतित्व ले. डॉ. ए. एच. कादरी अप्रकाशित प्रबंध पृ. १४७

१५. वन्दानवाज कृत विरह काव्य-देखिए-गेसूदराज : व्यक्तित्व और कृतित्व ले. डॉ. ए एच. कादरी अप्रकाशित प्रबंध पृ. १९९

१६. भारतीय साहित्य की सांस्कृतिक रेखाएँ-परशुराम चतुर्वेदी पृ. १४०

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यों घोले खुदी अपनी खुदा-साथ मुस्तफा।
जब घुल गई खुदी तो खुदा बोलना किसे ||"[17] -(बन्दानवाज)

फना-वका के लिए कुरआन मे यों लिखा है-अर्थं : जो कोई इस धरतीपर है "विनशदान" हैं और तुम्हारे "रब" का प्रतापवान एवं उदार स्वरूप शेष रहेगा।[18]

बायजिद बिस्तामी (मृ. ८७५ ई.) ये सूफीं के अनुसार बौद्ध धर्मावलंवी विचारों को सूफियो ने बहुत सीमा तक स्वीकार किया हैं। बायजिद वेदांन्तियों की भाति एक सत्ता में विश्वास रखता था। "मुझ मे औंर परमात्मामें कोई अंतर नहीं है तथा मैं ही वस्तुतः सत्य-स्वरूप हुं" ऐसा कहकर उसने अपनी भावना का परिचय दिया है। दीक्षाके लिए उसने गुरु का महत्त्व भी प्रतिपादित किया है। विस्तामी के समकालीन मन्सूर-अल हल्लाज (मृ. ९३२ ई.) बिस्तामी, से अधिक क्रांतिकारी और स्पष्टवादी था। उसने ही "अनलहक" अर्थात अहं ब्रह्मास्मि मै स्वयं सत्यस्वरूप हूँ" का नारा बुलंद किया, इसी कारण उसे सूली भी दी गई। वास्तव मे मन्सूरने इस्लाम धर्म की कट्टरता के प्रति विद्रोह का झंडा उठाया था। उसने ही इस्लाम और वेदान्त के मतों में समन्वय लाने की चेष्टा की थी।

(४) ईश्वर और जीव का संबंध : "नहनु अकरबु इलेंही बिन हवलिल वरीद"[19] अर्थ-हम उस (मनुष्य) के जिस्मकी धडकती रग (जीवन शिरा) से ज्यादा उसके निकट है। सूफी पंथ में कुरआनकी इस आयत का अत्यधिक महत्व हैं। इस आयत के अर्थ के कारण ही सूफी अन्य इस्लाम पंथियों की विचारधारा से अलग हो जाते हैं। इस आयत में स्पष्ट किया गया है कि ईश्वर जीव के जिस्म की धडकती रग से भी ज्यादा नजदीक हैं। मतलव ईश्वर और भक्त अत्याधिक निकट हैं। ईश्वर भक्त के भीतर है।

गेसूदराज के अनुसार तिलावातिलवजूद, मे है-"इस तन में मेरा दीदार पाना अगर नै तो ह्यां भी अंधाला आखिरत कूं भीं अंधाला।"

(५) सृष्टि का निर्माण : "कुन्तो कन्जन मखफिअन नाजीतू-हव्वत अिन्ना अरफा फ खलखहुल-खलका" अर्थ : (मैं एक छिपा हुआ खजाना का मैं," ने चाहा कि पहचाना जाऊँ, वस "मै" ने प्रकृतिका निर्माण किया।)

सृष्टि की निर्मिति को स्पष्ट करते समय सूफी कुरआन का हवाला देते है-अव्वला मा खलफल्लाह नूरि-उनके अनुसार सृष्टी की निर्मिती के समय ईश्वर ने प्रथम तेज का निर्माण किया। इस तेज में उसने खुद को देखा और फिर उस से सृष्टि का निर्माण किया और उसके बाद जो पहीली चीज उन्होनें निर्माण की वह मुहम्मद का नूर था। अर्थात इस सृष्टि को मुहम्मद (से) के नूर से पैंदा किया उसके बाद इसी नूर से औरों की निर्मिति की।

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१७. दक्खिनी काव्य-बन्दानवाज हस्तलिखित पृ. ७
१८. कुरआन-सूरे रहेमान आयत २६, २७
१९. कुरआन सूरे काफ़ पा. २६ आयत १६

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ख्वाजाबन्दानवाज ने मेअराजुल आशिक़ीन इस दखनिकी पहली गद्य पुस्तिकामे यूँ स्पष्ट किया है- ऐ मुहम्मद तब खल्क कूं तेरे नूर तू पैदा किया हूँ, बाद इस के नूर के दिव्वे स रोशन किया हूँ इस रोशनाइ में अपनी तस्बीर देखया सो दोनो आलम नूराई नी हौंर रूहानी ।[20]

ख्वाजा बन्दानवाज : की प्रवृति समन्वयात्मक थी, सर्वसामान्य जनता की भाषाको स्वीकार करते हुए वे साधना पद्धति को अधिक सरल और सहज बनाना चाहते थे । भारतीय संस्कृति को भी उन्होने आपनाया जिससे हिन्दू-मुस्लीम समन्वय की प्रक्रिया तेजी के साथ शुरू हुई इस दृष्टि से उनके युग को "एकता और समन्वय के युग का आरंभ" कहा जाए तो वह अनुचित न होगा । उन में जो वैचारिक उदारता और सबको समा लेने की वृत्तिके दर्शन होते हैं ऐसे मानवतावादी विचारों को आज समाज के हर स्तर पर पहुँचाने की आवश्यकता है। ताकि देशमें समन्वय की भावना अधिक दृढ हो सके ।

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२०. मेअराजुल आशिकिन बन्दानवाज-सं. डॉ. अब्दुल हक पृ. ७

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ARABIC ... ON SECTION

TOWFIQUE-AL-HA... ...ER OF ARABIC DRAMA

...LAHI

Nepolean's aggression ... 1798, is considered to be the renaissance of the literary histo... ... language. During the short span of the three years, the Fren... ... only raised the Arabs from their deep slumber, but they also le... ...hem some imperishable imprints on the Egyptian soil, viz, at the first ... ...ey opened some schools, colleges and institutions where the children o... ...my could get education through French language. Secondly for the fi... ... in Egypt they established printing press and publishing houses. Thirdly, the... started issuing two newspapers one in the Turkish (official language of that period) and the other in French. Moreovcr, as to provide recreation to the their army they staged several good French dramas in which the local elite of Cairo city were also invited. Through these plays were in the French language, they opened a new chapter in the history of the Arabic language and the Egyptians realized the utility and significance of drama and considered it as the most effective tool of presenting social milieu and character building of the people.

Mohammad Ali, who succeeded the French, was not in favour of cultural and literary activities, because his main objective, being a military general, was to strengthen the Egyptian army. For this purpose he sent a number of students to the European countries. In due course, these students came into contact with the literary circles of their respective countries. For example, Ismail, a grandson of Mohammad Ali, who got his higher education in France, was of the view that social and cultural revolution is essential for the upliftment of the country. Therefore, he asked Yaqoob Sanu, a Jewish playwright populary known Molier-e-Misr to present the famous play " Aeedah " with the help of the Italian actors and directors at the occasian of the inauguration of Suez canal.

In short the people gradually, became inclined towards the theatrical companies and plays based on Arab-Egyptian history began to be written and staged. Some of the popular plays of that pericd are al-Zurratan, al-Murraowah-wal-Wafa, Salahuddin and Mumlekat-o-Yoroshalam, Nakir-ul-Jameel and Misr-ul-Jadidah-wa-Misr-ul-Qadimah. All of these plays clearly

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reflect the lucidity and vividness ... ge. It was because of these qualities of the Arabic dra... known orientalist, Stelkey praises the advancement of the ... he art of play-writing and commenting on the quality and ... bic plays. He expresses his opinion in the following words : ...

> " Besides looking forw... g Pan-Arab, modern Arabic drama aspires to be inter... Some of al-Hakeem' plays have been translated into ... lish and have been presented in Europe and the U... (*Studies in Modern Arabic Literature*; edited by R ...).

It is evident fron the ... at that Towfique has an edge over all the leading playwrights of ... Arab world and he has rightly been described as the trend-setter o... lern Arabic drama. Many of the experts and the critics have ran... ays at par to those of Shakespeare, Molier, Meterlink and Kālidāsa ... amatic works of Towfique are thought-provoking, illustrating and meaningful, as they depict the various socio-cultural and moral values of the Egyptian and the Arab society. Numerically speaking he has over one hundred plays for his credit.

Towfique was born in Deminhoor town situated in the Bohaire district in Alexandria province in 1898. His father was an Egyptian feudal lord who was married with a Turkish lady belonging to an aristocratic family. For his bright career, Towfique is greatly indebted to his mother who took special care of her child's education. She did not like that her child be brought up as one of those children of the Fallaheen (Egyptian peasants). This is why she sent Towfique to her sister's house in the city of Alexandria. Though the mother was satisfied with this noble deed of hers, the child's mind has always been indulged in thinking about the reasons behind this act. His novel *Yumiyāt nā yab fi ul rayaf* (diary of an inspector based on the happenings of the villages) clearly refelects his interest in the problems of the poor Egyptian peasants. After his graduation Towfique got admission in the faculty of law at the Cairo University where he showed keen interest in writing and presenting dramas. Al-Maraat-ul-Jadidah, Khanam Sulaiman-wa-Ali Baba and al-Zaf-ul-Saqueel are the results of this early period. In latter years, when his father sent him in 1924 to Paris for higher studies in Law, he spent all his time in studying the art of drama which during those days was an essential part of the French society. During his stay of four years in France, though he could not obtain any degree in his specific subject, he became well-versed with the classical and latest technique of the dramatic art and he fully realised the fact that most of the old and new playwrights have borrowed the themes of their masterprieces

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from their own ancient historical sources. Therefore in most of the cases, Towfique did not follow the Bourgeois theatre, though this school of drama was having an upper band during his stay in France and Towfique himself has seen a number of plays presented by this school, and he has had a high opinion about this sort of the plays. Nevertheless as has already been mentioned, he was fully aware of the fact that the structure of drama in very language at its primitive stage had been borrowed from the mythology, super-natural powers and the noble traits of any great historical personality.

The Arabic drama, being at its initial stage was basically void of historical plays Subsequently, Towfique chose the historical plays and started to write and stage such plays in which great personalities of the Arab-Islamic and Egyptian history along with their erros and weaknesses were having the important role, and in fact such was the case of very playwrights of the early twentieth century. For example, Shoqui Bik, poet Laureate, also took great pain to revive his ancient history and wrote six of his seven plays based on the Arab-Egyptian history. About this aspect, Professor Mandoor says :

" It is obvious that Shoqui can not borrow the material for his Arabie plays from the Greek and the Roman history. So all that he can do was to/use his own history is the substance of his famous plays " (al-Masrah by Prof. Mandoor. P. 73)

Yet, contrary to Showqui, Towfique has infused in his plays his own ideas and through the medium of this arts he has successfully, tried to convey his opinion about the life and its implications. His plays clearly, reflect his philosophy of life. Towfique was infact of the opinion that the life in itself is nothing but a name of relations bound between Man and Time and every life has its own time span. Whenever his relationship is annihilated, the life become impossible. Among the plays based on such idea, Ahl-ul-Kahaf occupies an important place.

Ahl-ul-Kahaf is considered as one of the finest plays of the world and has so far been translated into different languages of the world. In the words of the eminent Arab scholar Taha Husain,

" Ahl-ul-Kahaf is the first Arabic drama ever written in the literary history of the Arabs ".

The drama is essetially, based on an old story of the Jews in which it has been described that Ahl-ul-Kahaf (seven christian sleepers) took asylem in a cave due to the tyrany of a Jewish ruler and they slept in the cave nearly about two hundreds and fifty years. After this period when they awoke, they found the world unfit for them and consequently, they decided to sleep again,

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By this simple story Towfique brought home this point that the life can never exist without the time and relevent surroundings for it. In other words the life and time are necessary factors for every individual.

The idea of writing this play was first generated in Towfique's mind during a Friday prayer, when the Khateeb of the mosque described the story of Ashab-ul-Kahaf. Since this story is based on the conflict found between man and Time, Towfique adopted it for his next play. The circumstances in which Towfiqus has written this drama, has been vividly described by him in his famous critical book *Fun-ul-Adab.* Besides it, Towfique himself was of the opinion that the life is the name of a combination of Time and peculiar circumstances. Naturally, he found this story very relevent to express his philosophy of life. Yet in presenting his ideas Towfique never lost grip on the language and he has conveyed his opinion in a chaste and glorified manner. As a result of it drama *Ahl-ul-Kahaf* fulfils every condition of a masterpiece and in this regard Towfique has very successfully followed the classical school. For making it more interesting he has added some other characters in the old story viz, Breiska and her attendant Clylyas.

Apart from it, the style of the presentation adds some more grandeur to the play. The words chosen for the expression are full of meaning and this characteristic is a common feature of every play of Towfique. This is why a number of critics called him "Jahiz-ul-Asr-il-Hadith (Al-Jahiz of the modern age). In short *Ahl-ul-Kahaf* has opened a new chapter in the history of the Arabic literature and almost all of the contemporary writers have expressed his opinion about this splendid work. As Dr. Abd-ul Munim Khefaji says,

> " The play *Ahl-ul-Kahaf* is a very complete dramatic work, in fact it must be regarded as a revolution in the field of Arabic literature "
>
> – P. 21, Majallah " al-Hilal ", Cairo, Nov. 80

The drama *Shahrazad* of Towfique has also an important place in the dramatic history of the Arabic language. It is also based on the famous story of the " Arabian Nights ", but Towfique has given it a philosophical touch by inducting in it his original thoughts. In fact, he is of opinion that a man cannot become perfect without the knowledge obtained by the instinct and the definition of the instinct, according to him, is quite difficult. In fact, our mental faculty has certain limits and boundries and by applying it we can understand only worldly affairs. While the instinct is something else, bottomless and enigmatic. With the help of this idea Towfique actually, wanted to explain the reasons which are mainly responsible for the East and West controversy. In the view of Towfique the major difference between the East

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and the West lies in their sources of information. The Eastern countries believe in the instinct and the supernatural faculty as their sources of knowledge, while the Western people are of the view that our mental faculty is the only source of learning. These two different opinions have been successfully personified in the characters of Shahrzad and Shahryar. Shahrzad represents the East with her profound knowledge of human behaviour. She narrates the stories of the different countries without visiting them as her instinct helps her in doing so. This makes Shahryar puzzled and he becomes curious enough to find out the facts behind this unusual phenomenon. He repeatedly asks his wife, Shahrzad to explain her source of information.

In fact, Towfique has intentionally, selected these two characters from our Islamic History and he has symbolized them : one for the East and the other for the West, so that he can commuuicate his thought very well. in this connection, he has successfully denoted the real situation of the European countries. Hi is quite true in describing that the people of the European countries have broken away their relations with the metaphysical world which is and has always been one of the major sources of our information. Thus, by severing their relations with this eternal source of knowledge, the inhabitants of the West are at present, facing confusion and perplexity. Subsequently, the people of the East are superior to their Western counterparts. We must realize this fact and be proud of having such valuable thing with us. This idea is also a dominant feature of his another famous work, viz., *Usfur-un-min-al-Sharq* (Bird from the East) In spite of passing few years among the Western people, Towfique is totally against their materialistic approach toward the life. Therefore, according to Towfique, the solution of the present crisis lies in the moral and ethical values of the Estern countries. In another place he has explained this point more clearly and said that the East possesses the soul while the West is void of it. In such a way Towfique has advised his countrymen in particular and the Eastern people in general not to feel themselves inferior to the Western people, because the soul of everything is in their possession and whenever the mental faculty of the Western people would exhaust, the people of the East will surely come to their rescue.

Towfique's third important play is *Sulaiman-al-Hakeem*. In this famous work he has strongly pleaded the case of Soloman, the Prophet, and tried to explain that to err is human. Therefore, sometime Soloman also had committed mistaks with a difference that he sooner realized his fault and hurriedly asked for God's forgiveness. In other words, he did not treat the prophets and the messengers of God as supernatural beings. The difference betwee man and the prophet lies in the promptness of repentance. This idea may become a

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controversial but Towfique did not care of it and presented his point of view boldly and in a beautiful language.

In the play, *Sulaiman-al-Hakeem* Towfique has successfully followed the classical school and has used the proper diction for every character, specially in the first act where he has added a self-created story of a fisherman.

Towfique has written more than one hundred plays, subsequently, it is quite difficult to analyse his all dramatic works. He has written both comedy and tragedy and had touched almost all the problems of the human society. Sometime, he describes the conflict of man and the Time and sometime, he writes plays like, *Himar-ul-Hakeem* (The donkey of Hakeem) and *Himar-un-Qala lee* (my donkey said to me). The variety of the topics is also one of the basic characteristic of the Towfique's plays This aspeet of his work has been highlighted by Dr. Abd-ul-Munim Khafaji in the following words,

> *In his above than one hundred plays Towfique has dealt with almost every human problem: political, social., cultural and philosophical. In the same way he has vividly described the relation found between man and the Time and between man and woman at the different stages.*

– Majallah " *al-Hilal* ", Cairo, Nov. 80

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BRAHMAN : A PERSIAN-KNOWING HINDU

By

JAGDISH NARAIN KULSHRESHTHA

Rai Chandra Bhan Brahman was born in a Brahmin family of Punjab in the year 1574 A.D. / 982 A.H. / 1620 B at Lahore. His father, Dharam Das, was a Munshi in the court during the reign of Akbar. Brahman was bred up and brought up by Inayat Khan the SUBEDAR of Lahore. He received his early education of three Rs[1] from Mulla Abdul Karim and practiced Khat-e-Taaliq under the guidance of Banarsi Das, son of Pratap Rai Kayasth who served as Treasury officer and also got his Khat-e-Taaliq corrected from Mulla Ata Ulla. He too learned Khat-e-Shikasta from Jaimal Sudreh. In mysticism, Brahman was the desciple of Mulla Shah Badakhshani and completed his education through the medium of Persian. He used to write the word "Brahman" in two senses, as his surname as well as his pen-name. He composed his verses under the *nom de plume* of Brahman.

Brahman was fortunate enough to have secured the sympathy and favour of the nobles and Emperors of his time such as Inayat Khan, Mir Abdul Karim, Afzal Khan, named Mulla Shukrulla Shirazi, Saadulla Khan Islam Khan, Jafar Khan, Dara Shikoh, Shahjahan and Aurangzeb.

After the death of his beloved patron Afzal Khan, Brahman was presented to the Emperor Shahjahan by Aqil Khan, the nephew of the deceased and, thereafter, he was appointed as a chronicler in the court, of Shahjahan i. e. earlier, before 1645 A. D. Brahman completed his works in his life time as he mentioned them in the beginning of the introduction of Munshaat-e-Brahman e. g. Diwan, Chahar Chaman, Guldaste, Tuhfat'ul Anwar Karname, Majm'ul Fuzla, Tuhfat'ul Fusaha etc.

Chandra Bhan secured fame and popularity in India as well as in foreign countries like Iran and Turan[2] due to his wits and talents as a poet as a calligraphist and a letter-writer. Shahjahan used to call him as *Hindu-e-Farsi Dan*[3] (Persian-knowing Hindu) from the very beginning. His fame lies in his Diwan which is a collection of lyrical poems (Ghazala) and Rubais (Quatrains) and also Masnawis. His Ghazals mostly consist of five couplets

1. Reading, Writing, and Arithmetic.
2. Munshaat H. Fol. No. 2, 2a.
3. C. C. A. Maulana Azad Lib. Fol. No. 60a.

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but some of them ha more than five couplets which are composed by him to praise and felicitate Shahjahan and they may be termed as Qasidas. The most fascinating and striking feature of his Ghazal lies in its simplicity of words. He rites the language of the common men and does not prefer to use staggering hyperbole r resounding similes. The subtle thoughts are expressed in very simple and gaceful style. Unlike other poets, he does not express the mystical and parheistic ideas in a verbose and complicated way. His elegant and natural xpressions are the hall-mark of his lyrics. His lyrical poems attract the reder's mind to ponder, and reader never feels exertion. The following line will fell a vivid light about his simplicity.

Usta-e-Ishiq Hausla Farma-e-Ashiq Ast
Sad Ja Shikast Ta-Ba-lab Amad Fughan-e-Ma.

'The mater of love adds to the courage of lover; our wailings (to love) reached the lips after they broke at a hundred places.'

Dr Kuhna Zaat Reh Nabur'd Aqul-e- Durbin
Ju Ajaz Chist Tuhfa-e- Dar Gah-e- Kibriya.

'The farseeking intellect traversed into the realm of the essence of the eternal being,

Nothing but humility is the gift of the court of the most blessed.'

Some of the verses of Brahman in respect of the vedantic thoughts which wereassimilated with Sufism are as follows,

Ae Bar Tar Az Tasawur wa Waham wa Gumcn-e-Ma
Ve Darmiyan-e Ma wa Barun Az Miyan-e- Ma.

'Oh, One who is beyond our imagination, supposition and concept,
Oh, Thou art amongst us and still beyond us.'

Har Nafas Bu-e Muhabat Ayed Az Guftar-e-Ma
Mitawan Fahmeed Az Guftar-e-Ma Miqdar-e-Max.

'Every moment smell of love comes out of our speech,
One could understand from our talk, our worth and value.'

Dar Tariq-e- Ishq Be Koshish Be Matlab Mi Rasad,
Har Ke Tark-e-Madua Ra Madua Daniste Ast.

'Whosoever considers the abondonment of objective as its realisation would attain his aim in the path of love without an effort.'

Benay-e-Qisr-e- Jahan Ra Sabaat Mumkiu Nist,
Ba Juz Asas-e- Muhabat Dair Buniyad Ast.

'Durability cannot be visulalised for the foundation of the Palace of the world.

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It is the basis of love alone which is strong in foundation.'

Harke Darad Hawis-e- Ishq Nishani Ba Au-st,
Choon Gule-e- Lala Be Dil Dagh Nihani Ba Ust.

' Whosoever posseses the desire of love, has a sign from Him (GOD)
Just as the flower of Tulip has a hidden scar in its heart.'

Brahman's poetical renderings with those of other Hindu versifiers, would at once reveal that the former's poems in general stand much superior in quality and worth, both in matter of content and thought, as well as in point of form and diction. Brahman exhibits originality and poetical sensibility far above the average. Firstly, we find that Brahman's literary output is much greater as compared to that of ther contemporary Hindu poets. The bulk or the larger part of his hitherto known works has come down to us, while in the case of others, only selected or fragmentary portions have been preserved and those do not present a very encouraging or appealing image. Mirza (or Muhammad) Manohar, poetically surnamed *Tausani* is, no doubt, a talented poet of Akbar's time but his ideas and poetical form are not as mature, and impressive as those of Brahman. For instance, he employs in the couplet, cited below, the epithet (phrase of words, combination) *Sharbat Asha Ma* (addressing or calling the beloved as one who drinks or enjoys beverage) which is quite apparently, queer and odd. He writes with a slight touch of obscurity.

Sharbat-e-Asha Ma Miya Dar Bazm-e-Ma Darad-e-Kashan,
Ke Az Jigar Dar Kafe Kabab Wa Khoon-e-Dil Dar Saghar Ast.

' Oh, Thou who sippest sherbit, do not visit the assembly of us who drink the lees.

For our livers supply us with roastmeat, and the wine cup is filled with our heart's blood.'

Sheikah Mustaghni Be Din wa Brahman Maghroor - Kufr,
Mast-e- Husn-e-Doost Ra Ba Kufr Wa Iman Kar Nist.

' The sheikh is oblivious of his religion, the Brahman brags of his idolatry,

He who is intoxicated with the beauty of the Friend has nothing to do with the idolatry or fidelity.'

His ideas are originally dull and are devoid of any charm, while Brahman's verses possess freshness of expression and beauty and subblimity of ideas. Another poet is Anandi Das Kayasth, poetically named *Aql-e-Kul.* Although from the following verses of a Qasida, he appears to be quite

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pedantic and forceful in the expression of his feelings or ideas of praise for his patron, for whom he writes, he basically lacks that inner charm which is the essence of poetry. Much of his poetical composition has not come down to us, we have to content ourselves with the citation of the following verses only, which quite obviously reveal the versifier as a philosopher rather than a poet.

Jamal-e- Husn-e- Tu Be Giraft Arsa-e- Aafaq,
Chu Seet-e- Adl-e - Shahanshas -e- Malik-e- Gihan.

'The grace of the beauty, O, my beloved, has captured the entire span of this univers,

Like the fame of the justice of the Emperor who is the master of the world.'

Be Dars Gah-e- Kamal-e- Tu Aql-e- Kul Talmiz,
Wale Sabi-e- Nau Amoz Wa Tifl-e- Abjad Khawan.

'At the school of thy accoplishment (perfection) even, " Aql-e-Kul is in the position of a pupil (student);

Like a child who has started learning and a boy who reads the letters."

Brahman whose canvas of ideas is very wide and possesses variety of theams.

Konin Ra Ba Khalwat-e- Dil Reh Nami Dahad,
Azada Ae Ki Tark-e- Tamanna Girafte Ast.

'A free lancer, who has abandoned all desires, does not allow the two words entry into the solitude of the heart.'

Ba Gushatde Chu Dar Sahan-e- Chaman Band-e- Qaba Ra,
Bu-e- Degar Afzood Dam-e- Bad-e- Saba Ra.

'When the beloved unfastened the band of her gown in the courtyard of the garden, the sweet-smelling breeze acquired fresh wave of fragrance.'

Some verses of Brahman speak of and indicate such elegance, subs limity and terseness of thought and diction that they fall in point of value much higher than the verses of other Hindu poets of his time. Such lines are as the proof of the statemet.

Hadees-e- Ishq, Human Bah-ke Taa Bayan Na Rasad,
Ba Dil Hamesha Buwad Sabt wa Bar Zaban Na Rasad.

'It is better if the discourse of love is not given over to expression. It is always imprinted at heart, but does not reach the tongue.'

Ze Talkhi Ha-e- Shirin An-che Bar Farhad Me Aayad.
Agar Ashiste Guyam Sang Dar Faryad Me Aayad.

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'What befelt Farhad due to the vicissitudes of Shirin,

If I were to speak gently about it the very stone is prone to wail.'

Baarha Bue-e- Riya Aamad Zi Naqh-e- Bu Riya,
Bar Zamin Mannand Naqsh e- Bu- Riya Bayad Nashisht.

'The texture of rush- mat produces the smell of hypocrisy on several occasions,

One should sit on the ground like the texture of the rush- mat.'

Another poet is Rai Pran Nath, having the pen-name, "Aram". Some lines of a Ghazal of his are reproduced below to point out the degeee of merit, he possessed as a poet in contrast and comparission with Brahman.

Che Shud Gar Muflisam Farman Rawa-e- Haft Iqlim,
Haruf Sikka Am Amma Na Dar Band-e- Zar Wa Simvm.

'What difference does it make if I happen to be poor, in fact I am the commander of the seven climes.

Though I am like the letters engraved on the coins, but I am free from the bondage of gold and silver.'

Umarest Ke Az Khuwahish-e- Konin Guzeshtem,
Har loh-e- Tamanna Be Nawisand Ze Ma Heech.

'A very long time has passed since we have denounced or detached ourselves from the desires of the two worlds.

On the tablet of aspiration, they would inscribe naught with relation to ourselves.'

Even some poets of the period of Shahjahan like Surat Singh Shahjahani and Ram Chand of whom Brahman, himself makes mention in his *Chahar Chaman*, fall too short to be able to stand on par with Chandra Bhan Brahman in poetical elegance. Brahman has quoted the following couplet in respect of Surat Singh,

Madar Gar Na Nehad Bar Sitoon Khane Au,
Chequne kheme Zanad Charkh Be Madar Buland.

'If they do not fix up the pivot on the pillar of his dwelling places,

How then does the pivotless sky put up its tent so high.'

In the case of Ram Chand Brahman gives the following two lines as specimen.

Bar Aan Saram Ke Digar Uzalat Ikhtyar Kunam,
Chu Naqsh khane Ba Yak Gushe Qarar Kunam.

'I have firmly resolved that I should retire to the corner of seclusion,

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And should confine myself to a cornar like the figure of the house.'

Tamam Karam Wa Az Man Hazar Kar Aayad,
Kasi Ke Kaar-na farmayadam Che kar Kunam.

'I am the source of all actions and thousand affairs are accomplished through me, if no function or deed is assigned to me, it is certainly no fault of mine. What can I do?'

From what we have noted above it is, however, conclusively proved that Brahman by virtue of his calibre and aptitude as a master poet-cum-writer, undoubtedly, ranks among the most distinguished exponents of the Indo-Persian school of Persian poetry.

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PALI AND BUDDHISM SECTION

DHARMAKĪRTI ON RELATIONS

By
V. N. JHA

In the process of generation of a cognition relation plays an important role. In realism it is an utter imopssibility to acquire an expressible cognition without the ontological reality of a relation. An idealist on the other hand, can do away with a relation. Dharmakīrti who prepared a logical ground to argure in favour of realism, going by the name of the philosophy of Yogācāra, wrote an independent treatise called *Sambandhaparīkṣā* in order to deny all relations proposed by a realist. In the present paper, an attempt is made to go into the reason which compelled Dharmakīrti to do so.

Before analysing the arguments of Dharmakīrti it is necssary to discuss the position of the realists like the Naiyāyikas with regard to the ontological status of a relation. Is relation a reality? positive is the answer of the Naiyāyikas. Why should it be accepted at all? The Naiyāyikas start replying to this question by forwarding the following proof of Inference :

> *visiṣṭabuddhiḥ viśeṣaṇa-viśeṣya-sambandha-viṣayā,*
> *viśiṣṭabuddhitvāt,*
> *daṇḍipuruṣa iti Viśiṣṭabuddhivat.*[1]

Any knowledge which shows a qualifier-qualificand structure has three elements in it as its object, namely, the qualifier, the qualificand and a relation that connects the qualifier and the qualiftcand. The knowledge, namely, 'the man with a stick' has accordingly three things such as the stick, the man and the contact between the stick and the man

There is also another logical assumption in the system of realism that the object of a true knowledge must be an ontological fact or reality. It is further assumed that such a real entity causes the cognition in presence of the necessary conditions.[2] It is this assumption that does not allow the knowledge of sky-flower and conversely does not allow to posit an entity called sky-flower.

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1. *Siddhāntamuktāvali*, Chowkhamba Edn, 1972, pp. 54–55.
2. *Viṣayanirūpyaṁ hi jñānam.*

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Thus from the above mentioned syllogism of the Naiyāyikas we are to accept a relation because without that we cannot explain a true and expressible cognition.

Naturally, if a cogniton which is consistent with our behaviour is to be true we must accept a relation. This will be the stand of the realists.

Such a relation is of various types. A relation can be a contact occurring between too substances. Inherence is another relation accepted by the Naiyāyikas[3] between quality and substance, action and substance, whole and its parts, generic character and the individuals and between particular (*viśeṣa*) and parmanent substances. Where neither contact nor inherence can be accepted as a relation the Naiyāyikas accept a relation called *svarūpa* in order to explain a *viśiṣṭabuddhi*.[4] This relation will vary from case to case depending upon the relata.

Again there are other types of relations. Let us consier the following :

1. *tantuḥ paṭasya kāraṇam*
2. *daṇḍaḥ ghaṭasya kāraṇam*

Here we are characterising *tantu* and *paṭa* and *daṇḍa* and *ghaṭa* in terms of cause and its effect which mutually describe each other. Unless there is a relation in the above mentioned cases neither thread can be said to be the cause of cloth nor cloth can be said to be the effect of thread. Similarly, the stick cannot be termed as cause and the pot cannot be termed as effect. Thus it is required to accept a relation called *kāryakāraṇabhāva*. Likewise the Naiyāyikas accept other relations such as *nirūpya-nirūpaka-bhāva* and the like.

These are the relations which can be termed as direct relations. The Naiyāyikas also accept indirect relations such as *sāmānādhikaraṇya* (co-existenciality) and the like.

All these relations are ontological facts on which depend our true cognitions on which depend our consistant behaviour. This seems to be the realists' stand-point.

Let us now see how Dharmakīrti looks at the relations. He says that if something is a relation it should be of any of the following types. In other

---

3. The Mīmāṃsakas, though realists, do not accept inherence. In stead, they accept a relation called *tādātmya* which is described as a relation such as identity-cum-difference (*bhedasahiṣṇu-abheda* or *bhedaghaṭita abheda*). In any case, relation here is accepted as real one.

4. For instance, the knowledge the ground with the absence of a pot has *svarūpa saṁbandha* as one of its objects because without the relation the absence of pot can not be called the qualifier of the ground.

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words, if something is a relation it will have any of the following characteristics :

1) Dependency is a relation.[5]
2) Amulgamation or contact is a relation.[6]
3) Expectancy is a relation.[7]
4) Cause - and - effect relationship is a relation.[8]
5) That which exists in two things is a relation.[9]

But none of these natures of a relation is possible to be established and so there is no ontological reality of a relation.

If it is accepted that dependency is a relation one must prove that an object depends on it. But it is not a reality because in that case there are two alternatives :

a) either the two relata say, x and y, have a relation, say, z after x and y have already accomplished their forms,

b) or before that.

(a) is not possible because when x and y have already accomplished there is no dependency as such.[10] (b) is obviously absurd because when x and y have not assumed their forms they do not exist and as such the question of existence of a relation between them does not arise.[11]

Contact also cannot be a relation because contact with what ? If you say that one *paramāṇu* is connected with other *paramāṇu*, the next question can be put as follows :

Whether such a relation is total amulgamation of one with the other, or not. If you say yes then two *paramāṇus* will form only one *paramāṇu*; and if the contact is with a part only then also we can ask the following :

Whether such a part is identical with the whole or not. If you say yes, then it is not possible because no part will be left separately and thus contanct cannot be established as a relation. Naturally, you will have to treat

5. *Pāratantryaṁ hi saṁbandhaḥ*, *Saṁbandhaparīkṣā*, Verse no. 1, *Dharmakīrtinibandhāvali*, ed. by Dvārkānātha Sāstrī, *Bauddhabhārati*, Varanasi, 1972, hereafter referred to as *SaPa*.

6. *Rūpaśleṣo hi saṁbandhaḥ*, *SaPa*.

7. *Parāpekṣā hi saṁbandhaḥ*, *SaPa*. 3.

8. *Kāryakāraṇabhāvo' pi (saṁbandhaḥ)*, *SaPa* 7.

9. *Dviṣṭho hi kaścit saṁbandhaḥ*, *SaPa*. 11.

10. *Siddhe kā paratantratā*, *SaPa*. 1.

11. *Saṁbandhinor abhāve saṁbandhāyogāt*, *Prabhācandra* (Commentary on *SaPa*. printed together), p. 139

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parts and wholes as different. Then again, the same question will be put whether the contact between the part and the whole is total or partial. If total, then again no part is left with which contact is possible. If partial then again the chain of questions will arise leading to *ad infinitum*. Therefore, contanct cannot be a relation in reality.[12]

Likewise expectany also cannot be a relation. Because if *x* is said to expect *y*, two questions can be put : Whether (a) being existent x expects existent y or (b) without being existent x expects y ?

One cannot maintain the second alternative obviousely because in that case two fictitious things also will have a relation which is naturally fictitious. The first alternative is also not possible because when x and y are already in existence it proves that x does not require y. Thus hardly there is a relation called expectancy.[13]

Similarly, there can be no relation called cause-and-effect. Because (1) a relation should exist in two things and it is not true with regard to this cause-and-effect relationship because when that which is called as cause exists, the other relatum called effect does not exist.[14] (2) If it is said that cause and effect mutually describe each other and so such a relation exists in cause and effect in sequence, this is impossible because without requiring either effect or cause for its locus the relation of cause and effect is said to exist either in cause only or in effect only. And that which exist either in *kāraṇa* or *kārya* cannot be said to be a relation.[15] (3) There is no chance of occurring of such relation in sequence, say, first in cause and then in effect because in that case it will mean that the cause is in need of an effect and cause requires that effect shoud necessarily produce something in cause. But such a help is difficult to be prodnced by effect because at the time of cause there is no effect.[16] (4) If it is argued that since *x* and *y* are related to something *z*, *z* and *y* are called cause and effect restectively, it will lead to a very absurd situation. In that case, since say,number two is related to two things you should accept that one is the cause and the other is the effect which is an absurdity.[17] (5) If one argues that when it is observed that without something

12. *Rūpaśleṣe hi saṁbandho. dvitve sa ca kathaṁ bhavet, Sapa.* 2.
13. *Parāpekṣā hi saṁbandhaḥ, so' sau katham apekṣate |*
Saṁś ca sarvanirāsaṁśo, bhāvaḥ katham apekṣate || SaPa. 3.
14. *Kāryakāraṇabhāvo' pi tayor asahabhāvataḥ*
prasiddhyati kathaṁ dviṣṭho' dviṣṭhe saṁbandhatā katham, SaPa. 7.
15. *Saṁbandho naikavṛttiman, SaPa.* 8.
16. *Yady apekṣya tayor ekam anyatrāsau pravartate*
upakārī hy apekṣyaḥ syāt kathaṁ copakaroty asau, SaPa. 9.
17. *Yady ekārthābhisaṁbandhāt kāryakāranatā tayoḥ*
prāptā dvitvābhisaṁbandhāt savyetaraviṣāṇayoḥ, SaPa. 10.

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say, *x*, *y* does not come into existence, it is necessary to accept a relation called cause-and-effect It is not necessary because even without accepting an entity called relation over and above *x* and *y* one can call *x* and *y* by the name of cause and effect on the basis of the presence and absence of *x*, causig presence and absence of *y*. What is the need of accepting an unreal relation ?[18]

Nor can it be argued that how *x* and *y* are called *kāraṇa* and *kārya* without accepting a reltion between the two or in other words how diflerent things which have thier individual names are called by the name of *kārya* and *kāraṇa* ? It all depends on the speaker to give a particnlar name to thing in the way he looks at that particular thing. This does not establish a relation called *kāryakāraṇabhāva*.[19]

Since *kāryakāraṇabhāva* cannot be established as a relation over and above the relata, no relation of the type of inherence, contact etc. can be establaished as real entities. The contact between the two threads is treated as non-material cause with reference to the effect namely, the cloth by the Naiyāyikas. Similarly, a whole is produced in its parts by the relation of inherence. Parts are the cause of the whole. In other words, there is cause-and-effect-relationship between parts and whole. This is what the Naiyāyikas think. In this way the function of relation is shown by the realists. But none of these relations can be established as a reality because there is no reality of cause and effect relationship itself. Nor can we establish the reality of an expressible cognition in such situation.

Moreover, if *x* and *y* are called cause and effect respectively one can ask the following quastions :

(1) Whether *x* and *y* are different from each other
or (2) *x* and *y* are identical.

(1) is not true because in that case x and y are settled with their own existence. (2) is also not true obviously.[20]

If the Naiyāyikas argue that they call *x* and *y* as cause and effect respectively not because of the above ground but because there is a relation

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18. *Tāv* (= *bhāvābhāvau*) *eva, Karaṇatātra kim, SaPa*. 12.

Here *bhāvābhāva* srands for what is known as *anvaya-vyatireka* i. e. *tat-sattve tat--sattvam, tadabhāve tadabhāvaḥ*. Dharmakirti wants to point out that the *anvaya-vyatireka* of *x* and *y*, is nothing more than a condition and so there is nothing called a relation between *x* and *y*.

19. *ayaṁ śabdo niyoktāram samāśritaḥ, SaPa*. 12.

20. *bhinne kā ghaṭanā'bhinne kāryakāraṇatāpi kā SaPa*. 18.

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called cause and effect, it is also not tenable. Because the so-called cause-and-effect relationship also requires another relation for its connection with both cause and effect. It amounts to saying that there is no direct relation called cause and effect in reality and so the cognition which reveals two things x and y as connected is an illusion.[21]

Thus, if there is a direct relation between x and y that relation should connect x and y without any via-media but it is never the case. The Naiyāyikas say that x and y are connected with each other by the relation z only if z is related to both x and y by some other relation. Naturally, it is clear that z has no direct relation with x and y. Therefore, any cognition that reveals a direct connection between x and y has to be an illusion.

It is further argued by Dharmakīrti that if it is said that since x and y are going to produce z and so x and y are called connected, it is absurd because how can they be called so before z comes into existence. Not only that, if such a situation is accepted then any other factor responsible for z is also to be called connected, because it too produes z.[22]

Over this the Naiyāyikas may clarify the position that it is not our intention. What we intend is that which maintans z is called connected and all factors.

To this Dharmakīrti says that what you call maintenance is not anything more then *anvayavyatireka*. There is nothing called *sthiti* (maintenance) as an entity.[23] Thus a cognition that reveals a connection is not real and coversely a relation is not a reality. It is nothing more than an imagination.

From the above description two quastions emerge : (1) why should Dharmakīrti be all out to deny a ɹelation ? And (2) how could he succeed in doing so ?

The answar to the second question will help us know the motive of Dharmakīrti. He started with a premisis that any expressible cognition has connection with name and form which are mental postulates and have no real external existence and since our all consistent behaviour is with such illusory objects it is false. Thus, the cognition which can be expressed is false. Naturally, *viśiṣṭajñāna* is false. If a cognition of the type of qualifier-and-qualificand is false, automatically the objects appearing in such a cognition

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21. *bhāve hyanyasya viśliṣṭau śliṣṭau syātām katham ca tau*, Sapa. 18.

22. *Saṁyogajane' piṣṭau tataḥ saṁyoginau na tau / karmādiyogitāpatteḥ*, SaPa. 22.

23. SaPa. 22 simply contains *sthitiś ca prativarṇitā* which is commented upon as *granthāntare pratikṣiptā, sthāpyasthapakayoḥ janyajanakatvabhāvāt nānyā sthitir iti*, Prabhācandra, p. 149.

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lose their reality and consequently the relation presented in the cognition has to be treated as illusosy and not real.

In this way once it is proved that a relation is false no reality of the external existence of the word can be established. Because if it is false it does not exist outside, if it does not exist outside it has no capacity to become a cause with reference to the production of a cognition and thereby the realists' slogan namely, *jñānādhīnā vastusattā* becomes empty.

Therefore, to me it appears that since Dharmakīrti wants to establish idealsism of the type of Yogācāra Philosophy he has no other alternative left than to deny all relations on the basis of which the realists will explain a qualified cognition on the basis of which again, the reality of the world will be established by ȝhem. The assumption of the realists that a cognition is produced by the external object cannot be accepted by the idealists.

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भावना-क्रम : भोट देश में एक भारतीय पण्डित की एक कृति ।

ज्ञलछेन नमडोळ

सामान्य परिचय

भावना क्रम बौद्ध साधना का एक अतीव महत्त्वपूर्ण ग्रंथ है। भोट देश के साधकों में इसका बहुत सम्मान है। इसकी रचना भारत के सुप्रसिद्ध विद्वान आचार्य शान्तरक्षित के अद्वितीय शिष्य आचार्य कमलशील ने की। वह सम्राट ठि-सोङ देउ-वन् (८०२–४५) के शासन काल में लगभग ८३० के बाद में भोट देश पहुंचे थे। उस समय इन आचार्यो ने बौद्ध धर्म के मूल-स्रोत भारत वर्ष से विशाल विद्याराशि को भोट-भाषा में अनुवाद कराने की प्रणाली का समुचित विस्तार किया।

विशेष रूप से आचार्य कमलशील भोट-देशीय बुद्धशासन के बडी प्रतिष्ठा वाले महान सुधारक माने जाते हैं, क्योंकि इन्होने गुरु शान्तरक्षित के देहान्त के बाद बुद्ध शासन पर महत्वा-कांक्षी चिनी भिक्षु ह्वशांङू. आदि के द्वारा उपदिष्टविपरीत दृष्टि मालाओं का उन्मूलन करकें यथार्थं सिद्धान्तभूत भगवान बुद्ध की अभिप्राय-निष्ठाओं पर अत्यन्त सुस्पष्ट प्रकाश डाला।

आचार्य कमलशील ने "बुसम्-यस्" नामक महाविहार मे अपने शिष्य सम्राट की प्रार्थना पर भावना-क्रम की रचना की। यह ग्रंथ मध्यमक दर्शन पर आधारित भावनाविधि से सम्बद्ध है, जो तीन क्रमों में विभक्त है। यह मूलतः संस्कृत भाषा मे लिखा गया था, जिसका भारतीय पण्डित प्रज्ञा-वर्म तथा तिब्बत के लोचावा ये-शेस्-दे (ज्ञानसेन) ने मिलकर संस्कृत से भोट भाषा में अनुवाद किया। आज भी यह ग्रंथ भोट भाषा मे प्राप्त संस्करण "स्दे-दूगे" ("कि पृ. २२–६८ ग्रंथ सं. ३९१५–१७") स्नर्-थङ्. ("ह") पींकिंग (खण्ड १०२ ग्रंथ सं. ५३१०–१२) आदि में सुरक्षित है।

यह ग्रंथ आचार्य कमलशील ने मूलतः तीन भागों में संस्कृत मे लिखा था-किन्तु सम्प्रति यह ग्रंथ पूर्णतः अपनी मूल भाषा में प्राप्त नही होता प्रो. टूची ने "भावना क्रम" प्रथम तथा तृतीय की पाण्डुलिपियों की खोज करके किसी प्रकार रोमन लिपि में उसे छपवाया है।[1] प्रथम भावना-क्रम के आदि तथा अन्त के अंश संस्कृत में नही है। केवल तृतीय ही पूर्णतः प्राप्त है, किन्तु द्वितीय का तो संस्कृत में अंशमात्र भी उपलब्ध नही होता। हां, यत्र तत्र इसमे उद्धृत अंश संस्कृत में प्राप्त कुछ मूल सूत्रो मे अवश्य मिल जाते है, किन्तु वे अत्यल्प है।

"तिनों भावना-क्रमों का संक्षिप्त अभिधेय"

सामान्यतः भावना-क्रम प्रथम तथा द्वितीय मे पहले महाकरुणा तथा बोधिचित्त की भावना और उसे उत्पन्न करने के नियमों का समुचित रूप से निर्देश किया गया है। इस के बाद तीनों भावनाक्रमों मे ध्यान कें स्वभाव वाले शमथ तथा प्रज्ञा की स्वभाव वाली विपश्यना की भावना करके शमथ तथा विपश्यना की युगल-समाधि की प्राप्ति उल्लिखित है, जिसकी भावना

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१. खण्ड २, रोम, इस, एम्. ई. ओ., १९५८ तथा खण्ड ३, रोम, इस्, एम, ई. ओ. १९७१

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से अन्त मे पुण्य-सम्भार तथा ज्ञान-सम्भार की परिपूर्णता करके सर्वज्ञ-पद प्राप्ति का भावनाक्रम विधिपूर्वक निर्दिष्ट है. किन्तु आचार्य कमलशील ने सम्राट ठि-सोङ-देउ-चन् के प्रश्नो[2] तथा मुख्य अभिधेयों की दृष्टि से तीन भावनाक्रमों की रचना की थी। उसकें मुख्य अभिधेयों का संक्षेप इस प्रकार है–

सर्वज्ञता की प्राप्ति शीघ्र ही करनें कें इच्छुक प्रेक्षावानों को यह जानना चाहिये कि जिस के उद्देश्य अनिवार्यतः हेतुप्रत्ययों पर आश्रित है, उन्हे भी अभ्रान्त तथा सम्पूर्ण हेतु प्रत्ययों का सेवन करना चाहिये। फल रूपी सर्वज्ञता के मुख्य हेतु प्रत्ययों महाकरुणा, बोधिचित्त तथा भूतप्रत्यवेक्षण अर्थात सम्यक् दृष्टि इन तीनों की शिक्षा लेनी चाहिये। बुद्ध के अवशेष धर्मो का मूल महाकरुणा ही होने के कारण सर्वप्रथम उसकी ही भावना करनी चाहिये। त्रिलोक में विवरण-करनें वाले सभी सत्व विविध दुःखों से यथानुकुल दुःखी ही है, इस प्रकार से सभी सत्त्वों की भावना करनी चाहिये। नारक, प्रेत, तिर्यंक्, मनुष्य, देव आदि के क्रम से अपने-अपने दुःसह अविच्छिन्न, दीर्घकालिक तथा तीव्र दुःखो की स्थिति सोचकर इन सभी दुःखो से मुक्त कराने की इच्छा वाली महाकरुणा तथा सभी सुखों से युक्त कराने की इच्छा वाली मैंत्री की भावना को महत्त्व प्रदान करते हुये निरूपण किया गया हैं।

इस प्रकार महाकरुणा की भावना के बल से सभी प्राणियों कों अनुत्तरसम्यक् सम्बोधि में स्थापित करने की प्रतिज्ञा लेकर जगत हित के लिए अनुत्तरसम्यक् सम्वोधि को प्राप्त करने की इच्छा वाले बोधिचित्त को उत्पन्न करना चाहिए। इसके बाद षट्पारमिता आदि बोधिसत्त्व-चर्या की शिक्षा होनीं चाहिए विशेष रूप से समस्त आवरणों का प्रहाण करने के लिए भूतप्रत्य-वेक्षण अर्थात सम्यग्-दृष्टि का अवबोध होना अत्यन्त आवश्यक है। जिसके बारे में तीनों भावना-क्रमो में ध्यान के स्वभाव वाले शमथ तथा प्रज्ञा के स्वभाव वाली विपश्यना की भावना करने के बारे मे विस्तार पूर्वक वर्णन हुआ है।

शमथ की तों चित्त के बाह्य विषयों मे विक्षेप का प्रशमन करके अभ्यन्तर आलम्बन में दीर्घकाल तक अनायास रूप से प्रवृत्ति होती हैं। काय तथा चित्तप्रश्राब्धियों से युक्त आलम्बन पर एकाग्रता चित्त को 'शमथ' कहते हैं। उसके बल से निर्वायु मे रखे प्रदीप की भांति विकल्प-वायु से चित्त की चंचलता नही हो सकती हैं। उसी शमथ का आलम्बन करते समय जो तत्त्व का विचार है वही विपश्यना है। उसके बल से अन्धकार मे सूर्योदय की भांति सभी धर्मों की वस्तुस्थिति तत्त्व का यर्थावत् अवबोध होने के कारण सभी कुदृष्टि-जालो का प्रहाण हो जायेगा।[3]

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२. क-श्रुति, चिन्तन, तथा भावना के माध्यम से नैरात्म्य मे निर्णय किया गया धर्म किस प्रकार का हो?।
ख-इसके अर्थ की एकाश्रय मे भावना करने की इच्छा हो तो कैसे की जायेगी?।
ग-इसकी भावना से किस प्रकार का फल होता है?।

३. तस्मात् सकलावरणप्रहांणयिनीं शमथविपश्यने सेवनीये। शमथबलेन स्वालम्बने चित्तम् अप्रकम्प्यं भवति निवातस्थितप्रदीपवत्। विपश्यनया यथावद् धर्मतत्वागमात् सम्यग् ज्ञापनालोकः समुत्पद्यते। ततः स्वसमा आवरणं प्रहीयते। अंधकारवद् आलोकोद्यात्। द्र- भा. क्र. तृ. जी. टूची. (खण्ड ३ पृ. १)

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चित्त-सन्तति ये सर्वप्रथम शमथ तथा उस के बाद विपश्यना उत्पन्न करनी चाहिए। इन दोनों के सिद्ध हो जाने पर दोनो की एक साथ भावना कराने वाली समाधि उत्पन्न होती है, जिसको "शमथ-विपश्यनायुगल-समाधि" कहा जाता है। यह स्थिति अत्यन्त महत्त्वपूर्ण होती है। इस अवस्था में किये गये कुशल कर्म अत्यन्त बलवान होते हैं, तथा महाफल देने वाले होते हैं। श्रावक, प्रत्येकबुद्ध एवं बोधिसत्त्व इन तिनो यानो में जितने भी गुण कहे गये हैं, वे सब शमथ तथा विपश्यना की भावना के फल है,[4] इससे पंचमार्ग तथा दश-भूमियों को क्रम से निष्पन्न करके अन्त में दोनो सबीज आवरणों का उन्मूलन तथा शीघ्रता से दोनों सम्भारो की परिनिष्पत्ति करके फलरूपी चार काय तथा पञ्च ज्ञान से युक्त अनुत्तर सम्यक् सम्बोधि के परम पद को प्राप्त किया जा सकता है। इस लिये प्रेक्षवानों को सर्वगुणो के आकारभूत भगवान बुद्ध में श्रद्धा उत्पन्न करके उसके गुणों को परिनिष्पन्न करने के लिए सभी तरह से प्रयत्नशील होना चाहिए।

"इस ग्रंथ में निर्दिष्ट मतों का महत्त्व-साधना-और खण्डन की दृष्टियों से"

यह ग्रंथ चार प्रकार की बौद्ध परम्पराओं में से मध्यमक पर आधारित है। मध्यमकों के भी स्वतान्त्रिक तथा प्रासांङिगक दो भेदो में से यह ग्रंथ स्वतांत्रिक माध्यमक दृष्टि के दो नैरात्म्य आदि का वर्णन करता है। तृतीय भावना-क्रम में ह्वशङ की विपरीत दृष्टी "न किन्चिच्चिन्तयितव्यम्"[5] अर्थात् अकर्मण्यता का आचार्य कमलशील नें सम्यग्युक्तियों से जोरदार शास्त्रार्थ करके उन्मूलन किया।

"पूर्वपक्षी ह्वशङ् की मान्यता"[6]

ह्वशङ ने अपने पक्ष के समर्थन में कहा था कि सभी सत्त्वाचित्तके विकल्प से उत्पन्न होने वाले शुभ तथा अशुभ कर्मो के कारण स्वर्ग आदि फल भोगते हुये संसार मे घुमते रहते हैं, किन्तु जो कुछ भी नही सोचते, कुछ भी नही करते वे संसार से मुक्त हो जाते है। इस लिए कुछ भी सोचना नही चाहिए। दान आदि कुशलचर्या भी नही करनी चाहिए। दान आदि कुशलचर्या का निर्देश तो मुर्ख पुरुषो के लिये किया गया है"।

"उत्तरपक्षी-आचार्य कमलशील की मान्यता"

इसके उत्तर में आचार्य कमलशील ने कहा था कि-"इस प्रकार कुछ भी न सोचने, कुछ भी मनस्कर न करने के लिए कहेंगे तो इस से समस्त महायान प्रतिक्षिप्त हो जायेगा। सभी यानो का मूल तो महायान है, इस लिए उसे प्रतिक्षिप्त करने पर समस्त यान प्रतिक्षिप्त हो जायेगे। समस्त धर्मो के स्वभाव वाले विशुद्ध धर्म धातु का भूतप्रत्यवेक्षण करने वाली प्रज्ञा के द्वारा अवबोध करना पड़ता है। सम्यग् ज्ञान का मूलता प्रत्यवेक्षण-प्रज्ञा है, उसे प्रतिक्षिप्त करने

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४. आर्यसंधिनिर्मोचने यथा-मैत्रेय! योऽपि श्रावकाणां, बोधिसत्त्वानां तथागतानां वा सर्वोऽपि लोकिक-लोकोत्तर कुशलधर्मः शमथविपश्यनाफलः वेदितव्य इति। (द्वि.-भा. क्र. में उद्धृत है) (दे-गे पृ. ४४)

५. भावनाक्रम तृतीय जी. टूच्ची (खण्ड-३ पृ. १४)

६. ह्वशङ के मत तथा उसके निराकरण के विषय में द्रष्टव्य (भावनाक्रम तृतीय-"स्दे-दृगे" बूस्टन-ग्यूर संस्करण "कि" पृ. ६१।)

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से मूलोच्छेद की भांति लोकोत्तर-ज्ञान का प्रतिक्षेप हो जायेगा। प्रत्यवेक्षण प्रज्ञा के बिना योगी किस उपाय के द्वारा यथार्थं को बोध करेगा? । किस प्रकार से निर्विकल्प ज्ञान में स्थित हो सकेगा? ।

यदि सभी धर्मं अस्मरण तथा अमनसिकार है तो हम सभी अनुभवों के स्मरण तथा मनसिकार मे असमर्थं हो जाएगे। "मैं किसी भी धर्म का स्मरण नही करूंगा, मनसिकार नही करूंगा" ऐसा सोचते रहना भी निश्चित रूप से ही स्मरण तथा मनसिकार है। अस्मरण तथा अमनसिकार मात्र से निर्विकल्प ज्ञान होना असम्भव है क्योकि अभाव का हेतु होना अनुचित है, यदि स्मरण आदि के अभाव-मात्र से निर्विकल्प ज्ञान होता है तो मुर्च्छा की दशा में भी स्मरण न होने से निर्विकल्प ज्ञान की प्रवृत्ति का प्रसङ्ग, होने लगेगा। कुछभी सोचे समझे विना सभी आवरणो का प्रहाण तथा सर्वज्ञता की प्राप्ति कैसे हो सकेगी? इत्यादि।

आचार्य कमलशील अपने गुरु की भांति नालन्दा के एक अद्भुत विद्वान थे। आचार्यं शान्तरक्षित के ५००० श्लोको के दार्शनिक ग्रंथ "तत्त्वसंग्रह" पर इन्होने एक विद्वत्तापूर्ण पंजिका लिखि है। इसके अतिरिक्त मध्यमकअलंकार की पंजिका, मध्यमकालोक, आर्यं वज्रछेदिका की टीका, आर्य शालिस्तम्ब की टीका आदि लगभग तीस ग्रंथो को लिखा। इनमे से भावनाक्रम कीं भाषा सरल तथा सुबोध होने के कारण तथा प्रतिपाद्य विषयो के साधनागम्य होने के कारण ही संभवतः इस पर भारत तथा भोट दोनो में टीका टिप्पणियां नही लिखी गयी। तत्त्वों के साक्षात्कार के लिए जिज्ञासुपण गुरुजनो के चरणों की सेवा करके ही बांधि प्राप्त करते रहें। सौभाग्य से भोट देश में इस ग्रंथ की पूर्णतः सुरक्षित रखा जा सका और साधको मे प्रचलन अक्षुण्ण रहा।

इस महत्त्वपूर्णं ग्रंथकी उपयोगिता तथा महत्त्व को देखते हुये मैं इसके संस्कृत भाषा मे अप्राप्त अंश का तिब्बती सें संस्कृत में उद्धार कर चुका हू। तीनो खण्डो का देवनागरी लिप्यन्तरण, हिन्दी अनुवाद तथा भोट भाषा का संशोधित संस्करण लगभग पूरा कर चुका हूं। आशा है कि एक वर्ष के भीतर ही यह ग्रंथ मुद्रित होकर सुधीजनो को प्राप्त हो सकेगा।

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भोट वाङ्मय पर काव्यादर्श की छाप

समदोङ् रिनपोछे

महाराज सोङ छेन् गम्पो के शासनकाल में, शास्त्रीय भोट भाषा के जन्म कालसेंहीं, थोन्मि सम्भोट तथा उनके सहयोगियों ने भोट भाषा को संस्कृत के समकक्ष समृद्ध करने का हर सम्भव प्रयास किया। अतः व्याकरण के नियम भी सस्कृत की रूपरेखा पर अंकित किये गये। प्रत्येक संस्कृत-शब्द के लिए तिब्बती भाषा में भी प्रचलित अथवा दूसरी भाषाओं सें गृहीत नये तुल्यार्थक शब्दों की संरचना की जाने लगी और महाकाव्यों सहित विविध विषय के संस्कृत ग्रंथो के भाषान्तरण भी प्रारम्भ कर दिये गये तथा काव्यशास्त्र के ग्रंथ भी उन विद्वानो से अछूते न रहे। थोन्मि सम्भोट ने जब तिब्बती भाषा की लिपि और व्याकरण की रचना के नमूने के रूप में जो एक श्लोक लिखकर राजा के पास भेजा था, वह दुष्कर काव्य के स्वरनियतलक्षण सें युक्त था। इससें ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि थोन्मि सम्भोट स्वयं अलंकारशास्त्रों सें मात्र रुचि हीं नही लेते थे, अपि तु उसके अच्छे ज्ञाता भी थे। परन्तु धर्म-दर्शन के ग्रंथ कें अनुवाद को प्राथमिकता देने के कारण अलंकार-शास्त्रो की ओर ध्यान नही जा सका।

यह बात नही कि भोट मे कोई स्तरीय मौलिक साहित्य अथवा शास्त्र नही था, बल्कि साक्या पण्डित कुङ्गा ग्यलछन् तक भोटीय विद्वान् द्वारा लिखित अथवा भारतीय या किसी विदेशी विद्वान् का अनूदित साहित्य नही था, क्योंकि इसके पूर्व हिमवत्प्रदेश के कुलपुत्रों की भावनाये और विचार उन्मुक्त एवं निर्बंध कल्लोल करते थे। पंख लगाकर स्वच्छन्द उड़ते थे। साक्या पण्डित कुङ्गा ग्यलछन् (११८१–८२ सें १२५१ ई.) ने सर्वप्रथम भोटसाहित्य के लिये गम्भीर शास्त्र की आवश्यकता का अनुभव किया जिससें सभी प्रकार सें संस्कृत के बराबर लाया जा सके। उन्होने स्वयं भी पद्यो की रचना संस्कृत काव्यशास्त्र तथा छन्दःशास्त्र के नियमो के अनुरूप की। इसके अतिरिक्त उन्होने एक महत्वपूर्ण ग्रंथ "खेम्पा-जगपइ-गो"-'विद्वत्तावतारं" की रचना की जहां उन्होने "छेद् छोद् छोम् सुम्-व्याख्यान, शास्त्रार्थ एवं लेखन के नियमों को बद्ध किया। इस पण्डित ने यत्र तत्र 'सरस्वतीकण्ठाभरणम्' को तथा प्रचुरतया 'काव्यादर्श' को उद्धृत किया है। इन्होने "काव्यादर्श" का काफी भाग भोट भाषा मे अनूदित भी किया, किन्तु अन्त के अंश का अनुवाद यह कह बन्द कर दिया कि तिब्बती विद्वान् काव्यशास्त्र की रचना मे बहुत रुचि नही लेते। इनके "विद्वत्तावतार" ने परवर्ती देशी विद्वानों को ध्यान इस ओर आकृष्ट किया और आवश्यकता का अनुभव किया कि "जागर के"-भारतीय भाषा-के आधार पर काव्यशास्त्र के नियमों की रचना की जानी चाहिये।

कुछ ही समय बाद महान् भारतीय पण्डित लक्ष्मीकर तता लोचावा दोर्जे ग्यलछन ने पूरे "काव्यादर्श" का तिब्बती भाषा में अनुवाद सम्पन्न किया, और शोङ लोचावा ने मूल कारिकाओं पर संक्षिप्त टिप्पणी की रचना की। उनके बाद पोङ लोचावा लोडो तेम्पा नें रत्नश्री की टीका के साथ "काव्यादर्श" का अध्ययन किया। यह निःसन्देह विशेष प्रशंसा के भाजन हैं क्योंकि इन्होनें रत्नश्री की टीका के कुछ अंशो का तिब्बती में अनुवाद किया और स्वयं भी

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आंशिकरूप सें अपनी टीका लिखी और तिब्बतीं भाषा की द्वितीय टीका का प्रणयन किया। इन्होनें लोचावा दोर्जे ग्यलछन के अनुवाद का संशोधन तथा पुनर्मूल्यांकन करने का परिश्रम सहा। ये दोनो ही टीका में परवर्ती विद्वानं के द्वारा पूर्णतः अधिकारिक तथा अत्यन्त महत्त्वपूर्ण समझीं गयीं।

इतनें साहित्य के प्रकाश में आनें के बाद "काव्यादर्श" को पूरे तिब्बत में असाधारण महत्त्व एवं जनप्रियता मिलीं और इसको टीकाएं, टिप्पणियां, सारांश, व्याख्यायें और उदाहरण बर्षाकालीन विटपं की भांति अंकुरित होने लगे। परवर्ती विद्वानं में ऐसे कम ही मिलेंगे जिन्होनें किसी न किसी रूप में 'काव्यादर्श' का स्पर्श न किया हो। सबसे अधिक आश्चर्यंजनक तो यह है कि 'काव्यादर्श' का प्रत्येक नियम तिब्बतीं वाङमय के लिए आदर्श हीं नही बना अपि तु पूर्णतः लागू भी हो गया, जब कि सामान्यतः एक भाषा के नियम को किसी सर्वथा भिन्न भाषा मे पूर्णतः लागू कर पाना असंभव होता है। यहां तक कि तिब्बती कवि 'काव्यादर्श' की पद्धति के दुष्कर काव्य चित्रालंकारों के विविध भेद, श्लेष और यमक के अनेक प्रकारों के उदाहरणो की रचना करनें लग गये। आचार्य चोङ खा-पा नें अनेंक दुष्कर महाकाव्यो की रचना की जिनमें अनुलाम, विलोम तथा अनुलोमविलोम यमकों का अद्‌भुत दर्शन होता है।

वस्तुतः सा-क्या पण्डित ने जब अलंकार-शास्त्रो की ओर भोट विद्वानो का ध्यान आकृष्ट किया, तब एक नये युग का उदय हुआ। "काव्यादर्श" के अनुवाद के बाद से जो भोट भाषा में कविता के प्रति एक नयी अभिरुची जगी, उससे नागानन्द, लोकानन्द, मेधदूत, अवदान-कल्पलता जंसे ग्रंथो का भी अनुवाद हुआ। इसके प्रभाव से तिब्बती काव्य रचनाओं नें एक नया मोड लिया। गद्य और पद्य दोनो में रचना की परम्परा तो प्रारम्भ से ही रही, परन्तु रस, अलंकार और शैली की दृष्टी से 'काव्यदर्श' के अनुवाद से पूर्व तथा बाद में लिखे गये तिब्बती वाङमय मे एक स्पष्ट अन्तर-रेखा दिखायी पड़ती है। तिब्बती भाषा में महाकाव्यो की रचना की परम्परा भी इसके बाद ही मिलती है। जिन विद्वानो ने महाकाव्य रचा, उन्होनें स्वरचित कविता को महाकाव्य की संज्ञा देने की दृष्टी से "काव्यादर्श" के प्रथम परिच्छेद में निर्दिष्ट महाकाव्य के लक्षणो का अक्षरशः पालन करनें का प्रयास किया। इसके कारण कविता में कृत्रिमता प्रधान हो बयी। अलंकारो तथा रसों का सन्निवेश ठूंस-ठूंस कर किया गया। इससे सारा काव्य बोझिल हो गया। अनूदित काव्यो में सें 'अवदान कल्पलता' 'मेधदूत' और 'नागानन्द' को खूब प्रसिद्धि मिली, परन्तु "बुद्धचरितम्" उतनाप्रख्यात नहीं हो पाया। अन्य अनेंक तिब्बती विद्वानो नें "अवदान-कल्लता" को "काव्यराज" की संज्ञा दी। तिब्बती भाषा में जितना सहज यह लगता है, उतनीं अन्य कोई भी नहीं। इसलिये अधिकतर तिब्बती साहित्यकारों नें इसी की शैली को अपनानें का प्रयास किया। अनूदित शैली की कविताओं और काव्यादर्श के अलंकार-नियमों के पालन कीं यथाशक्ती चेष्टा की जानें पर भी भोट भाषा की अपनी विशेषता तथा मौलिकता अनेकशः अनायास झलक आती रही। इस मौलिकता को दोष समझकर विद्वानों ने उसे यथा॰ संभव दबाने की चेष्टा की। अतः कभी-कभी ऐसा भी लगता है कि अनूदित साहित्य के अनुकरण की होड़ मे भोटभाषा के अपनें सहज विकास मे बाधा पडी। आधुनिक भोट विद्वान "गुद्रुन छोफेल" नें अपनी साहित्यक रचनाओं मे काव्यदर्श के नियमों की उपेक्षा करनें की भी यथाशक्ति चेष्टा कीं है।

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सारी जनप्रियता तथा समादर प्राप्त करनें पर भी "काव्यदर्श" को असुविधाओ का भी सामना करना पड़ा। "काव्यादर्श" की कोई भी महत्त्वपूर्ण संस्कृत टीका पूरी की पूरी तिब्बती में अनूदित नही हुई जब कि प्रायः अन्य सभी विषयो के ग्रंथो पर एक सें अधिक टीकाओं का तिब्बती अनुवाद प्राप्त होता हैं। फलतः तिब्बती विद्वानों की टीकाओं मे अनेक त्रुटियां घुस गयी जो प्रथम परिच्छेद मे प्रचुर है। बहुत दिनों के बाद १६९९–१७०० सें १७७४ ई. में एक महान् संस्कृततज्ञ तिब्बती विद्वान् सि-तुपण-छेन् को दो संस्कृत टीकाएं मिली-एक थी रत्नश्रीं की तथा दूसरी थी वाचस्पति (बौद्ध) की। उन्होनें काव्यदर्शं का अध्ययन इन दोनो टीकाओं के माध्यम सें किया और एक व्याख्या की रचना अपनें प्रधान शिष्य छोड्कि भिमा (धर्मसूर्य) सें करायी जिसमे मध्यकालीन तिब्बती टीकाकारो की समस्त भ्रान्तियां का उन्मूलन कर दिया। उन्होने व्याख्या तो लिखायी ही, द्विभाषीय तिब्बती-संस्कृत-संस्करण भी अत्यन्त परिशोधित रूप मे तैयार किया। जो बाद में विद्वानो नें ज्यो का त्यो स्वींकार कर लिया।

संक्षेप मे भोट देश मे यही काव्यादर्श की कहानी है।

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RELATIONSHIP OF MIND AND MATTER AS DEPICTED IN ABHIDHAMMA PHILOSOPHY

By

K. B. L. SHUKLA

The relationship which exists between the mind and matter has remained a target of philosophical thinking since a very long time. Almost every eminent tradition of Indian philosophy has tried to examine it and worked hard to provide a logical solution to this mystery. The mystery deepens when we see around us a person dying, food taken by us and being convered into calories of energy or a particular scenery of our choice providing immense pleasure and a question arises in our minds as to how it happens ? Why a living person's all the activities are ceased after his death ? How the food taken in the gross form is converted into energy which is subte ? How a beautiful scenery existing outside creates a feeling of joy inside us ? Philosophical traditions like that of Buddhism has tried to answer these questions by saying that it happens so because of the peculiar relationship which exists between mind and matter, where Mind has been termed as subtle and conscious and matter as gross and unconscious. With this answer there arises a further question as to what is mind and what is matter as also how they are related to each other ? Buddha has tried to provide a very systematic and logical answer to this qnestion by way of his most profound teachings categorised as Abhidhamma and contained in the two famous books named as *Dhammasaṅgaṇī* and *Paṭṭhāna*. The same are being examined here to find out the answer of the question refered to above out of these two books. *Dhammasaṅgaṇī* deals with the nature of mind and matter while the other one named as *Paṭṭhāna* exclusively defines their mutual relationship. Let us examine that one by one.

Dhammasaṅgaṇī presents a detailed analysis of mind by dividing it into two parts technically called as 'citta' (consciousness) and chētasikā (psychic factors) wherin chētasikās have been defined as a type of Dhamma (reals) which are always associated with *citta*. The *citta* has been further subdivided as *Kāmāvacarā*, *Rūpāvacarā*, *Arūpāvacarā*, *Apariyāpannā* according to the plane in which it rests and as Kusalā, Akusalā Vipāka and Kiriyā etc according to it's value. The statement of the types of citta invariably opens with a question 'Katmē dhammā kusalā or Akusalā or Abyākatā?' The answers to there questions are rendered as under–

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"Katamē dhammā kusalā? Tīṇi kusala mūlāni alobhō, adōsō, amóhō, tam sampayutto vēdanākkhandho, saññākkhandhō saṃkhārakkhandho, viññāṇakkhandho tam samuṭṭhānam kāyakammam, vacikammam manōkammam imē dhammā kusalā."[1]

Here it is said that there are three kusala (moral) roots Alōbhō, Adōsō, and Amōhō and a citta arising in association with them alongwith respective chētasikā vēdanā and saññā as also related Physical and mental actions are called as kusalā Dhammā.

The next reply related to Akusalā Dhammā (immoral) has been enumerated as under-

"Katamē dhammā akusalā ? Tīṇi akusala mūlāni Lōbhō, Dōsō, Mōhō tadekaṭṭhā ca kilesā, tam sampayuttō vēdanākkhandho saññākkhandho, saṃkhārakkhandho, viññāṇakkhandhō, tam samuṭṭhānam kāyakammam vacikammam, manokammam imē dhammā akusalā."[2]

This means that Akusala roots are of three kinds-Lōbhō, Dōso Mōho, and fetters (kilesa) and a citta arising in association with them alongwith respective chetasikā, vēdanā saññā as also the related physical, vocal and mental actions are called Akusalā Dhammā.

The third reply is related to Abyākatā Dhammā as presented in the undermentioned words-

"Katamē dhammā abyākatā ? kusalā kusalānam dhammānam vipākā kāmāvacarā rūpāvacarā, arūpāvacarā, apariyāpannā vēdanākkhandho, saññākkhandho, saṃkhārakkhandho, viññaṇakkhandho yē ca dhammā kiriyā nēva kusalā nākusalā na ca kammavipākā sabbam ca rūpam asankhatā ca dhātu imē dhamma abyākatā."[3]

The above quoted definition of Abyākatā Dhammā tells us that the resultants of Kusala kāmāvacarā, Rūpāvacarā, Arūpāvacarā, Apariyāpannā (Lokuttara) and Akusala kāmāvacara deeds vedanā, saññā, saṃkhāra and viññāṇa khandha (aggregates) all these and kiriyā which are neither moral (kusala) nor immoral (akusala) and which are not the resultants of the actions all kinds of rūpa and Nibbāna (Asaṃkhatā ca Dhātu) are called as Abhyākatā dhammā.

In the above description certain concepts like kiriyā, Asaṃkhatā ca Dhātu and rūpa deserves special attention. Here kiriyā and citta denote a type of conseiousness which yields no resultants. This type of consciousness

1. *Dhamma Sangaṇi* – Page 230, Nav Nālanda Mahavihar edition 1960, edited by Bhikkhū J. Kashyap.
2. *ibid* Page 23,
3. *ibid* Page 230.

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is found only in an Arahant (emancipated being). The second concept 'Asaṃkhatā ca Dhātu' means Nibbāna. It is called so as it is of an indescribable nature. Howeuer Nibbāna is not discussed at length as it falls beyond the purview of our present paper. The third concept Rūpa means material qualities. It if to be discussed at length because it is a technical name given to the matter which is an important point of our present diseussion.

Rūpa has been classified in two categories in *Dhamma Saṅgaṇī* as under–

"Tattha katamam sabbam rūpam? cattāro ca mahābhūta catunnam ca mahābhūtānam upādāya rūpam - idam vuccati sabbam rūpam."[4]

In the above lines it has been mentioned that all kinds of rūpa have been divided into types of Mahābhūta (basic elements) and Upādāya Rūpa (generated material qualities) which are 23 in member. Thus the total number of rupa have been said to be of 27 types.

Thus the above giren analysis of mind and matter as presented in *Dhammasaṅgaṇī* can be summarised in the conclusion that the Mind which is conscious and technically called as NĀM is a combnation of citta and cētasika or of vēdanā saññā, saṃkhāra and viññāna khandhas (aggregates) and the matter which is unconscious and technically termed as Rūpa is a combination of Mahābhūta and Upādāya Rūpas. Rūpa is also termed as Rūpa khandha (matter aggregate). This is the nature of mind and matter as depicted in *Dhammasangaṇī*. The latter Abhidhammic texts explained the mind and matter into a more specifie way. As in Vibhāvanī citta has been defined 'ālaṃbanam cintēti iti cittam'[5] means the dhamā (reals) which thinkṣ about the obiect is called as citta. In the same way Abhidhammattha sangahō defines cētasikās as under–

Ekuppāda nirōdhā ca
Ekālambana vatthukā
Cētoyutā dvipaññās
Dhammā cētasikā matā."[6]

This means that the dhammas which share the common base and common obiect and arise with citta as also cease with it–those which are fully attached with citta–such 52 types of Dhammas are called as cētasikās. This Gātbā of Abhidhammathasaṅgahō gires a clear cut exposition of the Cetasika Dhammās. The exact expression to the concept of Rūpa given by *Vibhavani* is also very precise and specific which reads as 'ruppatīti rūpam'

4. *ibid* Page 148.
5. *Vibhavani* Page 18.
6. Abhidhammattha Sangahō–Ācārya Aniruddha–Commentry by Bhadanṭa Sumangala Swāmi ed. 1965, Page 40.

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means the material qualities which are subject to decay are termed as rūpa. In this way the first part of our question related to the nature of the Mind and Matter has been replied in a very systematic and analytical way by the Abhidhamma philosophy.[7]

Now, the second part of the question as to how the mind and matter coexist into a harmonious way at the same place and effeet each other is to be examined. Buddha has paid considerable attention to this probelm and the results of his endevour are collected into another important book of Abhidhamma called as Paṭṭhāna. The name of the book itself is very suggestive. It suggests that the subject matter of the book deals with the kinds of relation. This particular sense of the title of the book can be easily derived by analysing the word 'Paṭṭhāna etymologically. The word Paṭṭhāna is a compound of prefix 'pa' and 'thāna' wherin pa denotes 'kinds' and 'thāna' means 'relation'. So the book which deals with the kiuids of relation has been named as Paṭṭhāna kepeing in view this meaning of the word 'Paṭṭhāna has been defined as a Nānāppakārāni thānāni ēthāti Paṭṭhānam".[8] Thus it becomes crystal clear that Paṭṭhāna is a book which deals with the kinds of relations. It will be obvious to conclude here that these relations are explained in terms of Mind and Matter. Paṭṭhāna explains the relationship of Mind and Matter be with the technical name as Paccaya which are 24 in number. Before proceeding towards their analysis lat us examine the way in which Paccayas have been given exposition in Paṭṭhāna. Paccaya has been explained with the help of two other components technically called as Paccaya Dhamma and Paccayuppanna Dhamma. Here Paccaya Dhamma is the cause and Paccayuppanna Dhamma is its effect. The name of tne Paccayas is based upon the nature of the Paccaya Dhammas, which are said to be of 24 types as has already been deseribed above. The same are examined here as under–

(1) *Hetū Paccaya* – A type of relationship in which the Paccaya Dhamma is either of one or two 6 hetus and Paccayuppanna dhamma are the consiousness psychic factors associated with them as also the types of material qualities generated due to it the same is called as Hētu Paccaya. It has been defined in Paṭṭhāna as Hetu hētusampayuktakānam dhammānam tam samuṭṭhānānam ca rūpānam hetupaccayēna paccayo." [9]

(2) *Ālambana Paccaya* – It is the name of a type of relation where the Paccaya Dhamma is an object and the paccayuppanna dhammas is the consciousness and psychic factor which arises due to that. In the words of

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7. Vibhāvanī – Page 13
8. Abhidhammattha Sangaho Tikā Part II, by Bhadant Rēvat Dhamma
9. Patthāna Pāli – Nav Nālandā Mahāvihar edition 1961 edited by Bhikkhu J. Kashyap Page 3.

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Paṭṭhāna "yam yam dhammam ārabbha yē yē dhammā upajjanti citta cētasikā dhammā, tē tē dhammā tēsam dhammānam ārammaṇapaccayēna paccayō." [10]

(3) *Adhipati Paccaya* – A type of relation wherein an object which exercises dominating influence is the paccaya dhamma and paccayuppanna dhamma is the consciousness and psychic factors associated with it such a relation is called Adhipati Paccaya. Paṭṭhāna defines it as under yam yam dhammam garum katvā yē yē dhammā upajjanti citta cētasikā dhammā tē tē dhammā tēsam tēsam dhammānam adhipati paccayēna paccayo." [11]

(4) *Anantara Paccaya* – The relationship in which exists a sequence between the preceding and succeeding dhammas such a relation is termed as Anantara Paccaya. In Paṭṭhāna it has benn enumerated as. " yēsam yēsam dhammānam anantarā yē yē dhammā upajjanti citta cētasikā dhammā, tē tē dhammā tēsam tēsam dhammānam anantara paccayēna paccayo." [12]

(5) *Samanantara Paccaya* – In such a relation paccaya dhamma being a preceding factor immediately succeeds the paccayuppanna dhamma so it is called as samanantara paccaya. Paṭṭhāna defines it as-yēsam yēsam dhammānam samanantarā yē yē dhammā upajjanti citta cētasikā dhammā, tē tē dhammā tēsam tēsam dhammānam samanantara paccayēna peccayo." [13]

(6) *Sahajāta Paccaya* – Sahajāta paccaya is the name of relation in which the paccaya dhamma and the paccyuppanna dhamma are simultaneously born. Becauae of there such simultaneous birth there develops a relation due to which they naturally help each other. Paṭṭhāna defines it as wit an example as " rūpinō dhammā arūpinam dhammānam kincikāle sahajāta paccayēna paccayō." [14]

(7) *Aññamañña paccaya*-A relation in which the paccaya dhamma and paccayuppanna dhamma are interdependent on each other is called as Aññamañña paccaya. To quote Paṭṭhāna this relationship can be illustrated as under-" cattāro khandhā arūpino aññamaññam paccayēna paccayo." [15]

(8) *Nissaya paccaya* :- This is a relation in which the paccaya dhamma functions as a ground for paccayuppanna dhamma as ground for the tree. Paṭṭhāna describes it as " cattārō khandhā arūpino aññamaññam nissaya paccayēna paccayo." [16]

(9) *Upanissaya Paccaya*-It is a relation in which the paccaya dhamma works as a sufficing condition to the paccayuppanna. It has been explained

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10. *ibid* Page 4
11. *ibid* Page 4
12. *ibid* Page 4
13. *ibid* Page 6
14. *ibid* Page 6
15. *ibid* Page 6
16. *ibid* Page 7

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as "purimā purimā kusalā dhammā pachhimānam Pachhmānam kusalānam dhammānam upanissaya paccayēna paccayo."[17]

(10) *Purējāta Paccaya* – This relation has been defined as the relation of Pre-existence in which paccaya dhamma exists as a pre-condition for the existence of paccayuppanna. For example six organs, as well as the five sensible objects are related to the corresponding kinds of consciousness (eyeconscio-usness, ear-consciousness etc) by way of this relation. It has been enumrated in Paṭṭhāna as under : manoviññāṇadhātuyā tam sampayuttānam ca dhammānam kincikālē purējāta paccayēna paccayo."[18]

(11) *Pachhājātapaccaya* – It has been termed as a relation of post existence. It has been explained in Paṭṭhāna as pachhājātā citta cetasikā dhammā purējātassa imassa kāyassa pachhājāta paccayēna paccayo."[19]

(12) *Āsēvana Paccaya* – A type of relationship in which repetition of the Paccayadhamma strengthens the paccayuppanna dhamma is called as Āsēvana Paccaya. It has been exemplified in Paṭṭhāna as purimā purimā kusalā dhammā pachhimānam pachhimānam kusalānam dhammānam āsēvana paccayēna paccayo.[20]

(13) *Kamma Paccaya* – The relationship in which an action functions as paccaya dhamma and it's resultant as paccayuppanna dhamma is known as kamma paccaya. It has been explained as "kusalā kusalam kammam vipāsa kānam khandhānam katatta ca rūpānam kamma paccayēna paccayo."[21]

(14) *Vipāka Paccaya*–The relation in which there exists different types of resultants like love and hatred, greed and sacrifice, being of diverse nature to each other–remains on our psychic level without any conflict each other is callad as vipāka paccaya. To quote Paṭṭhāna it can be explained as "Vipākā cattāro khandhā arūpiṇo aññamaññam vipāka paccayēna paccayo."[22]

(15) *Āhāra Paccaya* – The relationship through which food being a paccaya dhamma nourishes our body as paccayupanna dhamma is called as Āhāra Paccaya. Paṭṭhāna while illustrating this relation informs as under kavalīkāro āhāro imassa kāyassa āhārapaccayēna paccayo."[23]

(16) *Indriya Paccaya*–This relation can be explained by three different kinds as co–existence, pre-existance and physical life of these–the paccaya dhammas of the first kind are the 15 co–existent faculties viz. psychic life,

17. *ibid* Page 7
18. *ibid* Page 8
19. *ibid* Page 8
20. *ibid* Page 8
21. *ibid* Page 9
22. *ibid* Page 9
23. *ibid* Page 9

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consciousness, pleasure, pain etc. and the paccayuppanna dhammās are their co-existent properties both mental and material.

The paccaya dhammas of the 2nd kind are the five sentient organs, viz. eye, ear, nose, tongue and body, and the paccayuppanna dhammas are the 5 senses together with their concomitants.

The paccaya dhammas of the 3rd kind is only one i. e. 'physical life itself. And the paccayuppanna dhammas are all the material qualities produced by karma, with the exception of physical life itself. Paṭṭhāna while giving an example of this relation shiptells as under :

"arūpiṇo indriyā sampayuktānam dhammānam tam samuṭṭhānānam ca rūpāṇam indriyapaccayēna paccayo." [24]

(17) *Jhāna Paccaya*-It is a type of relation in which paccaya-dhammas are the five constituents of Jñāna namely Vitakka, Vicāra, Pīti, Somannassa and Ekaggatā and the Paccayuppanna dhammas are all the types of consciousness arising due to these constituents Jhān factors along with the material qualities generated. For instance when 5 Jñāna factors are present as paccaya dhamma. Pathama rūpāvacara jñāna citta arises as a paccayupanna dnamma. Paṭṭhāna explains this relation with the words : ṅānaṅgāni jñānasampayuktakānam dhammānam tam samuṭṭhānānam ca rūpāṇam Jñānapaccayēna paccayo."[25]

(18) *Magga Paccaya* - Here Magga means path which if followed in the right direction leads to Nibbāna. Here in this relation the 12 constituents of the Magga arts as paccaya-dhamma and the consciousness arising due to association with them alongwith the psychic factors and generated material qualities are called paccayuppanna dhamma. In Paṭṭhāna Magga Paccaya has been defined as "maggaṅgāni maggasampayuktakānam dhammānam tam samuṭṭhānānam ca rūpāṇam maggapaccayēna paccayo." [26]

(19) *Sampayutta Paccaya* - All the types of consciousness associated with the psychic factors due to the existence of this type of relation in between.

(20) *Vippayutta Paccaya* - In this type of relation the paccaya dhamma is dissociated with paccayuppann dhamma.

(21) *Atthi Paccaya* :- It has been defined as a relation in which the paccaya-dhamma exists with the existence of paccayupanna dhamma.

(22) *Natthi Paccaya*-is the name of the relation in which the paccaya-dhamma must be absent when the paccayuppana exists.

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24. *ibid* Page 9
25. *ibid* Page 9
26. *ibid* Page 9

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(23) *Avigata Paccaya* – In this relation also the paccaya-dhamma exists with the existence of paccayuppanna dhamma.

(24) *Vigata Paccaya* – In this type of relation paccaya dhamma remains absent when the paccayuppanna dhamma exists.

With the exposition of the above quoted 24 types of relation Buddha has made an attempt to ıeply the question as to how the Matter is related to Mind.

Thus we find that in the Abhidhamma philosophy of Buddhism a very systemetic attempt has been made to study the relationship of Mind and Matter. But it cannot be said that the exposition of this relationship as given by Buddha was the ultimate. Efforts to unearth this mystery are still being made and thay will be continued till the secret of this relation is not unearthed.

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तीर्थिक और बुद्धतीर्थिक

नागेंद्रनाथ उपाध्याय

तित्थिया, तीर्थिक अथवा तैर्थिक शब्द का बहुशः प्रयोग बौद्ध साहित्य में उपलब्ध होता है। अंग्रेजी मे इसका अनुवाद प्रायः Heretic शब्द से किया जाता है। वैसे विभिन्न प्रयोगों को देखने से यह ज्ञात होता है कि अंग्रेजी का यह शब्द अधिक व्यापक प्रयोग एवं तद्गत विविध संदर्भो एवं अर्थो से संपन्न है; क्योंकि एक धर्म से भिन्न अन्य किसी दूसरे मत अथवा संप्रदाय के समर्थक अथवा सिद्धान्तानुयायी को संबोधित करने के लिए प्रायः इस अंग्रेजी शब्द का प्रयोग विद्वानों ने किया है। इसे हम भारतीय भाषा मे परधर्मानुयायी कह सकते हैं; जब कि यह भी सत्य है कि बौद्धो के द्वारा ही तीर्थिक शब्द का प्रयोग परधर्मावलंबियो अथवा उनके प्रवर्तकों के लिए हेय अथवा निन्दात्मक अर्थ मे किया गया मिलता है। इसी प्रकार इस शोधपत्र मे बौद्धो के द्वारा प्रयुक्त बुद्धतीर्थिक शब्द पर भी विचार किया जा रहा है। इसके संदर्भ बहुत कम हैं, फिर भी अत्यन्त महत्त्वपूर्ण है।

पालि साहित्य में इस "तित्थिया" शब्द के विविध प्रयोगों और उनके संदर्भो की चर्चा बौद्ध जगत में बहुत अधिक हैं। हम मात्र औपचारिकता के लिए इसके कुछ प्रयोगों की चर्चा करेंगे। विविध संदर्भो की चर्चा से यह स्पष्ट किया गया है कि यह शब्द ऐसे व्यक्ति के लिए प्रयुक्त है जो अपने अनुयायी कां निर्वाण या मुक्तिप्राप्ति का आश्वासन तो देता है; किन्तु वह उन्हे दोषो और भ्रमों की ओर अग्रेसर कर देता है।[1] महायान ग्रंथो में ललितविस्तर और महावस्तु दोनो में तीर्थिको के अनेक उल्लेख हैं जिस मे उन्हे निकृष्ट संप्रदायो के अनुयायियों के रूप मे स्मरण किया गया है। प्रायः संदर्भो मे तीर्थिको के अन्तर्गत ब्राह्मणो को अवश्य ही सम्मिलित किया गया है।[2]

बौद्धोनें वैदिक धर्म या मत अथवा ब्राह्मण धर्म के अनुयायियो के लिए इस शब्द का सामान्यतः प्रयोग किया है। तीर्थं शब्द के मार्ग, घाट, जलस्थान, तीर्थयात्रा के स्थान आदि अर्थ तो बहुप्रचलित है; किन्तु हमारे प्रस्तुत शोधपत्र के लिए 'तीर्थ' शब्द का 'ब्राह्मण अर्थ भी कम महत्त्वपूर्ण नही; क्योंकि आगे के बौद्ध संदर्भों में मुख्य रूप से ब्राह्मण धर्मोपदेशकों, उनके अनुयायियों या उनके आचार्यों को ही तीर्थिक शब्द से लक्षित किया गया है। बौद्धो की दृष्टि में तीर्थिक वे हैं जो वैदिक मार्ग, मत, सिद्धान्त अथवा ब्राह्मण धर्म अनुयायी अथवा समर्थक हैं। उनको दृष्टि मे ये तैर्थिक नित्य, शाश्वत, अमर कहे जाने वाले आत्म तत्व और मृत्यूपरांत जीवन

१. दिव्यावदान ८१; अवदानशतक १.४८, २.२० : विनय. १.५४, ८४, १३६, १५९ इसी प्रकार तित्थियसावक के लिए-विनय. १.१७२; जातक १.९५; विशुद्धि. १७ (पालि इंग्लिश डिक्शनरी, राइज डेविड्स (१९२१), पृ. १२६)।

२. ललितविस्तर ३१३।१९, २५०।१, २९८।१२; महावस्तु ३।४९।१२ (बुद्धिस्ट हाइब्रिड सं. डिक्शनरी, सं. एफ. एडगर्टन (१९७०), पृ. २५४)।

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की सत्ता मे विश्वास करते है ।[3] तैर्थिक यह भी मानते है कि संपूर्ण गोचर का कोई आधारभूत मूल कारण है ।[4] बुद्ध ने ब्रह्मजालसुत्त में वासष्ठ प्रकार के अपधर्मो का उल्लेख किया है;[5] इन्हे मिथ्या दृष्टि कहा गया है । बौद्ध साहित्य में इनका विस्तृत विवरण उपलब्ध नही है ।[6] ब्रह्म-जालसुत्त के उल्लेखों से यह ज्ञात होता है कि उस समय कितने ही ऐसे लोग थे जो ध्यान से या तर्क से यह विश्वास करने-कराने मे लगे थे कि बाह्य जगत् और जीवात्मा दोनो ही नित्य है ।[7]

थेरगाथा, उदान, मज्झिमनिकाय आदि ग्रंथो से यह ज्ञात होता है कि बौद्धो ने किन-किन बातों में तीर्थिको का विरोध किया और उन्हे मृषावादी माना । थेरगाथा स्नान से पाप का अपकर्षण नहीं मानती ।[8] जल से शुद्धि नही होती । वही शुद्ध और यथार्थ ब्राह्मण है जो सत्यवादी है ।[9] सभी मूर्ती के प्रति क्षेमभाव, मृषावाद से विरति, अहिंसा, श्रद्धा मात्सर्य राहित्य का मार्ग उत्तम बताया गया है ।[10] अंगच्छेद, जलाग्निप्रवेश, पर्वतनिपात, अनशन-मरण आदि कष्टप्रद क्रियायों का अनुष्ठान श्रमण-भिन्न लोग करते हैं ।[11] ऐसा करनेवालों में तीर्थिकादि की गणना की गयी है । आगे चलकर तीर्थिको की इन बातो का विरोध तांत्रिक बौद्धसिद्धों ने भी किया । वेदादिसम्मत कर्मकाण्ड, क्रियाकर्मो का तथा साथ ही उनके अनुयायियों का विरोध तो आस्तिक परम्परा के श्रीमद्भागवतादि ग्रंथों में भी मिलता है, जब कि जैनों तथा बौध्दों को वहां पाखंडी तक कह दिया गया है ।[12] श्रीमद्भागवत की दृष्टि में, इसप्रकार, वैदिक, जैन और बौध्द विधर्मी (तीर्थिक - Heretic) थे । इस तरह की व्यापक प्रवृत्ति भारतीय संप्रदायों के इतिहास में देखी जा सकती है ।

तिब्बती इतिहास लेखकों के ग्रंथ यद्यपि ऐतिहासिक दृष्टि से बहुत विश्वसनीय नहीं हैं तथापि संप्रदायों और धार्मिक समुदाय में प्रचलित एवं मौखिक परम्परा मे जीवित अनुश्रुतियों से सूचनाएं एकत्रित करने के लिए ये ग्रंथ उपयोगी है । तारानाथ के इतिहास से ज्ञात होता है कि प्रसिध्द बौध्द आचार्य धर्मकीर्ति ने चक्रसंवर और वज्रसत्त्व साधना का प्रवर्त्तन करने के उपरांत तीर्थिक मत के रहस्यों क जानने की इच्छा की थी और दासवेष धारण कर दक्षिण देश मे अतिप्रसिध्द तीर्थिक विद्वान् कुमारिल की सेवा की थी । सभी रहस्यों के ज्ञान के बाद उन्होने कुमारिल को ही पराजित किया । इसी प्रकार उन्होने काशी में तीर्थिक विद्वान् शंकराचार्य को भी पराजित किया ।[13] इससे यह स्पष्ट होता है कि धर्मकीर्ति के समय मे पूर्व और उत्तर, दोनों

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३. ए. हि. इं. फि., दासगुप्ता (१९६९), वा. १, पृ. ६८ पा. टि., पृ. १३८ ।
४. वही, पृ. १५१ ।
५. दीघनिकाय (सोलक्खान्ध-वग्ग, ब्रह्मजालसुत्त) १।१ ।
६. ए. हि. इं. फि., वा. १, पृ. ७८ ।
७. वही पृ. २३६ ।
८. थेरगाथा २३९ ।
९. उदान १, ९ ।
१०. मज्झिम निकाय (सुत्तपिटक), १।३९ ।
११. मज्झिम निकाय (सुत्तपिटक), १।२८१ ।
१२. ए. हि. इं. फि., दासगुप्त, वा. ३ (१९६८), पृ. ५१८ ।
१३. भारत में बौध्द का इतिहास, (तारानाथ), अनु. रिगजिन लुण्डुप लामा, पृ. ९६-९७ ।

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मीमांसाशास्त्रो अथवा मत को तीर्थिकमत के रूप मे बौध्दों ने मान्यता प्रदान की थी। तीर्थिको के अन्तर्गत योगियों की भी गणना की जाती थो जिनके साथ ललितवज्र नाम के बौद्द कीं चमत्कारिक प्रतियोगिता आयोजित हुई थी । राजा देवपाल के समय मे तीर्थिक लोग मंदिरवादी थे । इसी प्रकार नेपाल की तीर्थिक योगिनी का भी उल्लेख तारानाथ ने किया है ।[14] युवान च्वांग के एक उल्लेख से यह सूचना मिलती है कि अवलोकितेश्वर प्राय: पाशुपत तीर्थिक के छद्म वेश मे प्रकट हुआ करते थे ।[15] युवान च्वांग ने अपने 'सिध्दि' नामक ग्रंथ मे विभिन्न तीर्थिक मतो की परीक्षा की है । तीर्थिकों के प्रकारों मे सांख्य, वैशेषिक, निग्रंथ, आजीवक आदि की गणना की है । सुत्तनिपात मे भी तीर्थिको में आजीवको और निग्रंथी की गणना की गयी है ।[16] पूरणकस्सप भी तीर्थिक था जिसने बुध्द को महाप्रतिहार्य के लिए ललकारा था और जो पराजित होने पर लज्जित होकर कंठ मे बालुकाघट बांधकर बावडी में डूबकर मर गया था। यह अक्रियावादी पूरणकस्सप भी बौध्द साहित्य मे तीर्थिक के रूप मे स्वीकृत है ।[17] बुध्दघोष नें अपनी अट्ठकथा में इनके मत को 'नाट्ठिकवाद' कहा है।[18] इस प्रकार सांख्य, वैशेषिक, योग, पाशुपत, पूर्वमीमांसा, उत्तरमीमांसा, आजीवक, निग्रंथ, योगी आदि तीर्थिको में अन्तर्गणित हैं ।

महायानी साहित्य में हीनयानियं को भी इसी प्रकार की दृष्टि से देखा गया है और उनकी आलोचना को गयी है अर्थात् स्वयं बौध्दो द्वारा ही अन्य वौध्द विचारधारा की आलोचना की गयी है । प्राय: महायानवादी हीनयान कीं साधना को तुच्छ समझते हैं। उनकी मान्यता यह है कि श्रावकयान द्वारा निर्वाण नही मिल सकता । शान्तिदेव की गणना केवल वौध्द सिध्दों में ही नही, सिध्दाचार्यो मे भी की जाती है । उनका कथन है कि श्रावकयान की कथा का उपदेश नही करना चाहिए, न उसे सुनता चाहिए, न पढ़ना चाहिए; क्योंकि उससे वलेशी का अन्त न हो सकेगा ।[19] एक दुसरे बौध्दसिध्द और आचार्य आर्यदेव ने अपनी 'चित्तविशुध्दि प्रकरण' नामक संस्कृत रचना में बताया है कि हीनयान पर अधिरुढ़ व्यक्ति के लिए पद-पद पर मृत्यु की शंका रहती है। ठीक इसके विपरीत महायानाधिरुढ़ व्यक्ति की करूणामार्ग पर अग्रसर होने और जगदुध्दारणाशय होनें कें कारण प्रशंसा की गई है ।[20]

तांत्रिक बौध्द साहित्य में तीर्थिक की आलोचना तो हैं हीं, साथ ही वुध्दतीर्थिक की भी आलोचना है। यह शब्द प्रयोग मे विरल होते हुए भी अतिमहत्वपूर्ण है । महायानियों ने जिस दृष्टि से हीनयानिय की आलोचना की है, वैसी ही दृष्टि तांत्रिक बौध्द सिध्दो को भी है । स्थविरवादियों ने जिन दृष्टियों से तीर्थिको की आलोचना की है, उसी का निर्वाह वौध्दसिध्दो ने

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१४. वही : पृ. १०२, ११२, ११४।
१५. स्ट. बु. क. इं., जोशी, पृ. ४१३।
१६. बौ. ध. द, नरेन्द्रदेव, पृ. ४२९-४३०; सुत्तनिपात (नालन्दा), २।१४।१६१।
१७. ए. हि. इं. फि., दासगुप्त, वा. ३, (१९६८), पृ. ५१९-५२१।
१८. बौ. ध. द., पृ. ११८।
१९. वही : पृ. १०६।
२०. चित्तविशुध्दिप्रकरण आ. व. आर्यदेव, पटेल, (१९४६), पृ. ४, श्लोक ५२-५३
हीनयानाभिरूढानां मृत्युशंका पदे पदे । संग्रामजयचित्तस्तु दूर एव व्यवस्थितः।
महायानाभिरूढस्तु करुणाधर्मवर्मितः। प्रज्ञातन्तुधनुर्वाणां जगदुध्दारणाशयः ।।

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भी तीर्थिको की आलोचना मे किया है और उसी प्रकार इन लोगो ने तीर्थिको को भि निन्दा की है यद्यपि कदाचित् इसके पूर्व अपने पूर्ववर्ती बौध्दो को महायानियों ने भी तीर्थिक नही कहा था। बौध्द सिध्दो इस पूर्ववर्ती बौध्दो को तीर्थिक कहे जाने के मूल मे उनके वज्रयानी और सहजयानी सिध्दान्त है जिनका दर्शन हमे महायान में भी नही होता।

आदि सिद्धाचार्य सरहपाद ने गुरुवचन की महत्ता बताते हुए यह निर्देश दिया है कि उनके हृदय मे प्रवेश कर जाने पर तत्व तो हाथ पर रखा जैसा दिखायी पड़ता है; किन्तु जगत् तो मिथ्या में बहाया जा रहा है। मूर्खो द्वारा निजस्वभाव लक्षित नहीं किया जा रहा है।[21] अद्वयवज्र नें इसकी संस्कृत टीका में जगत् के मिथ्या मे प्रवाहित किए जाने के संदर्भ मे स्पष्टत: तीर्थिको का स्मरण किया है और सरह के ही शब्दो में उन्हे मूर्ख कहा है।[22] इसी प्रकार सरह यह मानते है कि निजस्वभाव का कथन अन्य के द्वारा नहीं किया जा सकता। उसका दर्शन तो मात्र गुरुपदेश से ही हो सकता है।[23] सरह के एक दोहे पर टीका करते हुए अद्वयवज्र यह स्पष्ट करते है कि श्रमण सम्यक्ज्ञान से रहित होते है और प्रव्रज्या ग्रहण करते हुए, विनयादि का पालन करते हुए भी उन्हे फल की प्राप्ति नही होती।[24] सरह के दोहों और उनपर की गयी टीका से उपर्युक्त शांतिपाद और आर्यदेवके विचारों का समर्थन मिलता है।

लुइपाद नें अपने चर्यापद में महासुख के परिमापन का उपदेश करते हुए यह कहा कि इसे तो गुरु से पूछकर ही जाना जा सकता है। सकल समाधियो से कुछ नही होता। उसके (महासुख के) अभाव मे सुख-दु:ख के प्रपंच मे पड़कर व्यक्ति निश्चय ही मृत्यु को प्राप्त करता है।[25] इस पर टीका करते हुए मुनिदत्त कहते है कि नयभेद से समाधि में कुशलदशा के परिहार हेतु इन्द्रियनिरोध का निर्देश किया गया है। इसकी आलोचना के लिए श्री समाज को उद्धृत करते हुए टीकाकार ने स्पष्ट किया है कि तीव्र दुष्कर नियमों के पालन से शरीर दु:खित होता है, सूखता है। दु:खादि सें चित्त विक्षिप्त होता है और चित्तविक्षेप से सिद्धि अन्यथा हो जाती है। पुनः इसकी पुष्टि में हेवज्रतंत्र को उध्दृत कर तांत्रिक बौध्दो के प्रबल राग तत्त्व की महिमा गायी है –

(१) 'दुष्करै: नियमैस्तीव्रैर्मूर्ति: शुष्यति दु:खिता।
दु:खाद्धि क्षिप्यते चित्तं विक्षेपात् सिध्दिरन्यथा॥' – श्री समाज से।

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२१. दोहाकोष, बागची, पृ. १८-जेह गुरु वुत्तउ हिअह पइसइ णिच्चिअ हत्थे ठविअ दीसइ। सरह भणइ जगत वाहिअ आलें। णिअसहाव णउ लक्खिउ वाले॥ ४-सरहपदाय दोहाकोष दो. सं. १८।

२२. वही, सं. टीका, पृ. ८७-८८।

२३. वही, पृ. २३, दो. सं. ३८-'णिअ सहावणउ कहिअउ अण्णे। दीसह गुरु उषएसैं अण्णैं॥'

२४. वही, दो. सं. १९, सं. टी. पृ. ८८-८९-'यदा तेन श्रमणेन सम्यग् ज्ञानहीनेन प्रव्रज्या गृहीता विनयादिलक्षणं शिक्षारक्षणं कृतं वा तेषां फलं न भवति।'

२५. चर्यागीतिकोष:, बागची और शास्त्री (१९५६), च. सं. १-'दिढ करिअ महासुह परिमाण। लुइ भणइ गुरु पुच्छिअ जाण॥ सअल समाहिअ काह करिअह। सुख-दुखेते निचित मरिअह॥'

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(२) 'रागेण बध्यते लोको रागेणैव विमुच्यते।
विपरीतभावना ह्येषा न ज्ञाता बुध्दतीर्थिकैः ॥' – श्री हेवज्र से।

इन प्रमाणो के आधार पर मुनिदत्त का स्पष्ट कथन है कि महासुख के अवधात से अर्थात् महासुख के राहित्य से बुध्दतीर्थिक बहुत से दुःखों का अनुभव कर जन्मते और मरते है।[26]

हीनयान के अनुसार राग पुनर्जन्मादि की ओर अग्रसर करनेवाला दोष है।[27] कुशल मे चित्त की एकाग्रता ही समाधि है। राग इसमे बाधक है।[28] महायान दर्शन में भी सास्रव धर्मो अथवा पदार्थो के प्रति राग का परित्याग अवश्यकीय माना गया है। प्रतिसंख्यानिरोध और अप्रतिसंख्यानिरोध के संदर्भ में यह द्रष्टव्य है। तृष्णा, इच्छा, राग आदि चित्त के विरोधक है जिससे अन्य अनेक दोष उत्पन्न होते है। तांत्रिक बौध्दो में राग की करुणा तत्त्व का पर्याय मान लिया गया। प्रतीकाथ में यह उपाय का पर्याय हो गया; किन्तु इसका हीनयानगृहीत अर्थ परित्यक्त नहीं हुआ। जैसे चित्त के सावृतिक और पारमार्थिक रूप स्वीकृत थे, उसी प्रकार राग भी दो प्रकार का स्वीकृत हुआ। अद्वयवज्र ने रागकी करुणा के रूप में विस्तृत व्याख्या की है।[29] साधनात्मक राग रंजन करने के कारण ही राग है। यह सांसारिक नहीं हैं, अतः महाराग हैं। श्री हेवज्रतंत्र के राग के दूसरे प्रयोग मे इस अर्थ की व्याप्ति देखी जा सकती है। इसके बिना महासुखकी सिध्दि संभव नहीं। इसिलिए मुनिदत्त ने उक्त श्लोक पर इस प्रकार टिप्पणी की। उन्होने पुनः लुइपाद तथा अपनी स्थापनाओं के लिए श्रीसमाज की उध्दृत किया–

पञ्चकामान् परित्यज्य तपोभिर्न च पीडयेत्।
सुखेन साधयेद् बोधिं योगतन्त्रानुसारतः॥

सरहपाद का वचन भी इसकी पुष्टि करता है–

तनुतरचित्तांकुरको विषयरसैर्यदि न सिच्यते शुध्दैः।
गगनव्यापी फलदः कल्पतरुत्वं कथं लभते॥[30]

तात्पर्य यह कि इसके माध्यम से तांत्रिक बौध्दो ने यह प्रसिध्द तांत्रिक सिध्दान्त स्वीकार कर लिया प्रतीत होता है कि प्रमाता की दृष्टि ही प्रमेय के स्वरूप का निर्णय करती हैं। साथ ही इस विवेचन एवं प्रमाणों सें यह भी स्पष्ट हो जाता है कि तांत्रिक बौध्दों की दृष्टि में पूर्ववर्ती बौध्द भी तीर्थिक की श्रेणी मे अन्तर्गणित थे।

सरहपाद ने अपने दोहों मे श्रमणादि की साधना का खण्डन किया है। इस प्रकार श्रमण भी तीर्थिकों के अन्तर्गत आए प्रतीत होते है और इसके प्रमाण भी हैं। श्रमण शब्द का अभिप्राय सामान्य अर्थ में संन्यासी या साधु है और विशिष्ट अर्थ में बौध्दभिक्षु है। इसका एक

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२६. वही, च. सं. १ की. सं. टीका-'एवं महासुखाविघातेन महासुखरहितत्वेन बुध्दतीर्थिका बहूनि दुःखान्यनुभूय उत्पद्यन्ते म्रियन्ते च।' पृ. ४।
२७. विसुध्दिमग्ग, कौसाम्बी, २२।११।२०, पृ. ४७८-४८० (महायान, शांतिभिक्षु)।
२८. विसुध्दिमग्ग, पृ. ८४-८५ (ए. हि. इं. फि., दासगुप्त, वा. १, पृ. १०१)।
२९. अद्वयवज्रसंग्रह, सं. हरप्रसाद शास्त्री (१९२७), प्रेमपंचक।
३०. चर्यागीतिकोष, बागची और शास्त्री, च. सं. १ की टीका, पृ. ४।

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अर्थ अधम भी है। जैन संन्यासी के लिए भी इस शब्दका व्यवहार मिलता है।[31] श्रमण दोनो प्रकार के मिलते हैं; वैदिक-अवैदिक, बौध्द-अवौध्द। अवैदिक श्रमण वेद के प्रामाण्य को स्वीकार नहीं करते, यज्ञ-यागादि की क्रियाओं के महत्त्वहीन मानते थे, उन्हे निरर्थक और निष्प्रयोजन मानते थे। इनसें क्षुद्र फलों की प्राप्ति मानी गयी। पालि निकाय मे प्रायः नास्तिक श्रमणो का ही उल्लेख है। श्रमणो के अनेंक संप्रदाय तपस्या का विशेष देते थे। बौध्दो में अनुयायियों के चार विभागों मे श्रामणेर एक विभाग था।[32] ऊपर श्रमण और प्रव्रज्याग्रहण दोनों का एक साथ प्रयोग अद्वयवज्र ने अपनी टीका में किया हैं। इससें यहा बौध्द संन्यासी की ओर ही संकेत किया गया प्रतित होता है।[33] इस प्रकार बौद्ध श्रमण भी सरहपाद की आलोचना का लक्ष है।

ऊपर हेवज्रतंत्र का जो श्लोक उध्दृत है, उसमे बुध्दतीर्थिक शब्द आया है। कृष्णवज्र-पाद हेवज्रतंत्र के प्रतिष्ठित टीकाकार हैं। उन्होने योगरत्नमाला नाम की टीका लिखी है। कृष्णवज्रपाद सरहपाद (हेवज्रतंत्र के प्रवर्तंक) की महनीय शिष्यपरंपरा में भी आते है। ऊपर मुनिदत्त ने हेवज्रतंत्र के श्लोक पर जी टिप्पणी की है, वह योगरत्नमाला से बहुत समानता रखती हैं। हेवज्रतंत्र गुह्यतंत्र का ग्रंथ होने कारण तीव्रेन्द्रियाधिकारसाध्य है। ऊपर उद्धृत 'रागेण बध्यते लोको' श्लोक हेवज्रतंत्र का ही है जिस पर टीका करते हुए कृष्णवज्रपाद नें स्पष्ट किया है–

> 'रागेणेति लौकिकरागेण मुच्यते सहजरागेण। विपरीत सपक्षस्यातिविपक्षरूपत्वात् परमार्थस्तु नैकस्य रागमात्रस्यापि तु सर्वेषां लौकिकधर्माणां न ज्ञातेति एवंविधा महासुखभावना न ज्ञाता न प्रतीता वुद्धतीर्थिकैः श्रावकादिभिः। कथं ते बौद्ध इति बुद्धं शास्तारं उपगच्छन्ति कथं तीर्थिकाः भगवच्छासनसारे वज्रयाने द्वेषात्।'[34]

यहां श्रावकों की गणना तीर्थिकी में की गयी है। हीनयान का ही दूसरा नाम श्रावकयान है। इसका प्रतिपक्ष महायान या बोधिसत्वयान हैं। इसे हीं अग्रयान भी कहते हैं।[35] महायान ग्रंथों में भी हीनयान को श्रावकयान कहा गहा है। ऊपर शांतिदेव ने भी अपनी आलोचना में श्रावक-यान का ही स्मरण किया है। असंग ने महायानसूत्रालंकार में बताया है कि श्रावकयान मे परहितसाधन का प्रयत्न नहीं है, केवल अपनें ही मोक्ष का उपाय मिलता है।[36]

इस प्रसंग मे तांत्रिक बौद्धों के राग तत्व का अर्थनिरूपण आवश्यक प्रतीत होता है। यह स्पष्ट किया जा चुका है कि तांत्रिक बौद्धों का राग महासुखभाव से घनिष्ठभाक्ति संबद्ध है। यह महासुख प्राचीन तीन कायों तथा अन्य संबद्ध धारणाओं से ऊपर है। महायान में भीं यद्यपि करूणातत्व की प्रधानता है, तथापि महासुख का लक्ष्यस्वरूप वहां दृश्य नहीं है। इस दृष्टि से

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३१. संस्कृत हिन्दी कोष, आपटे, पृ. १०३५; बुध्दिज्म, मो. विलियम्स, पृ. २३, सं. इं. डिक्शनरी मो. वि. पृ. १०९६।

३२. बी. ध. द., पृ. १, ११।

३३. सं. इं. डिक्श., मो. वि., पृ. ६९४ को भी देखा जा सकता है।

३४. हेवज्रतंत्र, स्नेलग्रीव, वा. २, योगरत्नमाला, पृ. १४०।

३५. बी. ध. द., पृ. १०६।

३६. वही, पृ. १६४।

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तांत्रिक बौद्ध महायान से भी भिन्न है। इसमें कोई संदेश नहीं प्रतीत होता कि परजनहिताय करुणातत्त्व पर बल देने के कारण वे महायान को तरह ही श्रावको की निन्दा करते हैं। यद्यपि उसने बुद्ध के स्वमुख से उनके उपदेश सुने, उनका अनुपालन किया, फिर भी वह महासुखाव-घातक होने के कारण निन्दायोग्य है। शास्ता तो गुरु भी हैं। वज्रयान-सहजयान में गुरु बुद्ध से कम नही है तथापि वह महासुखसाधक होनें कें कारण स्तुत्य है। 'बुद्धशास्तार उपगच्छन्ति' का यही अर्थ समीचीन प्रतीत होता है। मो. विलियम्स द्वारा दिए गए अर्थो से इसकी संपुष्टि होती है।[37] तात्पर्य यह कि स्थविरवादी श्रावकों की ही बुद्धतीर्थिक शब्द से संबोधित कर उन्हे भी तीर्थिक (परधर्मावलंबी) मान लिया गया। प्रकारान्तर से तांत्रिक बौद्ध सिद्धों द्वारा ये धर्म-विद्रोही मान लिए गए। सरहपाद औंर कृष्णपाद नें वज्रयानको भगवान् के उपदेशों का सार माना है और श्रावकों को इसकें प्रति द्वेषभाव रखनें के कारण हीं बुध्दतीर्थिक कहा हैं।

कृष्णवज्रपाद ने हेवज्रपंजिका (योगरत्नमाला) में तीर्थिको की कडी आलोचना की है। सरह ने हेवज्रतंत्र मे इसे 'गुह्यतर' कहा हैं जिसकी व्याख्या में कृष्णवज्रपाद कहते हैं कि श्रावको के लिए अप्रकाश्य होने के कारण यह हेवज्रतंत्र गुह्यतर हैं।[38] तीर्थिको ने ऋक्, यजु, साम और अथर्व नामके वेदों से लक्षित होनेवाले सिध्दांतों तथा उनके प्रेषित पुराणादि की रचना की। श्रावकपिटक, सूत्रान्तादि से सिध्दि नहीं मिलती। क्रियातंत्रादि कर्मप्रसार करते है। इन लक्षणों से युक्त ग्रंथ से:मुक्ति नही मिलती। महायान के विविध उपयानो की भी कृष्णवज्रपाद ने आलोचना की और कहा कि पारमितानय से भी सिध्दि नही मिलती –

> 'समस्तेत्यादि वेदाः ऋग्यजुःसामाथर्वलक्षणा सिध्दान्ताः
> तीर्थिकप्रणीताः पुराणादयः। श्रावकपिटकसूत्रान्तादयश्च
> सिध्दिः पुनर्भवस्यान्त एभिरिति कृत्वा कर्मप्रसराः
> क्रियातन्त्रादयः एभिरुक्तलक्षणा सिध्दिर्न स्यात्। पारमितानये किं
> भवति न भवतीत्याह।'[39]

इस विवेचन सें यह स्पष्ट होता है कि तांत्रिक बौध्द सिध्दाचार्य तीर्थिकं के अन्तर्गत, व्यापक अर्थ मे, श्रावको, श्रमणो को तो मानते ही थे साथ ही वे महायान के पारमितानय को भी उसी कोटि में मानते थे कि बहुना उन्होने इसी दृष्टि सें तांत्रिक बौध्द साधनमार्ग क्रियातंत्र-यान (तांत्रिक बौद्ध कर्मकाण्डवादियो) की भी आलोचना की थी।

उपर्युक्त आलोचना के मूल मे क्रियाशील तांत्रिक बौद्धो के कुछ सिद्धान्तो की ओर भी संकेत आवश्यक है। ऊपर राग या करुणातत्त्व कीं ओर संकेत किया गया है जिससे बौद्ध सिद्ध महारागवादी सिद्ध होते हैं। वे महासुखवादी थे। उनके चर्यापदीं औंर दोह में सहजसुख को सर्वोपरि महिमा का व्याख्यान मिलता है। इसे वे साधनात्मक जीवन का सर्वोच्च एवं सर्वोत्कृष्ट

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३७. सं. इं. डिक्श., मो. वि., पृ. १०६७।

३८. हेवज्रतंत्र, स्नेलग्रोव, १।१।१४ तथा उसकी टीका-'तस्यातिगुह्यतरं श्रावकादीनां अप्रकाश्यत्वाद्।' पृ. १०४।

३९. यही, १।१।८।४५-५४ की टीका योगरत्नमाला, वा. २, पृ. १३०।

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प्राप्य मानते हैं। ऊपर पिटकों की आलोचना मे तांत्रिक बौद्धो का स्वसंवेदनवाद (बौद्ध रहस्य-वाद की दृष्टि से प्रातिभ बाह्याचार का साक्षात्कारवाद) या प्रातिभ प्रामाण्यवाद ही कारण प्रतीत होता है। वे कर्मकाण्ड क, बाह्याचारका कों चाहे वह बौध्द ही या अबौद्ध. सभीका विरोध करते हैं और इसका कारण यह है कि वे अन्य भारतीय तांत्रिक मतों अथवा साधन संप्रदायों की तरह पिण्डब्रह्माण्ड की एकता और समता के सिद्धान्त को स्वीकार करते हुए अन्तस्साधनावाद का दृढ़ समर्थन करते हैं। वे सभी बाह्याचारो (तीर्थयात्रा, तीर्थस्नान, केशमुण्डन, पंचाग्निसेवन, मण्डल, मंत्र) का भी इसी आधार पर विरोध करते हैं। सहजयानों रचनाओं (चर्यापदों और दोहाकोशो) की प्रकृति और साधनमाला, साधन समुच्चय जैसी रचनाओं की प्रकृति में बहूत अन्तर हैं। कारण यह है कि वें रचनाए उत्तमतंत्र के या दिव्याचार के अन्तर्गत है और साधन संबंधी रचनाएं निम्नतंत्र के अन्तर्गत क्रियातंत्र की रचनाएं है।

उपर्युक्त विवेचन से यह निष्कर्ष निकलता है कि तांत्रिक बौद्ध सिद्धों (विशेषकर चर्यापदकार और दोहाकोशकार सिद्धो) की दृष्टि में उपर्युक्त सिद्धान्तो के अनुमार तीर्थिक एवं बुद्धतीर्थिक समान रूप से आलोच्य हैं और स्वसिद्धान्तो का खण्डन अथवा विरोध होने पर वे हीनयानियो को ही नहीं, व्यापक अर्थ में, कुछ अंश तक महायानियों को भी तीर्थिक ही मानते हैं।

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PRAKRIT AND JAINISM SECTION

COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE LANGUAGE OF *PAUMACARIYAM* AND *VASUDEVAHIṆḌĪ*

By

K. R. CHANDRA

The present study is undertaken to ascertain the comparative stage of the (Mahārāṣṭrī) language of of *Paumacariyam* (in verse) (*PCV*) and the *Vasudevahiṇḍī* (in prose) (*VH*) as their dates of composition are uncertain. Both of these works hold important place in the Indian classical literature on account of their themes, literary types, voluminosity, richness in linguistic and cultural material and early dates of their composition. Scholars have worked on these two texts independently without comparing the language of the one with the other and the different opinions regarding the dates of their composition can be summed up as follows :

i) The *PCV* has been placed in the period from the 1st cent. A. D. to the 5th cent. A. D.

ii) The *VH* is said to be not later than the 5th cent. A. D. and its suggested date is 3rd or 2nd cent. A. D.

We shall try to see if this study can be helpful in deciding which of these two works is earlier on the basis of the linguistic data available in them.

Phonology

(i) *Medial unaspirates*		*PCV*		*VH*	
(क, ग, च, ज, त, द, प, य, व)		total	%	Total	%
(R) Retention	..	186	32.2;	257	34.7
(S) Softening	..	60 (क-च-प) 2–1–57	10.4	67 (क-प) 9–58	9
(D) Dropping	..	331	57.4;	416	56.2
	Total	577	×	740	×

In the *VH* the dropping is 1.2% less, the softening is 1.4% less and the retention is 2.5% more than in the *PCV*. In the *PCV* medial त् is dropped

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15 times (D-168, R-11) and in the *VH* only 4 times (D-255, R-66). It is likely due to the influence of the त् śruti which is available in the *VH* and not in the *PCV*. Five instance of pure त् śruti available in the *VH* are अडवीते (ए) 43.21, धणुपुंजतो (को) 44.7, नती (दी) णं 44.9, दारुते (के) 44.11 and कुलघरादीतो (को) 36.21. Retention of medial त् in the VH is not considered here as त् śruti.

On the whole this difference between the language of the two texts is so marginal that one cannot say decisively that one text has priority over the other. But there are three instances of व् śruti in the *PCV* and not a single one in the *VH*.-*PCV*. जुवलय 65.23, सुरगीवपुर 63.19 (mscpts. क and ख have य), फोडव 63.26 (mscpts. जे has य). व् śruti becomes popular in the later stage of the MIA. languages.

(ii) *Medial Aspirates.* :		*PCV*		*VH*	
(ख, घ, थ, ध, भ)		total	%	total	%
(R) Retention	...	26	20	33	31
(L.o.) Loss of occlusion		100	80	73	69
	Total	126	×	106	×

In this respect when the *PCV* drops 80% and the *VH* 69% one can say that the language of the *VH* represents an earlier stage.

(iii) The following table gives comparative position of some medial consonants :

	PCV			*VH*		
	R	S	D	R	S	D
क	36	2	39 = 77	20	9	56 = 85
त	11	0	168 = 179	66	0	255 = 321
द	5	×	37 = 42	21	×	21 = 42
प	15	57	5 = 77	23	58	0 = 81

	R	L.o	R	L.o
घ	0	9 = 9	4	4 = 8
ध	1	29 = 30	5	21 = 26
भ	25	15 = 40	23	3 = 26

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On the whole the above table shows that the retention of medial consonants in the *VH* is larger than in the *PCV*.

Morphology

(A) *Nominal Forms*

(i) Acc. sg. forms of the (mas. and fem.) stems ending in आ and इ, ई and terminating in आ and ई respectively. Along with the usual forms termination in अं and इं respectively there are available in the *PCV* (mas. add fem.) form of आ and इ, ई ending shems which terminate in आ and ई respectively and those of इ, ई ending fem. stems in the *VH* which termlnate in ई.

PCV. mas. सुमाली 61.29, काली 61.29, सोमित्ती 62.1

Fem. सीया 65.36, सुया 65.17

रणभूमी 62.2, महाभेरी 64.7

VH. fem. उवलद्धी 33.14, रोवमाणी 36.9 (परिहायमाणीं, उज्जेणी, उज्जेणीं are skt. like forms).

This tendency of dropping the nasal of the ending short vowel of acc. sg. forms and the lengthening the ending short vowel is found in the *VH* in the इ, ई ending fem. slem only whereas in the *PCV* it has been extended to fem. आ ending and mas. इ ending stems also. Out of total 59 acc. sg. forms of the above stems available in the *PCV* there are 3 mas forms which terminate in ई, 7 fem. in आ and 10 fem. in ई, i. e. 33% of the forms terminate in आ and ई out of 36 forms in the *VH* 5 and in इं, i. e. 14% and if we do not include the three Skt. like forms that are given above then the percentage of the unusual froms comes to 6½.

Gaiger and Pischel do not refer to such unusual forms in Pali and Prakrit but a few can be traced in the Inscriptions (Ashokan पुजा S.K.G; कोटी D. J. अनुपटीपती Topra; and L-1200 Bellary Dist. बाधा 3rd cent. A. D. All sg. forms).

These unusual forms have later origin and their frequency is larger in the *PCV* than in the *VH*.

(ii) Inst. sg. forms of उ ending non-fem. stems terminating in ऊण and ऊणं.

Out of the seven instances of inst. sg. of उ ending stems available in the *PCV* one नयचक्खुणा is usual. In the rest of the six instances the ending vowel उ of the stem is lengthened. One of them shortens the suffix णा to ण and the other five again nasalise ण to णं (e. g.).

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PCV नयचक्खुणा 65.28, वाऊण 65,41, संभूणं 61.26, साधूणं 63.22, पुणव्वसूणं 63.35 रिऊणं 61.60, साहूणं 63.70.

In the Ashokan inscriptions we find in the end of the forms न in place of ना in those stems which end in अन्, इन् and not in उ except that of पितु for पितृ.

कमन (कर्मणा d. j.), अतन (आत्मना) Rdh, Mth., Rp), राजिन (राज्ञ M.); पियदसिन (प्रियदर्शिना rm, ng), पितुन (पित्रा S. M.).

In the later inscriptions a few instances with न ending are traced in the case of -इ and -उ ending stems, e. g. धनभूतिन L. 687, Bharaut 1st cent. A. D. कुशकविन K. 96, Karnal, 1st cent. A. D,, वेण्हुण, Basim 4th cent. A. D.

In all these instances from inscriptions we do not find the ending vowel of the stem lengthened as well as the suffix ण nasalised.

Pischel (379) mentions from the *Ācārāṅga* and *Sūtra kṛtāṅga* forms like अट्ठीण, मुट्ठीण, लेलूण in which the ending vowel of the stem is lengthened but the suffix ण is not nasalised.

In Pali this type of forms is not available (see Geiger). Nasalisation of short vowel of some case-endings is found in Prakrit., e. g inst. plu. हि = हिं Loc. plu. सु = सुं. In Pali and earlier inscriptions we do not find - हि and -सु nasalised. Nasalised -हिं is available in the inscriptions as late as that of 3rd and 4th cun. A. D. and that also in the pronominal form -अम्हेहिं L. 1337 (south) and Basim (central).

Thus the evolution of the later case-ending in question can be accounted as follows :

– इणा ↗ इण / ईण ↗ ईणं; – उणा ↗ उण / ऊण ↗ ऊणं

In the *VH* only one instance, e. g. भत्तूण 35.8 and that also in a verse is available in which the ending is not nasalised whereas in the *PCV* five out of the six are nasalised. It shows that the language of the *PCV* represents a later stage.

(iii) Frequency of the loc. sg. suffix म्मि.

Loc. sg. forms of non-feminine stems end in ए and म्मि in the Mahārāṣṭrī Prakrit. In the *PCV* they are available in the ratio of 80 : 20 respectively and in the *VH* in that of 63.1. i. e. the percentage of म्मि is 20 and 1½ in the *PCV* and *VH* respectively. In Pali-म्मि is not available, there are स्मिं and म्हि and in the Ashokan inscriptions -सि and -म्हि. The ending -मि (for म्मि

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or म्मि) is available for the first time in an inscription of the 1st cent. B, C. and that also in a pronominal form. Later on nominal forms are also available with this case-ending., e. g. इमम्मि K. 13 (1st cent. B. C.), विहरम्मि (K. 28), वणम्मि K. 26 (1st cent. A. D), विहरंम्मि K. 80 (2nd cent. A. D.) दिवसंम्मि K. 53. (3rd cent. A. D.).

It shows that the evolution of the case-ending म्मि has been from the pronominal ending –स्मिन् = –स्मिं, –म्हि and –म्मि and this –म्मि has later origin

The percentage of the –म्मि suffix is 13 times more in the *PCV* than in the *VH*. It shows the later stage of the language of the *PCV*.

(B) Pronomial Forms

(i) Forms of I nom. sg. available in the *PCV* and the *VH* are अहं, हं and अहयं in the ratio of 5 : 7 : 6 and 31 : 5 : 3 respectively. In Pali अहयं is not available, it is the extended form of अहं and represents a later stage. In the *PCV* and the *VH* the percentage of अहयं is 33 and 8 respectively.

(ii) Forms of I inst. sg. मए and मे are available in the *PCV* and the *VH* in the ratio of 7 : 2 and 11 : 11 respectively. In the *VH* मया is additionally available 27 times but not a single time in the *PCV*. This is an old form which is exclusivly available in Pali. Its percentage in the *VH* is 55.

(iii) Forms of gen. sg. available in the *PCV* and the *VH* are मम - ममं; मे, मज्झं - मज्झ, महं - मह in the ratio of 1 : 12 : 11 : 13 and 19 : 16 : 4 : 1 respectively. Their respective percentage in the *PCV* is 2½ : 32½ : 30 : 35 and in the *VH* is 47½ : 40 : 10 : 2½. मम and मे are old forms, मज्झं - मज्झ evolved from मह्यं (Skt.), (Pali मय्हं), महं is not available in Pali and it is still a later development. The percentage of old forms is more in the *VH* and that of later forms more in the *PCV*.

(iv) Forms of II nom. sg. available in the *PCV* and the *VH* are तुमं and तुह in the ratio of 17 : 2 and 10 : 0 respectively. Pali does not have the form तुह. It is a later form and its percentage in the *PCV* is 10 and in the *VH* nil.

(v) Forms of II gen. sg. available in the *PCV* and the *VH* are ते, तव, तुज्झं - तुज्झ, तुमं, तुहं - तुह in the ratio of 3 : 0 : 13 : 2 : 3 and 11 : 1 : 1 : 0 : 1. ते and तव are old forms and their percentage in the *PCV* is 14 and in the *VH* 86. तुज्झं - तुज्झ evolved from तुह्यं (Skt, Pali – तुय्हं) and its percentage in the *PCV* and the *VH* is 62 and 7 respectiveiy. तुमं and तुहं - तुह are not available

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in Pali. They are of still later origin. Their percentage in the *PCV* and the *VH* is 24 and 7 respectively.

(vi) Forms of III (mas.) gen. plu. available in the *PCV* and *VH* are तेसिं and ताण in the ratio of 0 : 2 and 8 : 1 respectively. In the *PCV* ताण is 100% and in the *VH* 11%. Pali does not have ताण which is a later form.

This survey shows that the *VH* has larger number of old pronominal forms and the *PCV* has larger number of later forms.

(C) *Augments* – स्स *and* – ह *of the future tense.*

In forms of future tense augment – स्स or – ह is added to verbal stems before appending personal terminations. In the *PCV* 1 form is available with – स्स (भविस्सामि 62.18) and 12 with – ह (दाहामि, जीविहिइ, काहिन्ति etc.). In the *VH* 9 forms have – स्स and 3 – ह (भविस्संति etc. and होहिति etc.). The ratio of forms with – स्स and – ह in the *PCV* i (1 : 12 and in the *VH* 6 : 3, i. e. the frequency of the augment – स्स in the *VH* is 24 times more than in the *PCV*.

In the inscriptions no form with – ह augment is available. In Pali also this augment is not popular and it is confined to the gāthā literature only. – स्स is older which is later on replaced by – ह and the high frequency of the latter in the *PCV* shows the later stage of its language.

(D) *Frequency of the forms of the stems* भव, हव *and* हो (*of the root* भू)

In the *PCV* forms of the stems भव, हव and हो are available in the ratio of 1 : 4 : 4 and in the *VH* in that of 6 (भव) : 4 (हो). It shows that in the *PCV* हव and हो the later derivatives of भव are 12 times more than in the *VH*.

(E) *Participles of Absolutive and Infinitive*

(i) Absolutive forms ending in त्ता, ऊण (ऊणं), य and उं are available in the ratio of 0 : 61 : 7 : 17 in the *PCV* and in that of 20 : 76 . 1 : 3 in the *VH*, the suffix त्ता is older and it is 20% in the *VH* and 0% in the *PCV*. Again उं is the suffix of infinitive and it is used for absolutive at the rate of 20% and 3% in the *PCV* and the VH respectively.

(ii) Infinitive forms ending in उं and ऊण are available in the *PCV* in the ratio of 9 : 1 and those ending in उं and त्ता in that of 16 : 1 in the *VH*. The *PCV* uses absolutive for infinitive at the rate of 10% and the *VH* at that of 6%. Use of infinitive and absolutive participles for one another is not found in the inscriptions and Pāli. It is a later development in Prakrit and its frequency in the *PCV* is larger.

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Late Prof. Alsdorf studied the language of the *VH* minutely and he traced many archaic forms in it. If that material is also taken into account then it will be still more clear than what this study reveals that the date of composition of the *PCV* is certainly later than that of the *VH* because the language of the *VH* represents an earlier stage while that of the *PCV* is of later stage.

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WHICH OF THE GROUPS WAS ACELAGA ? KESI'S OR GAUTAMA'S

By

J. D. DHANAL

(Problem arising out of the dialogue between the two monks in the chapter kesigoyamijjam)

The Uttarājjhayaṇa is one of the four books in Mūlasūtra section which along with other sections constitute the Jain canon compiled by Svetāmbara section. The twenty third chapter namely Kesigoyamijjaṃ in this book deals with a meeting of Kesi, a distant disciple of Pārśva and Gautama, the immediate disciple of Mahāvīra. The two monks along with their pupils had casually come to Śrāvasti and they marked during their stay. Some differences between the groups with regard to law and conduct So a meeting, in wich Kesī questioned and Gautama answered, took place for clarification of the doubts. This article deals with some problems arising out of the matters covered under the first two questions and the answers.

Verses containing the first quession are as -

Cāujjāmo ya jo dhammo, jo imo pancasikhio
Desio vaddhamāṇeṇa, pāseṇa ya mahāmunī | 23
Egakajjapavaṇṇāṇaṃ visese kim nu kāraṇaṃ |
Dhamme duvihe mehāvī, kaham vippaccao na te' | | 24

" The law taught by the great sage
Pārśva recognises but four vows, whilst that
of Vardhamāna enjoins five (23)
Both laws pursuing the same end,
What has caused this difference ? Have
you no misgivings about this twofold
Law, O wise man ? " (24)

Verses containing answer to this question are as -

Tao Kesim buvantam tu Goyamo inam abbavī |
Pannā samikkhae dhammatattaṃ tattavinicchiyaṃ | | 25 | |
Purimā ujjujadā u, vañkajadā ya pacchimā |
Majjhimā ujjupannā u, teṇa dhamme duhā kae | |26
Purimāṇaṃ duvvisojjho u carimāṇaṃ duraṇupāao |
Kappo majjhimagāṇaṃ tu, suvisojjho supāao || 27

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"Then to these words of Kesi, Goutama made the following reply : "wisdom recognizes the truth of the Law and the ascertainment of true things (25)

'The first saints (those under the first Tīrthaṅkara) were simple but slow at understanding, the last saints (under the last Tīrthaṅkara) were prevaricating and slow of understonding, those between the two, simple and wise, hence there are two forms of the Law (26)

The first could but with difficulty understand the precepts of the Law, and the last could only with difficulty observe them, but those between them easily understood and observed them" (27)

Verses cantaining the second question are as -
Acelago ya jo dhammo, jo imo santaruttaro |
Desio Vaddhamāṇeṇa, Pāseṇa ya mahājasā || 29
Verse no. 30 is the same as verse no 24

" The Law taught by Vardhamāna forbids clothes, but that of the qreat sage Pārśva allows an under- and upper-garment. (29)

The same as verse no. 24 (30)
Verses containing the answer are as -
Kesimevaṃ buvanaṃ tu, Gayamo iṇam abbavī |
Vinnāṇeṇa samāgamma,dhammasāhaṇam icchiyaṃ || 31
Paccayatthaṃ ca logassa, nāṇāvihavigappaṇaṃ |
Jattatthaṃ gahaṇattham ca, loge liṅgapaoyaṇaṃ || 82
Aha bhave painnā u, mokkhasabbhuyasāhaṇā |
Nāṇaṃ ca daṁsaṇaṃ ceva, cārittaṃ ceva nicchaye || 33

"To these words of Kesi Gautama made the following reply : "Deciding the matter by their superior knowledge (the Tīrthaṅkaras) have fixed what is necessary for carrying out the Law (31)"

"The various outward marks (of religious men) have been introduced in order that people might recognise them as such, the reason for the characteristic marks is their usefulness for religious life and their distinguishing character (32)"

"Now the opinion (of the Tirthaṅkaras) is that knowledge, faith and right conduct are the true causes of final liberation, (and not the outward marks)" (33)"

Commentator Kamalasaṁyamopādhyāya has explained in his Sarvārthasiddhiṭīkā the following words as

Cāujjāmo : Law of four vows prescribed by Pārśva

Pañcasikkhio : Law of five vows preseribed by Vardhamāṇa

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Purimā : Those saints under the first Tīrthaṅkara

Majjhimā : Those saints under the period of religius reign of Tīrthaṅkaras no : 2 to 23

Pacchimā : Those saints under the last Tīrthaṅkara

Acelago : saint with old and cheap garment (as per sthavirakalpa)
naked saints (as per Jinakalpa)

Santaruttaro - saint wearing an under and upper garment.

Ujjujadā : simple and slow of understanding.

Ujjupannā : simple and wise

Vañkajadā : prevaricating and slow of understanding.

A footnote, to verse no. 26 written by Dr.Jacobi on the basis of the commentator's explanation is given below for more clarity of the matter :

"The meaning of this explanation is as follows . As the vow is not explicitly mentioned among Pārśva's four vows, but was understood to be implicitly enjoined by them, it follows that only such men as were of an upright disposition and quick understanding would not go astray by observing the four vows literelly, i. e., by not abstaining form sexual intercourse, as it was not expressly forbidden"

Dr. Jacobi further adds = "The agumentation in the text presupposes a decay of the morals of the monastic order to have occurred between Pārśva and Mahāvīra, and this is possible only on the assumption of a sufficient interval of time having elapsed between the last two Tīrthaṅkaras. And this perfectly agrees with the common tradition that Mahāvīra came 250 years after Pārśva''

The following problems arise out of the dialogue :

(i) If saints under Tīrthaṅkaras no. 2 to 23, i. e. Majjhimā saints, were Ujjupannā i. e. simple and wise, how are thay said to be santaruttara i. e. wearing undergarment ? The adjective, Ujjupannā contradicts with their wearing of garment as wearing of garment is snpposed to be inferior to acelaṅkatva.

(ii) If the saints under the last Tīrthaṅkara, i. e. pacchimā saints, were vañkajadā i.e. prevaricating and slow of understanding, how are they called acelaga i.e. without garment ?

The adjective vañkajadā contradicts with their being acelaga as acelagatva is supposed to be superior to wearing garment.

In short the problem is which group was really acelaga and which was sāntaruttara ?

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The Śvetāmbara section holds that the monks under Pārśva were wearing coloured and fine garment. References are found in the works of Śvetāmbara authors. They interpret acelaga as one wearing old and cheap garment. They hold that this sort cf clothing was prescribed by Mahāvīra. Some Śvetāmbara commentators state two meanings of acelaga as (i) according to jinakalpa it means naked and according to sthavirakalpa it means one wearing old and cheap garment. (parijunnappamullaṃ)

(i) If the pupils were wearing old and cheap garments, there would be no reason for the other to be doubtful at the twofold conduct as both the groups would have the similar outward mark.

(ii) If the pupils at Gautama were naked, the other being not alien to their old traditional conduct of naked going, would not have reason to be doubtful at the twofold conduct.

(iii) As stated earlier, the adjective ujjupannā of Kesi's group contradicts with their wearing garment, and adjective vañkajadā of Gautama's group contradicts whith their being acelaga. If majjhimā saints were simple and wise, haw Pārśva would prescribe nudity ?

(iv) Verse no 23 and verse no. 29 which possess similar construction are not construed with, in the same sequence while rendering. To be more clear the sequence between cāujjāmo pancasikkhio does not correspond with the sequence btween Vaddhamāṇa and Pāsa (v. 23). But the sequence between acelago and santaruttaro corresponds with the sequence between Vaddhamāṇa and Pāsa (v. 29)

If verse 29 is rendered on the fashion of verse no. 23 (fashion of not corresponding one sequence with the other) it would mean -

"The Law taught by Pārśva forbids clothes and that at Vardhamāna allows an undergarment" This meaning would help to strengthen the problems raised above.

Can we hold that qroup of Gautama was wearing garment and that of kesi was naked ? If we hold this supposition then, only on this supposition, the two groups have reason to be curious enough of the differences and to have a meeting, especially the group of Kesi would initiate to ask questions.

Digambara section holds that all Tīrthaṅkaras prescribed nudity for monks. In spite of the naked monks, this section possesses monks wearing under/upper garment. All other sections of the Jain creed have among them monks wearing garment. These facts go to prove that pacchimā saints were santaruttara as well as acelaga.

Does it mean that the practice of monks wearing garment might have started after Mahāvīra's nirvāṇa? Or does it mean that such a practice was

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allowed by Mahāvīra even though he prescribed nudity as the ideal characteristic mark ?

Common Jain tradition holds all Tīrthaṅkaras as prescribing nudity. so Pārśva prescribed nudity for his Nigaṇṭhas. The Nigaṇṭhas are well-known as naked monks in the Jain tradition similarly Mahāvīra also preseribed nuds dty, becasue common tradition held so. Owing to the quality - Vaṅkajadā of the saints under him, the practice of wearing under / upper garment might have protruded.

Moreover not a single reference is found stating saints under Pārśva wearing garment in the Digambara works.

Dr. Jacobi'f statement -

"The argumentation in the text presupposes a decay of the morals of the monastic order to have occurred between Pārśva and applicable to observing the number of vows and is not concerned with outward mark.

As to the references of Pārśva saints wearing coloured fine garment found in_the works of Śvetāmbara section I can only say that the matter needs research and investigation.

In the light of the discussion made above it seems difficult to suppose saints under Pārśva as wearing garment, because they were simple and wise. According to Digambaras they are staunch naked monks. On the other hand saints under Vardhamāna are found naked as well as wearing garment.

So why should we not take saints under Pārśva and theaeby Kesi's group to be acelaga (naked) and saints under Vardhamāna, and thereby Gautama's group, to be santaruttara ?

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THE ROLE OF DHARAṆENDRA IN JAIN MYTHOLOGY

By

J. C. JAIN

(Abbreviations : Āva Cū = *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*; BKK = *Bṛhatkathākośa*; BKŚS = Bṛhatkathāślokasaṅgraha; JHP = Jinasena's *Harivaṁśapurāṇa*; KSS = Kathāsaritsāgara; MKH = Majjhimakhaṇḍa; MW = Monier Williams' *Sanskrit - English Dictionary*; PNL = Prakrit Narrative Literature; TSP = *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita*; Vasudeva = The *Vasudevahiṇḍi*-An Authentic Jain Version of the Bṛhatkathā; VH = *Vasudevahiṇḍi*; ZDMG = *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlaendishen Gesellschaft*).

The 14th Book of the *Arthaśāstra* describes a number of rites and practices producing miraculous effects such as bringing on blindness, killing people on mass scale, causing various kinds of diseases, changing one's appearance, making objects glow at night, remaining without food for days together, and so on. Here we come across a priest, supposed to be expert in warding off divine and human calamities by means of remedies described in the *Atharvaveda*.

A *vidyadhara*, or a master of magic art, is endowed with supernatural power. According to the Jains, *vidyādharas* dwell in the Vaitāḍhya[1] mountain, are devotees of Jain religion and are described as travelling in heavenly cars. Vimalasūri (4th century A. D.) in his *Paumacariya* gives a description of the *vidyādhara*-world. According to him, Hanumān was not a monkey but belonged to the *vānara* race of the *vidyādharas* as much as the *rākṣasa* prince Rāvaṇa was not a man-eating demon but an adherent of the *vidyādhara* race. The *Kalpasūtra* of Bhadrabāhu refers to the *vijjāharī* (*vidyādharī*) as one of the four *śākhās* of the well-known Koṭika gaṇa of Jain preceptors, the others being the *Uccānāgarī, Vairī* and *Majjhimillā*. Further we are told that Ācārya Jinadatta, the teacher or renowned Haribhadrasūri (8th century A. D.) was related to the *vidyādhara-gaccha*.

DHARAṆENDRA, THE DONATOR OF MAGIC ART

The earliest reference to Dharaṇendra, the lord of the Nāgas, occurs in the *Thāṇāṅga* (II·3). He is said to have conferred the magic arts (*vijjās*) upon Nami and Vinami and made them the rulers of the southern and the

1. In Hindu mythology, a *Vidyādhara* is a Supernatural being, dwelling in the Himalayas, attending upon Śiva and possessed of magical power *MW*.

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northern regions of the Vaitāḍhya mountain. It has been stated in the *Vasudevahiṇḍi* of Saṅghadāsagaṇi Vācaka (circa 3rd century A. D.) that Nami and Vinami, the two princes related to the revered Ṛṣabha, with drawn swords, were serving the Master while he was engrossed in meditation.[2] At that time Dharaṇa, the lord of the Nāgas, who had come there to pay homage to the *Tīrthaṅkara*, happened to see them serving the Master. He inquired : "What were they doing there?" They replied, "The Master has given land to his sons and the Kṣatriyas, while they were away. Now they are serving him to ask for his favour." Thereupon the lord of the Nāgas remarked, "Look, the Master is devoid of like or dislike and he possesses nothing. But as you have been serving him since long, I shall give both of you the two *vidyādhara* territories (*vijjāhara-seḍhīo*),[3] situated on both sides of the Veyaḍḍha[4] mountain. And since you will not be able to move about the region by foot, I bestow upon you some magic arts by which you will be able to reach the territories by flying in the sky." Thereafter, Dharaṇendra conferred upon them various arts such as *Mahārohiṇī, Pannatti, Gorī, Vijjumuhī, Mahājālā, Tirikkhamaṇī, Bahurūviyā* and others.[5] Nami occupied the southern region of the territory and Vinami the northern one, each one of them establishing a number of cities in their territories.[6] Then each one fixed eight groups of the *vidyādharas*,[7] and with their magic lores, surrounded with their people, enjoyed divine pleasures. Later, they installed the image of revered Ṛṣabha in the cities and the assembly-halls[8].

THE STORY OF DHARṆENDRA

This story is important as besides the Vasudevahiṇḍi, it also finds a place in Jinasena's *Harivaṁśapurāṇa* (8th century A. D.) and Hariṣena's

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2. Cf. Girimuṇḍa, the *vidyādhara*-lord, while subduing magic arts, was guarded by his two brothers, *BKŚS*, XX. 24-27.
3. Vaitārddha in *BKŚS*, XIII. 28; synonym of vedyardha of the *KSS* (Penzer, Vol. IV pp. 1-2; Vol. III, 47), meaning two mythological districts of the *vidyādharas* of the Himālayas.
4. Also Veaḍḍha, Vaitāḍhya, Vijayāḍhya, or Vijayārdha. It divides Bhārata into the northern and the southern regions. In each region there is a group of *vidyādharas*, dwelling in cities. Veyaḍḍha is derived from vedyardha, meaning the base of the mountain. Thus we have vedyara : vediyaḍḍha ; veiaḍḍha : ve (ya)-aḍḍha. Alsdorf, "Zur Geschichte der Jaina-Kosmographie und Mythologie," *ZDMG*, 92 (1938), 485f.
5. *Gorī, Gandhārī, Rohiṇī* and *Pannatti* are known as great magic arts (*mahāvijjā*) in *Āva Cū*, 161. See also *VH*, pp. 29, 29n, 13n; *PNL*, 104, 186.
6. Compare the *vidyādhara*-emperor Naravāhanadatta, having conquered the southern and the northern divisions of the land, was declared emperor over all the kings of the *vidyādharas*, *KSS*, Chapters 109-110 on Mahābhiṣeka.
7. For the group of the *vidyādharas* see *PNL*, 97, 104, 161n.
8. *VH*, 163, 25-164, 17.

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Bṛhatkathākośa (10th century A. D.). King Saṃjaya[9] was the ruler of Vītaśokā, situated in Aparavideha. His queen named Saccasiri[10] gave birth to two sons, namely Saṃjayanta and Jayanta. In the course of time, the king renounced the world and joined the ascetic order along with his sons. Later while leading the life of a monk, Jayanta violated the rules of monkhood and was reborn as Dharaṇa, the king of the Nāgas [11] His brother Saṃjayanta, while practising asceticism, was brought to the Veyaḍḍha mountain in order to be killed by Vijjudāḍha, a powerful *vidyādhara*-lord, the ruler of Gaganavallabha, situated in the northern region of the Veyaḍḍha mountain. While cautioning the *vidyādhara*-kings, he told them, "This unexpected occurrence, if allowed to grow further, will lead to our destruction, therefore, with your arms, you should kill him without further delay. Don't be negligent."[12] Thereupon the *vidyādharas* got their arms ready to hit the ascetic. In the meantime, Dharaṇa while proceeding to pay homage to the Aṣṭāpada shrine, saw the *vidyādharas* ready to kill the monk. Dharaṇa was annoyed and scolded them in the following manner : " O the killers of the sage ! why have you come down here when your place is in the air ? It is not proper on your part You do not understand what is right and what is worng." With these words Dharaṇa seized their magic arts, Thereupon the *vidyādharas* bending their heads with humility, requested the king of the Nāgas to pardon them.[13] Dharaṇendra enraged with their behaviour, cursed them as follows : " From now on you will have to make efforts to accomplish the magical spells, and if

9. Vaijayanta in *JHP* (27,5) and *BKK* (78 2)
10. Sarvaśrī in *JHP* (27.6) and *BKK* (78.2).
11. In the *JHP* (27.9) and *BKK* (78.12), the monk having seen Dharaṇendra, developed a desire for the reward for a penitential act (*nidāna*), and was reborn as Dharaṇendra in the next birth. Compare the story of Migasinga, who as an ascetic, developed *nidāna* and was reborn as Vijjudāḍha in Gaganavallabha, *VH*, 261, 30-262, 44.
12. In the *JHP* (27,10-17) and *BKK* (18.13-23) the monk was practising, penance in the dreadful cemetery of the town, when Vidyuddaṃṣṭra, having sported with his queens, was returning home. He brought him to the mount Varuṇa, situated in the southern region of Vaitāḍhya. However, there is no mention of Varuṇa in the *BKK*. He brought him to the confluence of five rivers and went away. He returned in the morning and told the *vidyādharas* that in dream he had seen a huge-bodied *rākṣasa*, who would surely destroy them, therefore he should be killed as soon as possible. Consequently the monk was killed. Then in order to pay homage to the dead body, there appeared Dharaṇendra, who taking away the magic lores of Vidyuddaṃṣṭra, got ready to strike him. The *BKK* provides a somewhat diffsrent version. Vidyuddaṃṣṭra is said to have repeated the warning of a divinity that the monk, being in a nude state, agitating the mind of respectable people, would devour the *vidyādharas* Hence, unless the ascetic, bearing the dreadful is put to death with red iron bars, there cannot be peace to the *vidyādharas*. Hearing these words, all of them assembled and pierced the monk's body with iron bars (78.238-242).
13. *VH*, 251, 25-252, 21; *The Vasudeva*, 454; also *JHP* (27.134),

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one who has accomplished them, shall violate a Jaina temple, a monk, or a couple, will be deprived of them. In the line of Vijjudāḍha (Vidyuddaṃṣṭra) the great spells will not be accomplished by males, but only by females with great difficulty." [14]

DHARAṆA'S ASSOCIATION WITH HOLY MOUNTAINS

1. *Sīmaṇaga.* It is stated that from that time on, the mountain Sīmaṇaga or Simaṇarā,[15] situated at the confluence of five rivers,[16] became known for accomplishing magic spells.[17] Elsewhere in the same work we are told that a hermitage was situated near the confluence of five revirs (*pañca-nadīsaṅgama*) which was visited by Vasudeva with his beloved Vegavatī. Vegavatī had lost her magic powers while protecting her husband against the attack of Śūrpaṇakhī and consequently had become an earth-dweller. Both of them had their bath in the Varuṇodikā or Varuṇodaka river.[18] Then they proceed to the Simaṇarā[19] mountain, the source of various minerals, and as extensive as the the sky, with its foot beiag washed by the water of Varuṇodikā river. The mountain Sīmaṇaga was also known for the shrine of revered Ṛṣṭabha, and it was here that Acala, one of the Baladevas, attained omniscience. The mountain was also visited by Amitatejas, the lord of the *vidyādharas*.[20]

2. *Hrīmanta.* Hirimanta or Hrīmat seems to be another holy mountain associated with Dharaṇa, We are told that the image of Dharaṇendra was installed here along with the image of revered Saṃjayanta and also that of Amitatejas, the lord of the *vidyādharas*, in order to accomplish the *Mahājvālā* spell, visited this mountain.[21] Hrīmanta also finds a place in the unpublished *MKH* of Dharmasenagaṇi (circa 7th century A. D.), Jinasena's *Harivaṃśa-purāṇa* and Hemacandra's *TŚP*. It has been stated in the *MKH* that a festival was celebrated in honour of the Jain shrines on this mountain, situated in the southern half of Bhārata, when the *vidyādharas*, accompanied

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14. *VH*, 264, 20–23. For a similar statement see *JHP* (27.130–131)
15. Sīmaṇṇaga as a variant (*VH*, 319, 6); 264, 25. Sīman in *TŚP*, V. I. 240–393; III 222.
16. The *JHP* (27.12–13) mentions the mountain Varuṇa situated on the confluence of five rivers, namely, Haridvatī, Caṇḍavegā, Gajavatī (Jagāvatī in BKK, 78.16), Kusumāvatī and Suvarṇavatī. It is to be noted that elsewher (?6.45) the holy place (*tīrtha*) Pañcanada is said to have been situated on the mountain Hrīmat, Also see *TŚP* 8.2.473
17. *VH*, 264, 25.
18. As stated earlier, Varuṇa is mentioned as a mountain in *JHP* (27.12).
19. ' Sīmaṃ nayaraṃ (?) " in the text (*VH*, 250, 13-23) is definitely a mistaka,
20. *VH*, 319, 6–16.
21, *VH*, 318, 14–18,

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by their wives and children, stood in front of the shrines chanting magic formulae[22] In the *JHP*, at the order of Dharaneṇda, in order to accomplish magic spells, the *vidyādharas*, built a statue of the monk Saṃjayanta out of gold and precious stones which they installed on the mountain. And since the *vidyādharas* felt ashamed at their doings and were seated with their heads blending down in disgrace, this mountain was said to be known as Hrīmat.[23] In the *TŚP* Hrīmat is mentioned as a large mountain covered with forest, which was ruled by flying ascetics, We are told that the *vidyādhara*-lord Aṅgāraka was engaged here in accomplishing his lost magic spell. Vasudeva too in order to acquire magic spells, visited this mountain in the company of his wife Nīlayaśas. He noticed *vidyādharas* heading to the mountain in order to acquire magic spells[24].

THE ACCOUNT OF ENMITY BETWEEN VIJJUDAḌHA AND SAṀJAYANTA IN PREVIOUS BIRTHS

It is interesting to make a comparative study of the loug account of enmity between Vijjudāḍha and Saṃjayanta in their previous births, provided in the *VH* (253, 7-26?, 12), the *JHP* (27. 20-127) and the *BKK*, under the narration of Śrībhūti-purohita-kathānakaṃ (78.28ff). It is said that king Sīhasena was ruling in the city of Sīhapura with his queen Ramakaṅhā.[25] His priest's name was Siribhūi (Śrībhūti), who was dwelling with his wife Piṅgalā.[26] Once a certan merchant named Bhaddamitta[27] in order to undertake a sea-voyage, arrived at Śihapura. He deposited his precious money[28] with the priest and set out for his journey with the hope of earning wealth. In the course of time, as luck would have it, his ship was drowned in the middle of the sea and with great difficulty he could reach the shores. He returned to Sīhapura and approched the priest, asking for his deposit. But the priest Siribhūi refused to recognise him Ultimately, the merchant made an access to the king and narrated the story. The king in order to find the truth, thought of a stratagem. He invited Siribhūi to play the game of dice with him. While playing the game, the king exchanged his finger-ring with the priest. Later a maid-servant was dispatched to the

22. 1.59

23. 27.134.

24. V. 58-59; also *JHP* (22.142-45). It is to be noted that in the same context this mountain is identified with Veyaḍḍha in the *VH* (181, 12). It is known as Śrīmanta in the *BKK* (78.253) where an idol of Samjayanta, measuring 55 *dhanus* (1 *dhanus* = 4 *hastas*) was built by the *vidyādharas* so that they could accomplish the magic arts.

25. Ramadattā in *JHP* and *BKK*

26. Śrīdattā in *JHP* and *BKK*

27. Sumitradatta in *JHP* and *BKK*

28. Five precious jewels in *JHP* and *BKK*

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priest's house and thus the king got the money desposited by Bhaddamitta.[29] The merchant got back his deposit and the priest was banished from the city.

This led to the enmity between the priest Siribhūi and kind Sīhasena.[30] Consequently, in order to take revenge on Sīhasena, Siribhūi is born as his enemy in successive births : (i) Siribhūi is reborn as an *agandhana*[31] snake, and he stung Sīhasena as he was entering his store-house. (ii) Siribhūi was reborn as *kukkuṭa* snake and Sīhasena as an elephant in a *śalykī*[32] forest. The elephant was named as Asaṇivega by forest-dwellers. Once he got stuck in a pool of mud and could not move. The elephant was stung by the snake. (iii) Siribhūi was reborn as an *Ajagara*[33] snake and Sīhasena a prince named Rassivega. Rassivega renounced the world and joined the ascetic order. Once while engrossed in meditation in a cave, he was stung by the snake. (iv) Siribhūi was reborn as son of a butcher, named Atikaṭṭha and Sīhasena a prince named Vajrāyudha. In the course of time, the prince joined the ascetic order and when he was practising penance, he was struck with a sword by the butcher's son. (v) Siribhūi was reborn as son of a *tāpasa* ascetic, named Migasinga. Once he happened to see a *vidyādhara*, moving in the sky freely, like a divine being. He developed a *nidāna* that if his practice of asceticism had some reward, let him be reborn as a *vidyādhara*. As a result Siribhūti was reborn in the city of Gaganavallabha as son of a *vidyādhara*-lord and was named Vijjudāḍha. Śimultaneously, Sīhasena was reborn in the city of Vītaśokā as Saṃjayanta, son of king Saṃjaya. This is the reason of their enmity and that is why the monk Saṃjayanta had been brought by Vijjudāḍha to the mountain to be killed.[34]

DHARANENDRA DESTINED TO BE A TĪRTHAṄKARA

Dharaṇendra has been depicted as a moral authority for the acts of omissions and commissions as we have already seen. The unpublished *MKH* provides some important references about Dharaṇendra. When *vidyādhara* Mānasavega abducted Somasirī, the wife of Vasudeva and brought her to his

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29. Besides the finger-ring, two other tests are mentioned in the *JHP* and *BKK*. This motif is common in narrative literature, see e, g. Maheśvarasūri's *Nammayāsundarīkahā*. Compare the story of Agniśarmā and Guṇasena in Samarāiccakahā; also see *PNL*, 55f.
30. This motif is known as *nidāna*.
31. The *agandhana* snakes belong to noble species. They are supposed to be dreadful. Once they bite a person, they never take back their poison. The *gandhana* snakes are just opposite.
32. Significantly, this part of the story is narrated in the *Maraṇasamāhī*, 512f, p. 131.
33. A huge serpent (boa constrictor) who is said to swallow goats,
34. *VH*, 253, 7-262, 12; *JHP* (27.20-127); *BKK* (78.28f).

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pleasure-garden, Dharaṇa is said to have made the following declaration for all *vidyādharas* : "They must not do any harm to a husband before his wife, and they must not enjoy a woman by force against her will." Dharaṇa was greately respected by the *vidyādharas* and his statue was placed on a divine memorial (*māṇavagakhambha*)[35] in the law-court along with the statue of revered Ṛṣabha. The first *lambha*, known as the *Pabhāvatī-lambha* of the *MKH* provides some interesting details about the part played by Dharaṇendra in deciding the judicial cases in the court of law of the *vidyādharas*. We are told that when Mānasavega and Vasudeve approached the jewelled court, they noticed the statue of Dharaṇa plaeed at the centre of an excellent alter made of gems. The proceedings of the court continued in the presence of Vāyuvega, the lord of the *vidyādharas*. The arrival of Vāyuvega was welcomed by the beating of musical instruments, by fanning a pair of flywhisks, by holding a white umbrella, with his body adorned with all kinds of invaluable ornaments. It is said that the law-court was instituted by Vāyuvega's forefathers and was endowed with a miraculous image of Dharaṇa. According to tradition, one who created disturbance during the proceedings of the court or tried for an appeasement, was to suffer the consequences. But Mānasavega, paying no heed to the tradition, drew out his sword and rushed to kill Vasudeva, his opponent. Seeing this violation of the law, Dharaṇa, the king of the Nāgas, broke out his image and with great tumult, covering the sky with his expanded hood, emitting sparks like flames of fire, frightening the *vidyāhatas* with his roar, terrifying with his tremulous pair of tongues, rushed out into the air. He took Vasudeva with his arm and flew off into the sky. In a moment they arrived at the top of the golden mountain. No sooner Vasudeva tried to bow down before the king of the Nāgas, to his utmost surprise, he noticed his beloved Prabhāvatī, standing before him. She had assumed the from of Dharaneṇdra.[36]

Dharaṇendra has been depicted as a guardian of Pārśvanātha, the twentythird Tīrthaṅkara. He is said to have protected the Tīrthankara, employing his hood as an umbrella over his head. According to tradition, this place is known as Ahicchatrā, situated in the district of Rampur in Uttar Pradesh, and is considerd holy in honour of Pārśvanātha.[37] According to another Jain tradition, Dharaṇendra, the king of Pātāla, is said to have cured Abhayadevasūri, a renowned Jain *ācārya* of the twelfth century A. D. by licking his body with his tongue. Later he showed the *ācārya* the Stam-

35. 1, 116; 40, 216.
36. See *the Vasudeva*, pp. 117, 123, 127f. This account has been compared wiih the account provided in the *KSS* of Somadeva
37. Dharaṇa is portrayed as an ornament of Pārśva's forehead, *Ācārāṅga Niryukti* 335, commentary, p. 385.

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bhana, the holy place of Pārśva.[38] Acconding to the *Kathākaśa*, he is said to have saved king Ceṭaka when he fell into a well holding an image of Jina[39].

Dharaṇendra has been highly honoured by Jains. It has been stated that he is to be reborn as a Tirthaṅkara[40] due to his virtuous deeds. He had six chief queens, i. e. Allā, Akkā, Saterā (Śaterā), Soyāmaṇī (Sauḍāmiṇī), Indā (Indrā) and Ghaṇavijjuyā (Ghaṇavidyuṭā). Out of them, except the first one, the rest of the queens are to occupy the status of his *gaṇadharas* (chief disciples).[41]

CONCLUDING REMARKS

I By making a comparative study of the *Vasndevahiṇḍi*, an ancient Prakrit text of about the 3rd century A. D., composed by Saṅghadāsagaṇi Vācaka, a Śvetāmbara, *Harivaṁśapurāṇa*, composed in Sanskrit by Jinasena in 8th century A. D. and *Bṛhatkathākośa*, compsed by Hariṣena in Sanskrit in the 10th century A. D., both belonging to the Digambara sect, we come to the conclusion that both Śvetāmbara and Digambara writers dealt with one and the same narration freely without any sectarian prejudice. The *JHP* and the *BKK* both seem to follow a somewhat different tradition from what is recorded in the *VH* as we have seen. Such a comparative study is very useful as it throws light on ancient history of Jainism.

II In the above-mentioned account certain points with regard to the names of mountains and rivers have not come out clearly :

(a) The *JHP* mentions Varuṇa as a mountain, situated on the confluence of five rivers, in the southern region of Vaitḍāhya. Further, Varuṇodaka or Varuṇodikā is stated to be a river.

(b) The montain Sīmaṇaga or Simaṇarā is mentioned only in the *VH* and not in either of the two Digambara works mentioned above. The mountain was said to be located on the confluence of five rivers.

(c) The mountain Hrīmat is identified with Veyaḍḍha in the *VH*, and is known as Śrīmat in the *BKK*.

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38. Popular among the tribes of Birbhum and Bankura districts in Bengal, the region around Sammedaikhara, the place of Parśvanātha's achieving liberation. Merutuṅga, Prabandha-cintāmaṇi, 311. Compare the worship of Manasā, the serpent deity.

39. Page 184; Bloomfield, *M*, *Pārśvanāthacaritam*, *The Life and Stories of the Jain Saviour*, Intr. 22, Baltimore, 1909.

40. He is going to attain the status of a *gaṇadhara* of *Tirthaṅkara* Sreyāṃsanātha according to the *JHP* (27.137–38) and the *BKK* (78.260).

41. *VH*, 305, 24–26. They appear to be the names of some foreign goddesses.

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III It is worthwhile to draw a comparison between certain Jain traditions and those recorded in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* of Somadeva (11th century A.D.) and the *Bṛhatkathāślokasaṅgraha* of Budhasvāmin (4th or 5th century A.D.) the two Sanskrit versions of Guṇāḍhya's lost *Bṛhatkathā* ;

(a) Ṛṣabha, the first emperor of the *vidyādharas* and the first *Tīrtahṅkara* of the Jains, can be compared with the Hindu deity Śiva, both practising penance in the Himālayas.

(b) The Veyaḍḍha or Vaitāḍhya stands comparison with Vedyardha of the *KSS* and Vetārddha of the *BKŚS*. As in the Jain tradition. the Himālaya mountain (the abode of Lord Śiva) is said to have been the dwelling-place of *vidyādharas*.

(c) The Veyaḍḍa or Vedyardha is divided into the northern and the southern regions. In the *KSS* these regions form different kingdoms assigned to the most distinguished *vidyādharas*. It is stated that certain Ṛṣabha propitiated Lord Śiva with such powerful austerities that he was granted sovereignty over both the regions.

(d) Dharaṇa, the king of the Nāgas, stands comparison with God Śiva, both appearing in a terrible form, threatening Mānasavega, an abductor of Somasirī (Madanamañjukā of *KSS*, *BKŚS*. Breaking of his own image and taking Vasudeva (Naravāhanadatta of *KSS* etc.) in one's arms and flying off in the air is common in both versions. Vasudeva is carried to the top of the golden mountain, whereas Naravāhanadatta to the mountain called Ṛṣyamūka (see *The Vasudeva*, 135–37)

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BIRTH PLACE OF LORD MAHĀVĪRA RECONSIDERED

By

RAM PRAKASH PODDAR

In the *Ardhamāgadhī Jaina Āgamas* Lord *Mahāvīra* has been called *videhaputta, vīdehasukumāra* and also *veśāliye* (*vaiśālika*). From this it has been inferred that he was born in the province of Videha at or around the ancient city of Vaishali. His birthplacc has been said to be Kuṇḍagrāma or Kṣatriya Kuṇḍagrāma. Close to this Kṣatriya Kuṇḍagrāma there was a township inhabited by Brāhmaṇas called Brāhmaṇa Kuṇḍagrama. According to the account of the Kalpasūtra, the Lord first deseended into the womb of Devānandā Māhaṇī (Brāhmaṇī) of Brāhmana Kuṇḍagrāma. Later, the embryo was transferred to the womb of Tiśalā Khattiyāṇī - (Triśalā Kṣatriyāṇī) of Kṣatriya Kuṇḍagrāma.

On the strength of the evidence that the Lord has been called Vaiśālika, efforts have bcen madc to locate the ancient Kṣatriya Kuṇḍagrāma in the vicinity of Vaishali.

To the north-east of the present ruins of Vaishali there is a small village called Bāsokuṇḍa. It has been identified the ancient Kṣatriya Kuṇḍagrāma. The Government of Bihar has approved this site as the birth-place of Lord Mahāvīra and a monument is going to be erected in near future. Arguments on which this identification is based may be summarised as follows:–

(i) It is in the vicinity of Vaishali.

(ii) 'Kuṇḍa' part of this village-name is the surviver of its prototype in 'Kṣatriya Kuṇḍagrāma'

(iii) It is very close to the preaent Kalhua village which is identified with ancient settlement called 'Kollāga sanniveśa where Lord Māhavīra accepted his first begged food after his initiation into the order of monks.

(iv) To the east of the present ruins of Vaishali there is a village called Kummana chapra or Kammana chapra. That in ancient times it was a place of cultural importance is proved by the fact that from the out-skirts of this village a giant-size magnificent four-faced Śiva -liṅga has been excavated. The basement contains broken inscriptions in post-Guptan Brāhmī characters. This village has been tentatively identified with the ancient Karmāra Grāma (settlement

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of the artisans), which too, like Vāṇijya Grāma, lay in the vicinity of the ancient city of Vaishali. It has been said that the Lord after his initiation into the order or monks, proceeded from Jñātṛiṣaṇḍa the place where he was initiated, and reached Kammāra-Grāma before sunset. There was a waterway from Kṣatriya Kuṇḍagrāma (or Jñātṛṣaṇḍa) to Karmāra Grāma and also a land-route running through the bank. The Lord preferred the land-route.

(v) In the present village of Bāsokuṇḍa there is a patch of land, about two acres in area, which was not being cultivated by the villagers. The saying goes that the villagers regarded this patch of land with reverence. Probably this patch of land marks the exact location of Lord Mahāvīra's birth-place.

In this way, some enthusiasts have not only discovered the locality but also the exact place of Lord Mahāvīra's birth. But till now this discovery has not received the degree of applause or even approbation which such a discovery should receive, The reason is that there remains ample scope for raising doubts, some of which may be listed as follows :-

(i) *Siddhārtha*, the father of Lord *Mahāvīra*, was a king. Now, if he ruled here, his kingdom lay merely at a distance of two kms. from the capital of the Licchavis. The present ruins of Vaishali are barely at a distance of two kilometers, as the crow flies, from the present village of Bāsokuṇḍa. It is not plausible that there should be a kingdom ruled by the chief of another clan, so close to the capital of the *Licchavis Siddārtha* belonged to the Jnātṛ (*Nāya* or *Nāta*) clan and was in marital relation with the *Licchavis*, his wife *Triśalā* being the daugher of the *Licchavi* king *Cetaka*.

(ii) The present *Kammaṇa Chapra* is at a distance of one kilometer only from the present *Bāsokuṇḍa*. It is not plausible that the Lord should have ended his day's journey merely at a distance of one kilometer.

(iii) There is no trace of any waterway between *Bāsokuṇḍa* and *Kammaṇa Chaprā*, nor is there any such trace in the neighbourhood of *Bāsokuṅḍa*.

(iv) The present village of *Bāsokuṇḍa* is a very small one, with a population of approximately two thousand. The whole village is almost plane with two tracts of low land called *chaurī*. It has no sign of any ancient habitation. The said uncultivated land is in the same level with the surrounding area and does not seem to have been uncultivated for more than a few decades.

(v) If we suppose that the '*Kuṇḍa*' part of this village-name is the survivor of its counterpart in the ancient Kṣatriya Kuṇḍagrāma, we reach

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the conclusion that the distinguishing feature of the village-name, namely 'Kṣatriya' has been lost and the term 'Kuṇḍa' which was common to both, *Brāhmaṇa Kuṇḍagrāma* and *Kṣatriya Kuṇḍagrāma* has survived. But this is contrary to expectation. Generally in compound proper names ending in a common term the first distinguishing part should be retained and not the second member which is common to two or more. kuṇḍa may at best denote both *Brāhmaṇa Kuṇḍa* and *Kṣatriya Kuṇḍa* taken together and not the *Kṣatriyakuṇḍa* alone.

So, there is a case for re-thinking over the exact location of Lord Mahāvīra's birth-place.

We may start with the assumption that the epithet 'Vesāliya' for Lord *Mahāvīra* is not spurious because it has been found in two of the most ancient Jain canons viz. *Suyagaḍaṁ* and *Uttarājjhayaṇa* and it indicates that the Lord hailed from Vaishali or its surrounding area. *Ṛṣabha* who hailed from *Kośala* has been called *Kosalıya*; in the same way, Lord *Mahāvira* who hailed from Vaishali area has been called *Vesāliya*. We cannot assume that he was barn in the city of Vaishali poles, because at several places in the *Ardhamāgadhī* canons he has been said to be born in *Kṣatriya Kuṇḍagrāma*. So we are led to believe that he was born in *Kṣatriya Kuṇḍagrāma* which was situated in the vicinity of Vaishali.

Village-names can be depended upon because these carry the seeds of ancient tradition. In the neighbourhood of Vaishali there are many villages which preserve their ancient names. Thus the present *Baṇiyā* is the ancient *Vāṇijyagrāma*. The present *Kolhua* is the ancient *Kollāga Sanniveśa*. Vaishali itself has survived in the present villages called, Basarh, Basara and called *Basārh*, *Basarā* and *Bakharā*–all these names are derivatives from 'Vaishali' through the stages Vaishalī..Vaiṣāḍa..Basāḍha...Baṣaḍā..Basarā..Bakharā.

In looking for a village bearing a name similar to the ancient *Kṣatriya Kuṇḍagrāma*, we should put more emphasis on the term '*Kṣatriya* because it is the distinguishing feature of the proper name, the subsequent member of the compound being a common feature.

Now, at a distance of approximately ten kilometers, as the crow flies, in the north direction from the present ruins of Vaishali, there is a village called *Chitrī*. This may be the survivor of the ancient *Kṣatriya Kuṇḍagrāma*. This village has a more ancient look and it is much bigger than the present *Bāsokuṇḍa*. Majority of inhabitants are *Rajputs*, the present counterpart of the ancient *Kṣatriyas*. To the south-east of this village there is another village called *Bahilvaḍa* which is one of the biggest of this locality. Majority of its population consists of *Brāhmaṇas*. One is tempted to derive the name from

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'*Vahnivāṭa*' (sacrifcial fire-place) which can well be associated with the ancient name *Brāhmaṇa Kuṇḍagrāma*. Presence of *Babhnagarī* < *Babhananagari* = township of the *Brāhmaṇas* beside this village further corroborates the assumption that *Bahilvāḍa-Babhanagarī* represents the ancient *Brāhmaṇa Kuṇḍagrāma*.

To the east of the present village of *Chitrī*, at a distance of about two kilometers, there is a lake about four to five kilometers in length and about two kilometers in width. This lake is called *Nārasana* or *Nāraṣaṇḍa*. On the western bank of this lake, there is a patch of land four to five acres in area which is enclosed on all sides by high earthen embankments, at places seven to eight feet high. People of the locality testify that the present height of the embankment is much dwindled. The area is also surrounded by a ditch on all sides save a fifteen feet wide path. The locall people call it a *Kilā* (fort), although, on the surface, there is no trace of bricks or potsherds etc. It is likely that the name *Nārsaṇḍa* is the survivor of the ancient name *Jñātṛ-ṣaṇḍa* meaning the small forest or orchard owned by the people of the Jnātṛ clan. It has been said that Lord *Mahāvira* took initiation in the *Jñātṛṣaṇḍa Udyāna* (a garden in the orchard of the *Jñātṛs*).

At a distance of nearly one kilometer, to the southeast of the village *Chitrī*, there is a river called Bāyā. On the village-side of the river, there is a rivulet called *Jhājhā* running almost parallel to the river *Bāyā* which it joins at a distance of approximately five kilometers to the east of *Chitr*. River *Bāyā* has its source in a reservoir of rain-water lying to, the west of *Kesariyā*. During flood, the reservoir might be fed by the river *Gaṇḍaka* or *Nārāyaṇī*. The *Bāyā* falls into the *Gaṅgā*. May be it is an ancient navigation canal which served as a diagonal like between the two big rivers the *Nārāyaṇī* and the *Gaṅgā*.

At a distance of about four kilometers from the present village of *Chitrī* there is a place on the bank of the *Bāyā* river called *Jaṭakaulī* which migh have been derived from *Jṇātṛkulīya* denoting a territory or principality of the *Jṇātṛs*.

The present *Kolhua* village identified with the ancient *Kollāga Sanniveśa* is at a distance of approximately ten kilometers from the said *Nāraṣaṇḍa* lake. The present *Kammaṇa Chaprā* tentatively identified with the ancient *Karmāra-grāma*, too, is approximately at the same distance.

Thus *prima facie* there is a case for regarding the cluster of villages around *Chitrī-Nāraṣaṇḍa-Bahilvaḍā-Babhanagarī-Jatakaulī* as the principality of the *Jñātṛs* and *Chitrī* as the ancient *Kṣatriya-Kuṇḍagrāma* and the *Nāraṣaṇḍa* like area as the ancient *Jñātṛṣaṇḍa*.

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The *Chitrī* site for the location of the ancient *Kṣatriya-Kuṇḍagrām* is preferable to *Bāsokuṇḍa* on the following grounds :

i) It being situated at a distance of ten kilometers from Vaishali, rule of another chieftain at this place seems to be more plausible.

ii) The tentatively located *Karmārgrāma*, the present *Kammaṇa Chaprā*, lies at a distance of approximately ten kilometers from *Nārasaṇḍa* (*Jñātṛṣaṇḍa*) ; it is quite reasonable that Lord *Mahāvīra* should have ended his day's journey at this place, having started it from the place of his initiation, namely the *Jñātṛṣaṇḍa*.

iii) The two rivers or rather remains of navigation canals near this site corroborate the existence of a waterway beside *Jñātṛṣaṇḍa* and the *Kṣatriya Kuṇḍagrāma*.

iv) In case of the *Bāsokuṇḍa* site there is an isolated case of phonetic similarity with *Kṣatriya Kuṇḍagrāma whereas in case of the Chitrī* site presence of *Nāraṣaṇḍa* strengthens *Chitrī's* phonetic similarity with *Kṣatriya Kuṇḍagrāma*; *Bahilwada-Babhanagari* which may be the ancien Brāhmaṇa kuṇḍaname further corroborates it. Moreover, presence of *Jatakaulī* in the neighbourhood of this site proves that the principality of the *Jñātṛs* is represented by the present cluster of villages-*Chitrī*, *Bahilvada*, *Babhanagarī*, *Jatakaulī* etc and presumably the present river *Bāyā* marked its north-western boundary.

All these facts establish at least one point that there is need for rethinking over the location of Lord Mahāvīra's birth-place.

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1. *Āyāraṅga* 2, 15.
2. *Sūyagaḍaṁ* 1, 2; *Uttarājjhayaṇa* 6
3. *Kalpasūtra*, life of Lord Mahāvīra.
4. *Malayagiri Vivaraṇam* on *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*

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YAJÑA-UPAVĪTA ACCORDING TO JAINISM

By

S. A. SHIRGUPPI

Introduction

Yajña-upavīta according to Jainism is the most sacred one and is of the three jewels namely the right belief, the right knowledge and the right conduct, which together constitute the path of to liberation (सम्यग्दर्शनज्ञानचारित्राणि मोक्षमार्ग :). It is again of the nature of the speech of the Jinas and is a mark of the pious Soul It is the main limb or the body of the house-holder's religin and is the seed of the religion of the Jinas. It is an ideal lamp of the path of liberation and is the root-form of the right deeds such as giving gifts or donations (दान) and worship etc. such yajña-upavīta is the most sacred one and is also called as Brahmasūtra (ब्रह्मसूत्र) which is worn by the house-holder. Essentially and carefully it is kept at the high place of the body (उच्चस्थान), while performing the activities like answering the calls of the nature (मलमूत्रविसर्जनादि), vomiting (वमन) and the sexual intercourse (मैथुन) etc.

Concept :

In one of the Sanskrit stanzas found in दानशासन it is said :

देवपूजा गुरोःसेवा दातिः स्वाध्यायसंयमौ ।
दयेंतानि सुकर्माणि गृहिणाम् सूत्रधारिणाम् ॥

The meaning thereby, ' In case of a house-holder, who wears a sacrificial thread has the following right deeds, namely, the worship of the Gods, service of the preceptor (saints), giving gifts or donations, study of the scriptures, self-control and compassion towards living beings etc.

The house-holder who wears a sacrificial thread has to recite the following incantation (मंत्र) while wearing yajña-upavīta. The Sanskrit incantation is as follows :

ॐ ह्रीं सम्यग्दर्शनज्ञान-चारित्रेभ्यो नमः ।
यज्ञोपवीतसंधारणं करोमि ॥

The meaning of the above incantations is, ' I salute right belief, right knowledge and right conduct and wear the sacrificial thread,'

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A reference to yajňa – upavīta is found in *Jainendra Siddhānta Koś'a* Part III by Jinedra Varni. The very first reference in it is given to *Mahā-purāna* of Bhagwat Jinasenācārya Chapter 38 Verse 112.

The verse runs thus :

उरोलिङ्गमथास्य स्याद् ग्रथितं सप्तभिर्गुणैः ।
यज्ञोपवीतकं सप्तपरमस्थानसूचकम् ॥

The meaning thereby –

"The symbol of his chest is the sacred thread (यज्ञोपवीत) with seven threads, and it is indicative of seven supreme abodes."

Secondly we get a reference in *Mahāpurāṇa* (महापुराण) Chapter 39 verse – 95 as :

यज्ञोपवीतस्य स्याद् द्रव्यं त्रिगुणात्मकम् ।
सूत्रमौपासिकं तु स्याद् भावारूढैस्त्रिभिर्गुणैः ॥ ९५ ॥

The meaning of the above stanza is "The three threads which form यज्ञोपवीत of a Jaina house - holder is called as his द्रव्यसूत्र and the यज्ञोपवीत which is formed of the three threads in the form of the right faith (सम्यग्दर्शन) the right knowledge (सम्यग्ज्ञान), and the right conduct (सम्यग्चारित्र) which arise in the heart of a house-holder is called as his भावसूत्र. This can be viewed from निश्चयनय and व्यवहारनय

Thirdly we get a reference to महापुराण Chapter 41 verse 31 as –

एकाद्येकादशान्तानि दत्तान्येभ्यो मया विभो ।
व्रतचिह्नानि सूत्राणि गुणभूमिविभागतः ॥

The meaning thereby –

"This is addressed by the emperor Bharata (भरत) to Lord Vṛṣabha (वृषभ) as 'Oh ! Master, I have given to the house-holders, as per the division of "प्रतिम" which form the nature of the monk of the vows from one to eleven sacred threads (सूत्र).

Who can wear यज्ञोपवीत ?

About this we get a reference in महापुराण Chapter 40 verses from 167 to 172 which run thus :

तत्तु स्यादसिवृत्त्या च मष्या कृष्या वणिज्जया
यथास्वं वर्तमानानां सद्दृष्टीनां द्विजन्मनाम् ॥ १६७ ॥

कृतिश्चेद् कारणाद् यस्य कुलं संप्राप्तदूषणम् ।
सोऽपि राजादिसंमत्या शोधयेत् स्वं सदा कुलम् ॥ १६८ ॥

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तदस्योपनयार्हत्वं पुत्र-पौत्रादिसंततौ
न निषिध्दं हि दीक्षार्हे कुले चेदस्य पूर्वजाः ॥ १६९ ॥

अदिसार्हे कुले जाता विद्याशिल्पोपजीविनः
एतेषामुपनीत्यादि संस्कारो नाभिसंमतः ॥ १७० ॥

तेषां स्यादुनितं लिङ्गं स्वयोग्यव्रतधारिणाम्
एकशाख्यधारित्वं संन्यासमरणावधि ॥ १७१ ॥

स्यानिरामिषभोजित्वं कुलस्त्रीसेवनव्रतम्
अनारम्भवधोत्सर्गाद्यमश्यापेयवर्जनम् ॥ १७२ ॥

The meaning thereby –

He who according to his fitness, lives on trade, agriculture, writing, sword etc. such Brahmanas (द्विज) possessed of right faith, can wear sacrificial thread. The man, whose family is spoiled, such a person, when purifies his family after getting the permission of the king and the society etc. and if, in his case his ancesstors, would have been born in a family which is fit for accepting monk-hood, then in case of his sons, and grandsons etc. there is no denial of wearing sacrificial thread. He who is born in a family which is not fit for accepting monk-hood and lives on dancing, singing etc. and on sculputre in case of such a person there is no permission of wearing sacrificial thread, and in case of such persons if they according to their fitness accept vows, this can be a mark of their fitness that they should wear a Dhoti till संन्यासमरण. The persons who wear sacsificial thread should eat meatless food, they should enjoy their own wives, they should adopt अनारम्भम killing or हिंसा and should abandon the things which are not fit to be eaten and not fit to be drunk. (अभक्ष and अपेय).

We have again a reference in *Mahāpurāna*, Chapter 38 verse 22 as

गुणभूमिक्रताद् भेदात् क्लृप्तयज्ञोपवीतिनाम् ।
संस्कारः क्रियते तेषां अव्रताश्च बहिष्क्रताः ॥ २२ ॥

The meaning there by – As per the division of प्रतिमाऽ those who have worn the sacred thread such all of them were facilitated by Bharata. The remaining अव्रतिऽ were made to go out.

We have a reference to उपनीतिक्रिया in saṁskāra chapter 2 verse 2 as 'the boy right from his birth, in the 8th year he can wear the sacred thread.'

The Brāhmanas who are spoiled in their conduct, their sacred thread is said to be the sinful sacred thread. This can be seen in the Sanskrit stanza in *Mahāpurāṇa* chapter 29 verse 118 as :–

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पापसूत्रानुगा यूयं न द्विजा सूत्रकण्टकाः ।
सन्मार्गकण्टकास्तीक्ष्णाः केवलं मलदूषिताः ॥ ११८ ॥

The meaning of above stanza will be, 'You people, wearing sacred thread in your neck, you become the severe nail in the right path. Those who walk according to the sinful form of thread, you are simply spoiled with dirt and that you are Brāhmaṇas.

This can be given the reference of *Mahāpurāṇa* as :

पापसूत्रधरा धूर्ताः प्राणिमारणतत्पराः ।
वत्स्यंद्युगे प्रवत्स्यांन्ति सन्मार्गपरिपन्थिनः ॥ ५३ ॥

Just telling the (meaning of the वृषभ) of the dream of King Bharata the foretelling of Lord वृषभ is as follows :

Those who side with the sin or those who wear the sacred threads as if the mark of the sin, those who are always, busy with killing animals those prudent Brāhmaṇas, they will become opponents in future of the right path.

The persons, who are born in the right families, should wear sacred thread (संस्कार Chapter 2).

Reference-Books

1. *Jainedra Siddhānta Kośa*–Part III by Jinendra Varni.
2. *Mahāpurāṇa of Jinasenācārya.*
3. Saṁskāra (संस्कार)
4. *The History of Caste system* (वर्णव्यवस्था)
5. *Trivarṇacarcā of Somadeva*

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ŚRĪVARA AND HIS JAINARĀJATARAṄGIṆĪ

By

R. M. VASUDEVA

The four *Rājātaraṅgiṇīs* of Kashmir are an uninterrupted series of the written records of its history. The first of these, viz., Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* is a great compendium of the series of events right from the Mahābhārata times up to 1150 A. D. The second one is the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* of Jonarāja, generally known as *Dvitīya Rājataraṅgiṇī*, which deals with the transtional period of Kashmir history from 1150 A. D. to 1450 A. D. when the land passed on into the hands of Muslim rulers from those of the Hindu. The third and the fourth chronicles on the medieval Kashmir are the *Jaina-Rājataraṅgiṇī* of Śrīvara and the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* of Śuka Paṇḍita, which in continuation to Jonarāja relate the events up to 1586 A. D. when Kashmir was annexed with the Mughal empire by Akbar.

Śrīvara's *Jaina-Rājātaraṅgiṇī* which is the second work after Kalhaṇ deals with the later period of the reign of Sultan Zain-ul-abidin and also those of his successors, viz., Haidar shah, Hassan Shah and Muhammad Shah. It is divided into four Taraṅgas, and contains some 2200 verses in all.

Not much is known about the life and personality of Śrīvara. A few references are of course available in his works, *Jaina-Rājataraṅgiṇī* and *Kathākautuka*, which all put together help us create a somewhat connected picture of his life.

In the introductory verses of the *Jaina-Rājataṅgiṇī* Śrīvara tells us that he was the pupil of Jonarāja whom he extols in his work, *Kathākauutka*.[1] About his parentage no reference is found in his works except that he alludes to one incident in the *Jain-Rājataraṅgiṇī* which related to the crematory tax on the eve of his father's death.

Like his predecessor and teacher, Jonarāja, Śrīvara also enjoyed the title of Rājānaka conferred on him by Sultan Zain-ul-abidin for him meritorious services rendered to the latter. He says that he was closely associated with the court of Sultan Zain-ul-abidin, and had received various gifts from him including wealth and villages. He also expresses his gratitude to the Sultan who brought him up like his own son. He tells us that he undertook the task of narrating the history of his patron partly to free himself from the

1. Śrīvara, *Jaina-Rājataraṅgiṇī*, I. i. 7; *Kathākautuka*, ed. R. Schmidt, I, 41–42.

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endless obligations towords him, and partly because he was so attracted by the merits of his benefactor that he intended to immortalise him.[2] He further says that the virtues of the Sultan were so great that a single tongue was not sufficient to count them. He also says that it was possible only If there were as many tongues as are the hair on one's body. Hence like painting the three worlds on single canvas, he was trying to sing all his virtues in his small endeavour of *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.[3]

Śrīvara was the minister-in-harge of the cultural affairs in the court of Sultan Zain-ul-abidin, and used to accompany him to festivals and cultural concerts in the kingdom. During these tours he would recite to the Sultan verses from the *Gītagovinda*. This aroused in the heart of the latter an extreme passion for Lord Govinda.[4] At another place he says that he used to recite to the aging Sultan the *Vasiṣṭha-Saṁhitā* composed by Vālmīki which was full of knowledge about the way of salvation. He used to listen to the verse with such undisturbed concentration that he would later re-recite them *verbatim*. This would provide him peace and solace especially at a time when he had got disillusioned with the worldly materials. And a war of succession among his three sons had contributed largely to his disillusionment.[5]

There are also references here and there in the *Jaina-Rājataraṅgiṇī* which indicate that Śrīvara, apart from being a Sanskrit Pandit and a poet of considerable attainments, was a good singer and a musician also. He used to participate in the musical concerts and competitions organised by Sultan Zain-ul-abidin to encourage this art. He claims that he was well-versed on singing all kinds of songs.[6] In the court of Sultan Hassan Shah he used to sing Persian and vernacular songs with great dexterity.[7] Hence being impressed by his skill in music the Sultan had appointed him as head of a section of the music department. Besides being efficient in the art of vocal and instrumental music, Śrīvara knew the technicalities of the art of dancing as well. In this regard he had studied the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata, and was also wellversed in its technical analysis.[8]

Śrīvara's *magnum opus* is the *Jaina-Rājataraṅgiṇī* which he worte in continuation to that of his teacher, Jonarāja. The latter died in 1459 A. D. leaving his chronicle probably incomplete. Śrīvara indicates that Jonarāja due to certain reasons could not relate the events of the reign of Sulten Zain-ul-abidin right up to the year of his own death, i. e, 1459 A. D. It may be

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2. *Ibid.*, I. i. 11-12.
3. *Ibid.*, I. i. 13ff.
4. *Ibid.*, I. v. 89ff.
5. *Ibid.*, I. vii. 132ff.
6. *Ibid.*, I. iv. 34
7. *Ibid.*, III. 236ff.
8. *Ibid.*, III. 257.

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gathered from Śrīvara that Jonarāja chronicled the events up to 1450 A. D. since the former begins his work with the narration of the battle of Mallaśilā which took place in 1452 A D. The chronicle of Śrīvara ends with the year 1486 A. D. when Sultan Muhammad Shah is said to have died.

Śrīvara enunciates his aim of composing this chronicle by saying that it will generate a feeling of indifference to worldly desires and passions in the minds of those who have seen both the prosperity and adversity of men.[10] He also professes his humility as a poet by saying that he undertook the task of writing the *Jaina-Rājataraṅgiṇī* not to display his skill in the composition of verses but to commemorate his royal patron.[11]

The first part of the name of Jainollabhadena (i. e., Zain-ul-abidin) prefixed to *Rājataraṅgiṇī* indicates that the major portion of the work is devoted to immortalise his royal patron who had been extremely kind to the author. Śrivara being himself an active courtier witnessed all the court activities with a close eye and hence his accounts of the reigns, of Sultan Zain-ul-abidin and his successors are extremely significant and trustworthy from a historical view-point.

Beginning his narrative with the year 1450 A. D. Śrīvara first describes in detail the battle of Mallaśilā which was fought between Sultan Zain-ul-abidin and his rebel son Hazi Khan. In this encounter Hazi Khan was badly defeated and had to flee to Bhimber.[12] After this major event Śrīvara records a severe famine which befell the kingdom in 1460 A. D. A heavy fall of snow completely destroyed the Śāli-crop and the people had to undergo unbearable miseries caused by the unavailability of foodgrains. The Sultan, a benefactor as he was of his subjects, opened the royal stores of rice to the afflicted people. After the famine was over, the benevolent Sultan cancelled all the debts of the people which they had to seek from the affluent money-lenders in order to buy food in the times of scarcity.[13]

Another natural calamity that overpowered the valley in 1462 A. D. was a great flood caused by heavy rainfall. It destroyed both men and beasts and washed away thousands of houses. The crops were also considerably damaged.[14]

After describing these calamities in detail Śrīvara records that the expulsion of Hazi Khan and the appointment of Adham Khan, the eldest son, of the Sultan as the governor of Kamraj did not eliminate the internecine

9. *Ibid.*, I. i. 16ff.
10. *Ibid.*, I. i. 18.
11. *Ibid.*, I. i. 8ff.
12. *Ibid.*, I. i. 82ff; *Tārikh-i-Akbarī*, III, pp. 442–43.
13. *Ibid.*, I. ii. 1ff.
14. *Ibid.*, I. iii. 1–30.

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troubles in the kingdom. Since Adham was a vain and rapacious prince, he indulged himself in the company of wine and women. Disregarding the admonitions of his father, he on the other hand raised a banner of revolt against him. The disillusioned Sultan called Hazi back from exile. When Adham Khan learnt about this, he at once fled away and took refuge in the Sind Valley.[15]

Thus the first Taraṅga of the *Jaina-Rājataraṅgiṇī* is devoted to the description of the latter part of the reign of Sultan Zain-ul-abidin which is marked by its court-intrigues and mutual conflicts among his three sons – Adham, Hazi and Bahram – for the confiscation of the throne. In the seventh canto of this Taraṅga Śrīvara exhibits his art of delineation in the sentiment of pathos when he gives us a touching description of the dying Sultan.

In the second Taraṅga Śrīvara narrates the events of the reign of Sultan Hajya-Haidar Shan who succeeded in winning the throne of Kashmir after the death of his father. The indifference of the Sultan to the administration of the kingdom and his excessive addiction to wine and woman are largely dealt with in the chronicle. The reign of Sultan Haidar Shah is also marked for the intrigues hatched by Bahram Khan and Hassan Khan (son of the Sultan) for the usurpation of the throne. In the conflicts that occurred Hassan Khan ultimately emerged victorious and assumed the reins of government.

Śrīvara devotes the whole of Taraṅga III to the description of the glorious reign of Sultan Hassam Shah who had in the beginning to successfully quell a revolt of his uncle, Bahram Khan, Abhimanyu, the governor of Divsar, and other powerful persons in the kingdom. He is also said to have spent much of his time in building the edifices as well as in attending musical and dramatic concerts organised in the court from time to time.

The fourth and the last Taranga of the *Jaina-Rājataraṅgiṇī* is devoted to the government of Sultan Muhammad Shah, the son and successor of Sultan Hassan Shah. Accordiag to Śrīvara it was all full of events, and the Sultan had to struggle hard to maintain his kingdom. There was a constant fight between the Kashmiri nobles on one side and the Sayyids on the other. These Sayyids were from the family of Sayyid Hassan who was the maternal grandfather of Muhammad Shah. These mutual conflicts among the nobles kept the peace and tranquility of the kingdom constantly disturbed.

The *Jaina-Rājataraṅgiṇī* apart from being a political history of medieval Kashmir is a store-house of cultural, religious and social events that occurred

15. *Ibid.*, I. iii. 60ff.

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in the valley during those times. The transformation of the valley into a Muslim kingdom was complete by this time. An inter-action between Islam and Hinduism had already started during the reign of Sultan Zain-ul-abidin. There are many references in Śrīvara's chronicle also which indicate that the Hindus had started copying the customs and manners of the Muslims. Their caste-rules also became lax and much of the Hindu population took to beef-eating under Islamic influence. Śrīvara laments that the Hindu system of four castes was shattered and their religious ceremohies were relegated to the background. Even the Brahmans who were quite stubborn in the pursuit of their religious customs and rituals took to the study of Persian and even composed hymns in it. The Islamic influence on the Advaita Śaivism preached by saint Lalleshwari could also be discerned. This interaction between Hinduism and Islam resulted in the development of a different order in which old ideas and customs were mingled with the new ones.

The *Jaina-Rājataraṅgiṇī* is a good literary poem also. It is evident from the work that Śrīvara was well-acquainted with the functions of a poet since in one of his introductory verses he says that a poet who elegantly arranges his words adorned with figures of speech and sentiments is worthy of felicitations.[16] Hence all the literary devices and techniques usually seen in a Sanskrit work of an ornate style are to be found in the works of Śrīvara.

16. *Ibid.*, I. i. 3,

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HISTORY SECTION

ROCK-SHELTERS ; LITERARY AND EPIGRAPHICAL EVIDENCE

By

K. D. BAJPAI

The study of rock-shelters in India has made considerable progress during the recent years. Several problems pertaining to the environment, technique, composition, contents and chronology have drawn the attention of scholars Looking to the vast and variegated material now available on the subject, there is ample scope for work in this field.

The State of Madhya Pradesh can rightly claim to be the richest in India in this respect. More than two-third of the rock-shelters in the entire country are located in about 25 districts of this State. Majority of the rock-shelters in M. P. bear paintings of various types on their walls and ceilings. The technique and subject-matter of paintings in different parts of Madhya pradesh clearly indicate certain regional traits, which differentiate one group from the other.

The problem of dating Indian rock-shelters is still a moot point. No definite consensus has so far been reached among scholars. particularly in regard to the dating of pre- and proto-historic rock-shelters. Roughly, the earliest painted rock-shelters are believed to go as far back as the upper Paleolithic or Mesolithic times. The other limit is reckoned as late as the 14th century A. D. or still a little later.

In the present paper I would like to draw the attention of scholars working in the field to the literary and epigraphical sources in respect of Indian rock-shelters and their paintings. It is interesting to note that in ancient Indian literature and inscriptions ample references are available concerning shelters and the rock-art.

The usual words for rock-shelters in ancient Indian literature are : *guhā, kubhā, gahvara, girivivara, kandara* or *kandarā, nirdara, darī* and *bila.* The great Sanskrit poet Kālidāsa, who had a very clear idea about some rock-shelters in his time, gives some significant terms for them. These are *giryāśrama* (*Meghadūta*, I, 1; II, 33), *darīgṛha* and *śilāveśma.* The last word

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śilāveśma (*or śilāgṛha*) became current in ancienl times. The present word *śilaharā* is still survived in some parts of south-eastern Madhya Pradesh.[1]

The dark rock-shelters of the Himālayas referred to in *Kumārasaṁbhava* (I. 10 and I. 12) are more appropriately applicable to the shelters in the Betw-Narmada valleys of Madhya Pradesh. The poet does not forget to mention the rock-shelters in the lower hillocks of Vidisha, which were known for the amorous dalliances of the youthful courtesans.[2]

The *Amarakośa*,[3] composed in the Gupta period, gives the terms for rock-shelters and also makes a distinction between the man-made and the natural caves. The terms for the man-made (artificial) caves were *darī* and *kandara*. They were made in the form of a house by hewing the rock (*kṛtrimasya gṛhākārasya girivivarasya*). The second category was that of the natural shelters, which were called *deva-khāta* (carved by gods) and were thus non-artificial (*akṛtrima*). These were known by three names : *devakhāta-bila*, *guhā* and *gahvara*.

The words *darī* and *kandara* indicate that the rock was cut out by implements. The term *guhā*, apart from the meaning of giving protection, seems to imply its association with the *guhās* of *guhyakas* who inhabited these rock-shelters. The word *gahvara* signifies a deep shelter.

In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the four terms, *kandara nirdara*, *guhā*, and *darī*, are mentioned possibly indicating a separate nature of each of them.[4] In the Ayodhyākāṇḍa, mountain Citrakūṭa is described as having some beautiful man-made shelters.[5] The word *nirdara* signifies the caves which were prepared by cutting out stones (*nirdarāh vidīrṇapāṣāṇāḥ*).

In the Bāla-, Ayodhyā- and the Kiṣkindhā- kāṇḍas of the *Rāmāyaṇa* several references are found to rock-shelters. Due to the attractive natural site of Citrakūṭa on the river Mandākinī, several caves were carved out in the hill. Some of them are still preserved there. These were in addition to the natural caves in Citrakūṭa.

The *Rāmāyaṇa* also gives a vivid description of the implements and their working for the preparation of artificial shelters. At one place,

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1. The present site of *silaharā* in the Shahdol district of M. P. has several rock-sheters, some of them bearing Brāhmī inscriptions of the 2nd–3rd centuries A. D.
2. *Meghadūta*, I, 25.
3. दरीतु कन्दरो वास्त्री देवखातविले गुहा । गह्वरम् ... *Amara*, II, 1, 6.
4. कन्दराणि च शैलांश्च निर्दराणि गुहास्तथा ।
   शिखराणि च मुख्यानि दरीश्च प्रियदर्शनाः ।। (*Rāmāyaṇa*, Kiṣkindhā, 13, 6.)
5. चित्रकूटो गिरिस्तत्र रम्यनिर्दरकन्दरः (*Rām* II, 92, 10).

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kuṭhāra, *taṅka* and *dātra* are mentioned as the implements used for the purpose.[6]

The upper part of a rock projected out in the form of a cliff, providing protection, was called *dantaka* (as it looked like a row of teeth).[7]

In the Vedic literature we come across numerous references to rock-shelters and their residents.[8] The most common word used for shelters in the Vedic literature is *guhā*. The association of some Vedie deities, like Indra, with the rock-shelters or caves is quite significant.[9]

These references show a knowledge about the rock-shelters and their inhabitants (the Kirātas, etc.) during the early and late Vedic periods. According to the *Mahābhārata*, the active Skanda came to be called *Guha* on account of his stay for sometime in a cave.[10]

The words *guha guheśvara* or *guhāvāsī* are used for Lord Śiva also, who resided in a cave.[11] Those Yakṣas who protected wealth were called Guhyakas. Those Yakṣas lived in secluded shelters.

The two great epics, the Purāṇas and the classical literature contain numerous references to the rock-shelters and their inhabitants, both human beings and animals. From the literary references we also learn that some of the shelters served as shrines, where images of deities were installed for worship. Some shelters were used for entertainments where festivals and dramatic performances were held. A few others served the purpose of resorts for love dalliances.[12]

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6. केचित् कुठारैष्टङ्कैश्च दात्रैश्छिन्दन् क्वचित् क्वचित् । (*Rām.* II, 80, 7).
7. दन्तकास्तु वहिस्तिर्यक् प्रदेशान्निर्गता गिरेः । (Commentary on *Amarakośa* I, ३, 6)
8. A few references may be cited here :
   गुहा चरन्तं उषिजो नमोभिः (*RV*. X, 46, 21).
   गुहा चरन्तं सखिभिः शिवेभिः (*RV*. III, 1, 9)
   गुहा चरन्ती मनुषो न योषा (*RV*. I, 163, 3).
   गुहा निधी निहितौ ब्राह्मणस्य (*RV*. XI, 5, 10).
   गुहाभ्यः किरातं (Vājasaneyī Saṁ., XXX, 16, Tait. Brāh. III, 4, 1, 12).
   गुहाशया निहिता सप्त-सप्त (*Tait. Āranyaka*, X, 10, 1).
   गुहा हितां निहितां गह्वरेषु (Kāthaka Saṁ. XXXI, 14).
9. Rigveda, I, 6, 5; *Atharva veda*, XX, 70, 1 etc.
10. स्कन्नत्वात् स्कन्दता चापि गुहावासाद् गुहोऽभवत् । (*Mbh*, XIII, 83).
11. व्यालरूपो गुहावासी गुहो माली तरङ्गवित् । (*Mbh*, XIII, 17, 60).
12. E, g. *Vāyu Purāṇa*, XXIII, 164.

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The Purāṇas mention several sages who lived in rock-shelters. Their āśramas were located near the shelters. The āśramas were centres of religious and educational activities. At one place in the *Raghuvaṁśa* (IV. 72) the residents are called *guhāśayas*.

In some works there are references to hermitages of sages near rock-shelters. These were close to some river-banks, where open air sites were preferred for putting up thatched hermitag s (*parṇa-śālās*). These sites were selected preferably between a hill and the river. From the *Rāuāyaṇa* we learn that the *parṇaśālā* of Rāma and Sītā was situated between the mountain Citrakūṭa and the river Mandākinī.[13]

In ancient literature there are reference to rock-paintings and the colours used for preparing them. The reference in the *Meghadūta* to the preparation of painting on a rock with the help of red pigments (*dhāturāgas*) is of absorbing interest.[14] The *Amarakośa* specially mentions two kinds of colour pigments found in the hills. These were *manaḥśilā* and *gairika*.[15] When we study our rock-paintings, particularly of the Betwa-Narmada valleys, we find the use mostly of the red and ochre colours in their preparation.

In the works of Kālidāsa we come across some enchanting descriptions of rock-shelters. It is very probable that he had to stay for some time in a rock-shelter. His representative a yakṣa could find there a bracing atmosphere for giving his love message to the cloud, the Nature personified.

The rock-shelter occupied by Kālidāsa (in his mental capacity of a semidivine yakṣa) was, according to the poet, sanctified earlier by the stay of no less distinguished personalities than Rāma and Sītā. The place had become *āśrama* due to its association with them. The opening verse of the *Meghadūta* furnishes an excellent eulogy (*dhyāna*) to Sītā and Rāma. Scholars have generally thought that the *Meghadūta* does not open with the benedictory verse in honour of any deity, as is the case with his other works. But it is not so. The *Meghadūta* begins with the salutation to Sītā and Rāma in a manner which a poet of the stature of Kālidāsa only could do. The opening verse first mentions Jānakī and then Rāma.[16] The hillock where Rāma stayed was

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13. अनन्तरं तत्सरितः चित्रकूटं च पर्वतम् ।
तयोः पर्णकुटी तात, तत्र तौ वसतो ध्रुवम् ॥ (*Rāma*. II, 92, 12).

14. त्वामालिख्य प्रणयकुपितां धातुरागैः शिलायाम (*Megha*, II, 42)

15. धातुर्मनःशिलाद्यद्रेः गैरिकं तु विशेषतः (*Amara*, II, 38).

16. कश्चित् कांताविरहगुरुणा स्वाधिकारप्रमत्तः
शापेनास्तंगमितमहिमा वर्षभोग्येण भर्तुः ।

(*Continued on next page*)

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known as Rāmagiri in the period when Kālidāsa wrote his work. The waters near that hillock were made sacred due to Sītā's having taken bath in them. In the 12th verse of the *Pūrvamegha* the poet again refers to that very hill which bore the foot-prints of Rāma.[17]

Efforts have been made to identify the Rāmagiri of Kālidāsa. Prof. V. V. Mirashi's contention to identify it with Ramatek near Nagpur has generally been accepted. There is another view to equate it with a site in the Koraput district of Orissa. It seems much more plausible to identify the place with the site of Ramagarh in the Ambikapur district of Madhya Pradesh. The tradition of this last mentioned site claiming association with Rāma and Sītā and the archaeological relics found in the Ramgarh area provide a strong evidence in support of this identification.

From the works of Kālidāsa it is clear that the poet had a tolerably correct knowledge about the geography of the present Madhya Pradesh. His description of the rock-shelters, along with other details of the region furnish an eloquent testimony to this.[18]

The writings of several other Sanskrit and Prakrit writers, like Bāṇabhaṭṭa, Bhavabhūti, Bhāravi and others throw light on rock-shelters and the life of the foresters.

The epigraphical evidence bearing on the subject is significant. Several technical terms are known to us from inscriptions. The two words *guhā* and *layana* were commonly used for the rock-shelters. In the Prakrit form they became *kubhā* and *leṇa*.

The inscriptions carved in the Asokan Brāhmī script in the rock-shelters at Ramgarh (District Ambikapur in M.P.) indicate that the site was used to dramatic performances in the 3rd-2nd centuries B. C. The names of a dramatist called Devadatta and of a dancing girl Sutanukā are given in the inscriptions. The remains of the old theatre have also been discovered there.

In the rock-shelter complex at Bhim Baithka in the Sehore Distrctt of M. P., a Mauryan Brāhmī inscription has been found in one of the caves.

(*Continued from previous page*)

यक्षश्चक्रे जनकतनयास्नानपुण्योदकेषु
स्निग्धच्छायातरुषु वसति रामगिर्याश्रमेषु ॥ (*Megha*, I, 1).

17. वंद्यैः पुंसां रघुपतिपदैरङ्कितं मेखलासु ।

18. Some interesting references to the rock-shelters and their inhabitants can be seen in the *Megha*. I, 25, II 42 and the *Kumārasambhava*. I, 10, 12, 14, etc.

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The inscription reads '*Siṁhakasa lena*', indicating thereby that the cave belonged to a person called Simhaka. At other rock-shelter sites in Madhya Pradesh, similar inscriptions have been noticed. Some of these give the names of artists who were responsible for the construction and decoration of the caves.

The Maurya emperor Aśoka caused the construction of three rock-shelters at Barabar hill in the Gaya District of Bihar. These were made for protection of the monks of the Ājīvika sect during the rainy season. The names of the caves are given as Nyagrodha, Khalatika and Supriya *guhās* respectively in the inscriptions.[19]

In the 3rd inscription of the series, the word *jalaghoṣāgame* is quite interesting The term *jalaghoṣa* stands for the monsoon. In the Junagarh inscription (line 25) of Skandagupta, the same is indicated by the word *ambudakāla*.[20]

In the Nāgārjuni hill of the same district, three other rock-shelters have been found. According to the inscriptions on the caves, the shelters ware caused to be made by the orders of the Maurya ruler Daśaratha. The names of these shelters are given in the inscriptions as Vahiyakā, Gopikā and Vaḍathikā.

Recently a new minor rock edict of Aśoka has been discovered at a place called Pān-gudariyā in the Sehore District of Madhya Pradesh. The inscription refers to the instructions of the emperor to a prince of the royal house. Close to the rock, on which this rare inscription is incised, are located several painted rock-shelters, some of which are extensively large.

In the western and central India a good number of rock-shelters were constructed during the period from 2nd century B. C. to the 9th century A.D. Some of them were purely religious in nature. Others were meant for residential purposes. In the inscriptions of the Sātavāhanas, the Ksaharātas and the Kṣatrapas names of several rock-shelters are found. The terms for various types of rock-cut structures are given in these inscriptions. Apart from the term *layaṇa* or *leṇa*, other terms occurring in the inscriptions are *guhāvāsa, maṇḍapa, udapāna, yaṣṭi, silāravādī* (*śilāgṛhavāṭikā*), etc.

The word *maṇḍapa* stands for the covered projected part in front of a cave. *Udapāna* was a water-cistern made usually of stone. *Yaṣṭi* was the independent pillar of various size. *Śilāgṛha-vāṭikā* was the enclosed garden near one or a cluster of rock-shelters.[21]

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19. See D C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 75-6

20 *Ibid*, p. 312.

21. For details see Sircar *Ibid*, pp. 164-213.

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At several historical sites the man-made rock-shelters are well-preserved even now. Apart from the caves in the Gaya region of Bihar, a good number of these are located in Orissa, Maharashtra aod central India. The caves at Udaigiri near Vidisha in Madhya Pradesh can be cited here by way of an example. In the famous inscription of Chandragupta-II dated year 82 (= 401 A. D) at Udaigiri, it is said that cave in question was caused to be made by Vīrasena in honour of lord Śiva.[22]

The majority of rock-shelters at Udaigiri face the eastern direction. Hence the name 'Udaigiri' (for the hillock containing the caves near Vidisha) was appropriate. The same seems to have been the case with the shelters in Orissa and other regions Facing of the shelters to the east or west was convenient for getting light and heat, and hence the terms *Udayagiri* and *Astagiri* were coined. Some big rock-shelters were located on the main routes.

A very large number of rock-shelters are now known in the valleys of Narmada, Betwa and some other rivers. Most of them served the habitation needs of a considerable number of primitive people. Some of them were used by sages and mendicants. Quite a few of them also served the purpose of various types of entertainments, such as the *śabarotsavas*. This is confirmed by the evidence from inscriptions, literary works and the plastic and pictorial decorations in some of the caves. In this connection particular mention may be made of the carvings in the Udaigiri complex of caves in Orissa. There we come across interesting depictions of the episodes of Śakuntalā and Vāsavadattā.

Lastly, there was the religious function. Both in the north and the south some rock-shelters have been found which served the purpose of shrines. In the Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Tamilnadu such shrines are known In the north India also similar was the case,

In the Śākta Purāṇic and Tantric literature several goddesses are said to be associated with mountains and forests. Mention may be made of the deities Haimavatī Umā, Parṇaśabarī and Vindhya-vāsini. The goddess Parṇaśabarī was worshipped by leaf-clad *śabaras*.

An inscription from Gangadhār dated saṁ. 480 (=423 A. D.) contains a reference to the images of the Mothers enshrined in a cave. These images are said to be making loud noise out of glee. The shrine had several images of Dākinīs also.[23] In a Deogarh inscription of the 6th cent. A. D. there is a

22. भक्त्या भगवतश्शंभोर्गुहामेतामकारयत् । (Sircar. *Ibid*, p. 280).

23. Sircar, *Ibid*, p. 405.

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mention to the construction of a yogini temple in a hill.[24] At Pathari in the Vidisha district are still preserved the seated stone images of mother-goddesses. Several other inscriptions also cantain references to such cave-shrines. The word *Puttalikā* of the inscriptions and literature stands for both for the culptured and pained statues.

24. *Ep. Indica*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 126ff.

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IDEAL PATTERN OF CULTURE IN KANHADADE PRABANDHA

By

V. S. BHATNAGAR

Kanhadade Prabandha, composed in 1455 A. D. by Padmanabha Nagar at the Court of Rai Akhairaj Songare who was fifth in descent from Kanhadade, the ruler of Jalor, enjoys a rare reputation for its authenticity, lofty theme, patriotic fervour, and vibrant portrayal of the characters. Scholars consider it as probably the most valuable treasure in old Gujarati or old Rajasthani.[1] The renowned scholar Muni Jinvijaiji found it as a work which exercises a purifying effect upon the reader, and was impressed by its historical accuracy.

The theme of the work is Sultan Alauddin's conflict with Rawal Kanhadade Chauhan of Jalor and latter's sacrifice in the defence of religion and culture. It is not the existence or Siwana of Jalor, which in poet's representation of the events, was at stake; it was preservation of certain cherished values, religion, and way of life which were seriously threatened by the invasion of the Muslims. This idea repeatedly occurs in *Kanhadade Prabandha.*[2] The poet often portrays the ideal pattern of culture which the different characters in the epic poem allude to either in their attempt to conform to those values or in their apprehension that they have deviated from them, consciously or unconsciously.

When unfolding the course of developments, the poet mentions the insult and humiliation inflicted by the ruler of Gujarat upon thh Pradhan, Mādhava, who, in a mood of intense hatred, vows not to touch food till he had brought the Turks into Gujarat and avenged the wrong done to him by the ruler.[3] The poet regards Mādhava's action as a sin, done probably due to past *karmas*, for the poet says, he brought the Mlechhas in a *desh* " where Śāligrāma is worshipped, Hari's name is recited, where *yajñas* are performed and Brāhmaṇas receive *dāna*, where Tulsi and Peepal are worshipped, and Vedas and Purāṇas regulate the lives of the people, where people go for

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1. K. B. Vyas (ed.), *Kanhadade Prabandha* (Jaipur, Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute, 1953), p. i.
2. Thus he represents the fight between Rao sital Dev of Siwana and Alauddin Khalji as the great conflict between Lard Rāma and Rāvaṇa or the one between the Gods and the Asuras.
3. *Kanhadade Prabandha*, Canto I, 14,

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tirthāṭana, and hold Smṛtis, Purāṇas, and cows in honour."[4] The poet often dwells upon the main cultural features which characterised the territories ruled by Hindu rulers.

When Alauddin, who was very happy to receive the invitation from Mādhava, asked the latter about the situation in Gujarat, Mādhava portrayed picture of a ruler who had given up *Kṣatriyadharma.* He described the then ruler Karṇa as having lost his mental balance, inordinately suspicious, and of foul temper, so much so that he was ever in fear that hc might be poisoned or betrayed.[5] But what was unpardonable in the eyes of Mādhava was the fact that Karṇa had not only killed his brother but also took away his wife. This was unbearable for Mādhava. Forgetting his duty towards his land, he says, "I will attack Gujarat and destroy the Hindus, kill them and bring them as captives, and after conquering Gujarat present it to the Sultan."[6]

Poet's portrayal of Kanhadade is that of brave and capable ruler, devout, wedded to certain principles, scrupulous in observing the norms of courtesy, for example, with Alauddin's envoys and his daughter, a man of much self-restraint and great competence. When Sultan Alauddin sought for his army unhindered passage to Sorath, the Jalor route being shorter and less difficult, he sent the message that Kanhadade might continue to rule at Jalor but should let the army pass, Rawal's reply in a few words of dignified denial was: "It will be against my *dharma* to let villages be devastated and people made captives, to allow ear-lobes of women to be torn for the ornaments, and to let the Brāhmaṇas and cows to be harassed. When such are the likely consequences, the rulers do not give passage (to an alien army)".[7]

In none of the Persian histories of this period we find a better description of the Turkish army on the march than the one given by Padmanabha; his beautiful and candid pen-picture of the Turkish army awe-inspiring. It was a huge army, well-equipped and armed, in which not only the soldiers, even elephants and horses had armour, and there were sappers to cut the road and a large number of Bhatiyaras and other men of the commissariat to supply all the needs of the soldiers.[8] Rawal Samarsi of Mewar let the army pass without fighting.[9] The towns of Gujarat fell too easily to the Turks. Only at Modasa, thc chief Batada challenged the enemy with his small body of troops and was slain. For the poet, not all the

4. *ibid.*, 15-17.
5. *ibid.*, 23-25.
6. *ibid.*, 27
7. *ibid.*, 32-33
8. *ibid.*, 40-48. Sce also Canto II, 83-95.
9. *ibid.*, I, 50,

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Turks are devils nor they were devilish all the time. When Ulugh Khan saw the Chief of Modasa falling. he applauded his valour. "In *svarga,* there were shouts o' Jai, Jai Batadā went to heaven seated in a vimāna.'"[10] The poet never fails to glorify acts of self-sacrifice for the sake of religion, land, or in protecting others.

The Muslim army plundered the towns and villages thoroughly and mercilessly. The people paniced and took to forests. The king fled from Patan. Asaval, Surat, Khambat, Raner, Champaner. all fell io the enemy. The next target was Somanātha. The poet says that while the people fled, the soldiers did not show their backs and resolutely defended Somanātha, denting enemy's pride.[11] The poet says that neither by *yajña,* nor by visiting the *tīrthas,* nor by giving *dāna* of the three *lokas,* one attains the position which was the reward of those who died in the defence of Lord Somanātha.[12]

The poet probably reflects the mental state of the people of Gujarat when, after describing the destruction of the temple of Somanātha and uprooting of the idol, which was put in a cart to be carried to Delhi, he asks Lord Śiva himself that earlier the Lord by killing the demons had rid the *devaloka* from their fear, and had burnt to ashes Kāmadeva and killed Tripurāsura, "O Somanātha", asks Pandmanabha in great anguish, "where have you kept your trident ?"[13]

Kanhadade is the hero of the epic poem and he acts like one restrained and dignified. When after the conquest of Gujarat, Ulugh Khan, Alauddin's general and commander of the Gujarat army, sent an insolent, peremptory, and challenging message to Jalor saying: "I have made thine God a captive. If you are a man, then try to check my course and secure freedom of Somanātha, or else come to me with presents. Either demonstrate your bravery or sit quietly in thine fort,[14] Kanhadade's reply was brief. He told the Turkish envoy: "Brave do not indulge in self praise. Their deeds speak for themselves. Tell Ulugh Khan. I will give him fight in a day or two and shall engage his troops."[15]

In no other work. earlier or later, the condition and feelings of people made captive during the course of war have been depicted with greater sensitivity than in *Kanhadade Prabandha*. The number of captives made during the Gujarat campaign (1299 A. D.) was beyond count. Even the

10. *ibid.*, 55–56. When Rao Satal fell of Siwana fighting against Alaud-din, the latter praised him for his bravery and bowed his head to honour the dead hero (Canto I, 167).
11. Canto I, 80
12. *ibid.* ,92
13. *ibid.*, 101–102
14. *ibid.*, 115–116, 128–29.
15. *ibid.*, 130.

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Brāhmaṇas, women and children were not spared. The captives were herded and tied with straps of raw hides. Kanhadade's envoys saw in the Muslim camp innumerable prisoners, weeping and wailing, exposed to sun during the day and to cold winds in the night and childrens separated from their parents and crying incessantly. They found the captives in extremely miserable condition. Some were dying of thirst while some were so sick that they could barely sit. All were hungry, without even a few grains to eat. Some had iron chains in their feet. Children, women, men were separated from each other.[16] After describing their condition in such sombre colours, the poet gives an idea of what people considered a sinful act at that time. The captive men and women were thinking as to what sin they had committed that they came in the bondage of the Turks. They asked themselves: " Did we give false evidence, or wrongly blamed somebody, or separated children from their parents, or ploughed in pasture land for cows, or disregarded the donee's claims over the land granted in charity? Did we gather honey, or looted the travellers or wayfarers, or disobeyed the parents, or disregarded the injunctions of the Vedas, or omitted to observe fast on the *Gyaras*, or did not give charity to the Brahmins? Or we violated the traditions of the *kula*, or created enmity, or omitted to entertain a guest; or did not offer water to thirsty, or entered into illicit relations with the wife of another person, or indulged in the five sins, or took meals in hiding, or cheated our own sons, broke the wall of a pond filled with water, cut a peepal tree, broke the temple of God, or touched God's idol by foot, or sold lac, salt or *tila* to Bohras, or sold a girl, or took *mahādāna* during ecclipse, or proved false to the salt, or insulted Pandits, poets and *yācakas*, etc .. or did not offer Tulsi leaves to Lord Krishna, did not show compassion towards the living beings, or set fire to heaps of grain (of the cultivators), or betrayed the trust reposed in us, or spoke ill of others, or were unkind to poor, or accepted bribe."[17] Such were their fears and bewilderment, and yet their main apprehension was that if Kanhadade did not obtain their release, all of them will be converted to the religion of the Turk.[18]

It was this unfortunate host of captives whom Kanhadade, by a well-planned night-attack on the imperial army, secured freedom. Hailing Kanhadade's success, the poet exclaims, " Rawal Kanhadade, you are great. You are the incarnation of Krishna." [19] He attributes Kanhadade's victory to his *puṇya*, earned as a reward for good deeds, *puṇya* which is the bestower of wealth and honour, health and happiness, and worldly success. It is on account of one's *puṇya* that one does not see the face of defeat and does

16. *ibid*, 154–58
17. *ibid.*, 159–74
18. *ibid.*, 175–76.
19. *ibid.*, 223

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not suffer separation from one's near and dear ones. It is *puṇya* which begets blessings of the Brāhmaṇas and renders unattainable attained. The Pāṇḍavas secured their kingdom on account of their *puṇya* while falsehood did not secure for the Kauravas success.[20]

The poet frequeutly extols devotion to one's duty. When a formidable army of Alauddin arrived at Siwana, Rao Satal considered it his good fortune that the Sultan had personally come to fight against him.[21] Similarly, when the water-reservoir in the fort of Siwana was polluted by the enemy by throwing a carcase of a cow in it and Satal Dev sought views of his queens, it being impossible to hold on in the absence of even a minimum supply of pure water, their reply was brief but characteristic. "What is there to think about?" they said, "We will perform *Jauhar*. For the Hindus, cow is sacred. Its blood is in the water of this pond. We will not prefer to survive on water of this pond.[22] The ladies in general are depicted by the poet bearing lofty character and observing noble principles. When Hira Devi, the wife of the traitor who out of greed betrayed Jalor to the enemy, came to know of the dark deed of her husband, she bitterly cursed him for having brought about ruin of the fort for his own selfish ends, and struck him dead by blows of cymbols and informed Raja Kanhadade about the matter.[23] The poet dwells upon the evils of *lobha* (greed) which makes people commit various sins. It is on account of *lobha* that pepole add impurities to gold, wander in foreign lands, and deny possession of articles kept with them in trust. It impoverishes some, and makes others pass sleepless nights. It is on account of greed that people indulge in selling girls, agree to destroy *dharma*, plunder wayfarers, kill Brāhmaṇas, Bhats and Nagārchīs, barter away their honour, and give false evidence. There is no greater evil than *lobha*, the poet says, and one who dies without falling a prey to it is indeed deserving of adoration.[24]

Padmanābha's account of the towns, whether it is Jalor or Barmer or Bhinmal, again mphasizes good conduct, learning and religiousness of the people - Brāhmaṇas learned in the Vedic lore, people affluent, virtuous and contented and warriors chivalrous and incorruptible.[25] When Sultan Alauddin made attractive offers to Kanhadade and sought his son Viram's hand for his daughter, the offer was entirely unacceptable to him.[26] But when Alauddin's daughter visited the Jalor fort, she was received polietly

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20. *ibid.*, 224-36
21. Canto II, 107
22. *ibid.*, 146-47
23. Conto IV, 183, 202-206
24. *ibid.*, 185-93
25. Thus see Canto I, 5-6, Canto III, 22-29, Canto IV, 9, 43,
26. Canto III, 133-41

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and was granted permission to visit all such places in the fort which she desired to see. She was even allowed to have a dip in the sacred Jāvali tank. On the eve of her departure, Kanhadade bestowed upon her a dress and at her request released all the Turks who had been made captive by the Rajputs.[27]

In all the four Cantos of *Kanhadade Prabandha*, the poet has depicted the values which fashioned the outlook and conduct of the people of this region in the fourteenth century and wove an ideal pattern of culture for them.

27. Canto III, 241-47

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MĀTSYANYĀYAM APOHITUM

By

BHASKAR CHATTERJEE

Māstyānayāya, that is, "the practice of fish" or the condition of lawlessness or anarchy is often referred to in the Buddhist text *Mahāvastu*,[1] and other treatises on politics like the *Arthaśāstra*,[2] *Manusaṁhitā*,[3] *Mahābhārata*,[4] *Matsya-Purāṇa*[5] and *Bṛhaddharma-Purāṇa*.[6] But the only epigraphic record so far known, which refers to *Mātsyanyāya* is the Khalimpur Copper-plate[7] issued in the 32nd year of the reign of Dharmapāla. It contains the statement :

> *mātsyanyāyaṁ=apahituṁ prakṛtibhir=lakshmyāḥ karaṁ grāhitaḥ |*
> *śrīgopāla=iti kṣitiśaśirasāṁ cūḍāmaṇis=tat-sutaḥ ||*

It is translated thus : "His son was the crest-jewel of the heads of kings, the glorious Gopāla, whom the people made take the hand of Fortune, to put an end to the practice."

The passage is interpreted by scholars to suggest that Gopāla, founder of the Pāla dynasty, who came to power sometime about the middle of the eighth century A. D. was made king by the people in order to put an end to the state of anarchy which prevailed in Bangal. The Tibetan historian Lāmā Tārānātha confirms the above information from the epigraph, when he says that the death of Latitacandra was followed by a period of anarchy and confusion. As he puts it, every Kshatriya, Grandee, Brāhmaṇa, and merchant was a king in his own house. In other words, there was absenee of central ruling authority in Gauḍa-Vaṅga, where every local chief assumed royal authority. As a result, the maxim "might is right" could have been translated into action in its truest sense.

This is, no doubt, a concrete historical situation labelled as *mātsyanyāya* whereas the treatises on politics furnish us with the theoretical side of the same. But the author of the Khalimpur praśasti does not seem to have made use of the technical expression without knowing its implication. Whereas most of the

1. *Mahāvastu* I, 338 - 48
2. *Arthaśāstra*, I, 13
3. *Manu*, VII, 14 - 31
4. *Mbh.* XII 67. 2 - 16
5. *Mat.* p. 225. 9–18
6. *Br.* p. III, 3, 15–19
7. *Ep. Ind*, IV. 243

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political treatises have laid an emphasis upon kinglessness as the characteristic of *mātsyanyāya* in order to uphold the essential nature of the coercive power (*daṇḍa*) of the king, the Buddhist text *Mahāvastu* gives us to understand that the people, of their own, took an initiative to select their ruler or king so that anarchy and disorder in society might be combated effectively. The social implication of *mātsyanyāya* has not been, however, missed by the authors of political treatises. For instance, in the *Mahābhārata* it has been stated by Bhīṣma that "a kingless country is overwhelmed by robbers; in such a land people devour one another and those who live cannot enjoy the rights of family and property".[8] Again, Manu states that in absence of king's *daṇḍa*, the strong would roast the weaker like 'fish on spit', ownership would remain with none and the lower ones would usurp the place of the higher ones,[9] Thus, the Arthaśāstra-Smṛti school, represented by Kauṭilya, Manu and Bhīṣma, has pointed out the loss of family and property rights as well as social disorder as symptoms of *mātsyanyāya*. The Buddhist school of thought, on the other hand, has observed, emphasising upon the decline of ethical standard, the appearance of the evils of theft, falsehood and violence that led to the degeneration of the human society.

However, scholars interpreting the above epigraphic passage have generally stressed upon the chaos and anarchy in the political life in Bengal that was caused by successive changes of ruling dynasties in both Gauḍa and Vaṅga and a series of invasions from outside.[10] But they have hardly said anything regarding the social condition in the background of *mātsyanyāya*.

Although we face an inadequacy of evidence, attempt may be made to derive at least some of the social implications of *mātsyanyāya* from the records of the Pāla period. The copper-plate grants of the Pāla king, from the time of Nārāyaṇapāla,[11] begin with an eulogy both of Lord Buddha and the first Pāla ruler Gopāla.

"*jitvā yaḥ kāmakāriprabhavaṁ = abhibhavam śāśvatīṁ prāpa śāntim*".

When this is applied in the case of Gopāla, it would mean that he achieved peace for the people in Bengal by having defeated the attacks of the oppressors or tyrants. The expression "kāmakārī" means those who do not acknowledge any control and act wilfully. Obviously, this explanation would

8. U. N. Ghoshal, *A History of Indian Political Ideas*, Bombay, 1959, p. 197.
9. *ibid.* p. 168, 253, 444–45
10. Majumdar, R. C. (ed.), *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, Dacca, 1943, p. 89–90
11. *ibid.*, p. 102–3

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suggest the social condition in Bengal on the eve of Gopāla's accession. Those who are referred to as "Kāmakāri" seem to have made the people intensely feel that their family and property rights were not secure. Because those who were not law-abiding could act wilfully and oppress the weaker sections of the people.

Again, in the Monghyr Copper-plate Inscription of Devapāla[12] it has been stated about Dharmapāla in verse 5 (*śāstrārthabhājā chalato'nuśāsya varṇān pratiṣṭhāpayatā svadharme*) that he followed the rules of caste laid down in the scriptures in order to restore in order the four varṇas who had deviated from their position prescribed by the law-givers. It appears that *mātsyanyāya* in Bengal caused " the lower ones to usurp the position of the higher ones ". Gopāla probably could not complete the task of restoring the social order and left it to be done by his son and successor.

In the Buddhist text *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa* it is recorded that the Gauḍatantra after Śaśāṅka was reduced to mutual distrust and suspicion. It also informs us that on the eve of Gopāla's accession, that is, during *mātsyanyāya*, the territory extending upto the sea was inhabited by the Brāhmaṇas (Tīrthikas) and that the Buddhist monasteries were in dilapidated condition.[13] It may be noted in this connection that the accounts of the Chinese travellers Fa-hien (5th century), Hiuen Tsang, Itsing and Sheng Chi (7th century) bear testimony to many Deva temples and vihāras in Gauḍa-Vanga-Samataṭa region, suggesting that the priestly class comprising Brāhmaṇas and Buddhist monks in charge of their respective religious institutions enjoyed, till at least the end of the seventh ceutury A.D, the land-endowments provided by the state. But the Buddhist text, mentioned above, appears to suggest that Brāhmaṇas, being deprived of their lands donated proviously to them, dispersed over a long stretch of territory in search of living and were thus reduced to the position of *Tīrthikas*. Almost the same was the condition of the Buddhist monks, else the vihāras in their charge would not have fallen in a miserable condition This further corroborated by the Pāla copper-plates recording donation of land to the Brāhmaṇas und Lāmā Tārānātha's account referring to the construction of monasteries like Odantapurī, Somapura and Vikramaśīla in the time of Gopāla and Dharmapāla.

It appears from the above how the social condition prevailing in Bengal on the eve of Gopāla's accession was in total disorder. It was not, therefore, unlikely that the *Prakṛtis* or the 'people' took an initiative to elect

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12. *Ep. Ind.* XVII. 304
13. Roy, N. R. *Bāngālīr Itihāsa*, Ādi Parva (abridged), Calcutta. B. S. 1382, p. 1382,

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their king in view of the urgency of the situation. It would be quite unreasonable to assume that warring feudal lords[14] would abruptly select one from among temselves. Because, consolidation of a central authority was sure to deprive them of their power and pelf. It has been argued that the people in the middle of the eight century A. D. were not expected to be so politically conscious as to elect their king. But we may trace even in earlier Buddhist and Brahmanical texts an initiative of the common people to elect their king.

14. *ibid*, p. 239–47,

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INDIA AND HER NEIGHBOURS IN TRADE AND CULTURE

(c. 3rd Century B. C. to 7th Century A. D.)

By

S. K. MAITY

The impact of Indian trade and culture in the neighbouring countries traced as early as third century B. C. if not earlier. Indians migrated in large numbers to Malaysia and Indonesia in ancient times. We find place-names in Sanskrit in Sumatrâ, Java, Champa, Kambuja, Suvarna-bhumi and Suvarnadvipa bearing unmistakable evidences of the early cultural and commercial, if not political colonisation of the Western Pacific by the Indians. The earliest inscriptions so far traced in Champa (Viet Nam), Java and Borneo were inscribed in the Brahmi script of north Indian variety and in Sanskrit language. Isolated centres of trade and commerce like the famous 'Agency Houses' of much later period in the Indian subcontinent, developed gradually into big cultural zones and finally into the Hindu colonies and empires like that of the 'Sri-Vijaya' in Indonesia and the Hindu kingdoms of Chamba and Cambodia in Indo-China. Side by side with them small local sancturies gradually developed into colossal architectural marvels like the Borobudar, Prambanan of Java, and Bayon, Angkor Wat of Indo-China. Indian mer chants, princes, monks, intellectuals both Brahmamical and Buddhist co-operated intensively with the gifted indigenous populations. Thus the foundation was laid of the 'Greater Indian Concept' whichwas of course predominantly a cultural expression of the collaboration of the races and nations. Thanks to the blessings of message of universal brotherhood (Maitri) preached by Lord Buddha and applied in the domain of Statecraft by Emperor Asoka in the third century B C., the Indians were foremost in preaching and practising world fellowship in the enormous Indian-Ocean-Pacific region extending from Malaysia and Indonesia to Micronesia and Polynesia. Thus in the broad sense economic and cultural relations were the basic factors in the formation of international brotherhood.

TRANS-CONTINENTAL TRADE

It is very interesting to note that the trade motive and the trading habits among the Asiatic nations developed through the ages by politico-economic and Socio-Cultural processes. Good many Chinese records help us to understand how this process developed gradually over the centuries

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between China, India and Central Asian countries. In 91 B. C. the Chinese annal, *Shih Chi* writes, " when the first *embassy* was sent from China to An-Shi (Parthia), the king of An – Shi (Parthia)", as was the usual practice, sent a military general along with a band of soldiers to receive and offer him a guard of honour on the frontier of his kingdom. On a return visit the Parthian King sent an *embassy* to the Chinese court with " large bird's eggs, jugglers from Li-Kam....at which His Majesty was highly pleased".[1] In B. C. 140 to 86 the Chinese Emperor, Wu-ti also did the same and the Parthian king as usual sent him " large bird's eggs and jugglers from Li-Kam "[2]. Another contemporary record is more explicit about the problems of land and sea voyage. *Hou-han-shu* records that the Parthian Emperor sent an ambassador to the Court of Chang – Ho in A. D. 87" with lions and fu-pa. The fu-pa has the shape of a lin (unicorn) but has no horn. In return the Chinese court sent Kan-Ying as as ambassador to Parthia..... when about to take his passage across the sea, the sailors of the western frontier of An-Shi (Parthia) told Kan-Ying : " The sea is vast and great ; with fovourable winds it is possible to cross within three months ; but if you meet slow winds; it may also take you two years. It is for this reason that those who go to sea take on board a supply of three years' provisions. There is something in the sea which is apt to make man home-sick, and several have thus lost their lives. When Kan-Ying heard this, he stopped. In the thirteenth year (A. D. 101) the king of An–Shi (Parthia) Man – Kul again offered as tribute lions and large birds from T'iso-Chih (ostriches) which henceforth were named An-hsi-Chiao (Parthian birds)"[3]

Another Chinese annal, *How-han shu* gives a detailed account of the trade practices of the contemporary period. The country of Ta-ts'-in is also called Li-chien (Li-Kin) and is situated in the western part of the sea. "The defences of cities are made of stone. The postal stations and mile - stones on the roads are covered with plaster. There are pine and cypress trees and all kinds of other trees and plants. The people are much bent on agriculture, and practice of planting of trees and the rearing of silk–worms.

.. The country contains much gold, silver and rare precious stones, especially ' the jewels that shine at night,' the moonshine pearl, corals, amber, glass, langkan (a kind of coral), chu-tan (cinnabar ?), Ching-pi (green jadestone), gold-embroidered rugs and thin silk-cloth of various colours.

1. *Shih - Chi*, written about B. C. 91. Ch. 123 : T - Wan. Tr. by F. Hirth in his *China and the Roman Orient* . Sec. A P. 35.
2. *Ch'ien - han - shu*, written about A. D. 90 and embracing the facts coming within the period B. C. 206 to A. D. 25; Ch 96A. *Hsi - yu - Chuan* : *An - hsi - kuo* : CRG, B, p.36
3. *Hou - han - chu*, ch 88 : *Hsi - yu - chuan*, CRO, D, pp. 38–39.

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They make gold-coloured cloth and asbestos cloth. They further have fine cloth also called Shui-yang-ts'ui (i. e. down of the water sheep); it is made from the cocoons of wild silk-worms. They collect all kinds of fragrant substances, the juice of which they boil into su – ho (storax). All the rare gems of other foreign countries come from there. They make coins of gold and silver. Ten units of silver are worth one of gold. The traffic by sea with An-hsi (Parthia) and T'ien-chu (India), the profit of which trade is tenfold. They are honest in their transactions and these are no double prices. Cereals are always cheap. The budget is based on well-filled treasury. Their kings desired always to send embassies to China, but the An-hsi (Parthians) wished to carry on trade with them in Chinese silk, ... (166 A. D.) .... one is not alarmed by robbers, but the road becomes unsafe by fierce tigers and lions who will attack passangers, and unless there be travelling in caravans of a hundred men or more, or be protected by military equipment, they may be devoured by those beasts "[4]

From a study of the ancient records of China it appears that the volume of trans-continental trade involving China, India and other countries gradually increased and different trading nations became more and more benefited. *Chin-shu*, referring to the econonic situation of A. D. 265 to 419, records that Ta-ts'in is also known as Li-Chien (Li-Kin) situated in the western part of western sea. " Their country exports much gold and precious stones. shining pearls. and large conches; they have the jewel that shines at night, and asbestos cloth; they know how to embroider cloth gold thread and weave gold-embroidered rugs. They make gold and silver coins; ten silver coins are worth one gold coin. The inhabitants of An-shi (Parthia) and T'ien-Chu (India) have trade with them by sea, its profit is hundredfold. The waters of the great sea which is crossed on the road thither is salt and bitter, and unfit for drinking purposes; the merchants travelling to and fro are provided with three years provisions; hence there are not many going".[5]

The author of *Sung-shu* referring to the period of A. D. 420 to 478 had a very fine sense of humour. He remarks that Buddhist religion along with Indian articles of trade over-flooded the market of China. "As regards Ta-ts' in and T'ien-Chu (India) far out on the western ocean, wa have to say that, although the envoys of the two Ham dynasties have experienced the special difficulties of this road, yet traffic in merchandies has been effected and goods have been sent out to the foreign tribes, the force of winds driving

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4. *How-han-shu*, ch 88 : *Hsi-yu-chuan*, - the principal account of Ta-t' sin, CRO E, pp. 40-43.
5. *Chin-shu*, written before the middle of the 7th century, and embracing the period A. D. 265 - 419, Ch. 97. CRO. F, pp. 44-45.

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them far away accross the waves of the sea........All the precious things of land and water come from there, as well as the gems made of rhinoceros' horn and king-fisters' stone, serpent pearls (she-chau) and asbestos cloth, there being innumerable varieties of these curiosities; and also (the doctrine of) the abstraction of mind (in devotion to) the lord of the world (Bnddha, Shin-Chu); all this having caused navigation and trade to to be extended to those parts."[6] Moreover, good many Chinese records of the sixth and seventh centuries A. D. refer to profitable trade both by sea and land to different Asiatic countries.[7] For instance, To-ta'in, the country on the Red Sea ('west of sea') used to export gold, silver, copper, iron, lead, tin, tortoises, white horses, red hair, tortoise shell, large conches, corneliam stones, southern gold, king fishers' gems, ivory, real white pearls, amber, corals, ten colours of opaque glass, viz, carnation, white, black green, yellow, blue, purple, azure, red and red-brown, rock, crystal, realgar, orpiment, five colours of Pi, ten kinds of Jade, viz, yellow, white, black green, a brownish red, crimson, purple, gold, yellow, azure, and a reddish yellow, five colours of rugs, gold embroideries, gold colour cloth, asbestos cloth, curtain interwoven with gold, 12 kinds of vegetable fragrant subatances.[8]

TRADE ROUTES–LAND AND SEA :

Long-drawn commercial activities of different Asiatic peoples made them come closer ro one another and religion, art and literature worked as their unifying bonds. By the humanising effects of Buddhism the central Asian route became more and more safe for the travellers, merchants and missionaries.

As early as 138 B. C. the Chinese Emperor sent Chang K'ien to open up the Central Asian route. Chang K'ien was finally able to reach Bactriana and returned back to China in 186 B C.[9] He then submitted a detailed report to the Emperor about Ta-yuan (Ferganah), An-hsi (Parthia), Ta-his (Bactria) Li-chin (Li-kin), T'ien-chu (India), etc. He also made some important discovery when he was in Bactriana, he was very astonished to see that cotton and bamboo stuff from the South-western provinces of China were being sold in the local market. These, he heard, had been brought by Indian cara-

6. *Sung-shu*, written about A. D. 500, and embracing the period A, D. 420–478, Ch. 97 CRO, G, pp. 45-46.

7. *Liang-shu*, written about, A. D. 629 and comprising the period A. D. 502 to 556, Ch 54 : account of *Chung-T'ien-chu*; *CRO*, H, pp. 46-47 etc., etc.

8. CRO, pp. 72 - 73.

9. *India and China*, p. 5.

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vans through Northern India and Afghanistan.[10] It was very impressive report to the Chinese Emperor and he took necessary steps to open up routes to the Middle East and to India. The Hunish and the other barbaric settlements on fhe western part of China and its neighbourhood were conquered by the Emperor. He also undertook many military operattons in Central Asia. By the first centnry A. D. many small kingdoms of that region accepted the suzerainty of the Chinese Emperor. He then sent regular embassies to a large number of Asian countries at regular intervals. As soon as safe passage through Central Asia was assurd, traders, merchants and Buddhist missionaries from all directions began to pour into the Chinese Empire.[11] A good many Chinese records help us to understand this problem.[12] As early as A. D. 65 two Indian Buddhist missionaries Dharmarakṣa and Kaśyapa Mataṅga arrived in China and according to tradition they spent the rest of their lives there. They translated into Chinese the famous, 'The Sutra of the Forty-two sections' containing the rules of initiation, ordination and the code of conduct of monks. In appreciation of their works the Chinese Emperor built the *White Horse Monastery* in their honour.

By middle of the first century A. D. the Buddhist missionaries were very active in South China; and the Emperor Ming-ti gave official recognition to Buddhism in China. Buddhism thus brought the two countries, India and China, closer together, and the Buddhist missionaries became the most active agents in uniting two people by cultural ties. As a natural corollary of it a brisk trade developed between the two countries.[13]

It appears from our recordst hat Buddhism spread from India to Central Asia and China even before trade contracts were established between the different countries of this vast region of Asia. The routes which were used by traders in this region were in all probability first traversed by Buddhist monks. Primarily Buddhist routes, they eventually developed into famous commercial routes of Asia between India and China. Obviously the earlier expansion of Buddhism facilitated the growth of commerce in those countries. This process was the reverse of what happened at the time of European expansion in Asia in modern times when Christianity followed the European traders, and then came their empire-building activities.

The countries lying on the route from Kashgar to China, which are collectively called by historians and geographers as 'Ser-India', first imbibed

10. *ibid.* p. 6
11. *India and China*, p. 6-7
12. Supra. pp. 2-4.
13. *India and China*, p. 11

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Indian culture and then developed into important trade centres. They were Po-lu - Kia (Bharuk) near Uch - Turfan, K'iu - tse or Kin - ye (Kuci, mod. Cuchar), Yen - K'i (Agni, mod. Karasahr) Kao - Ch'ang (Turfan) and many others. And the accompanying map would further explain the politics of the Asiatic trade routes.

NEPAL, TIBET, ASSAM – BURMA ROUTE TO CHINA :

One trade route passed through the Brahmaputra valley in Assam, Burma and Yunnan and the other ran through Nepal and Tibet. There was an indirect contact between India and China by way of Assam before the second century B. C. Indian domestic fowl along with some other articles first appeared in China in the late Shang period.[14] But these trade routes by their very nature were difficult and discouraging to the travellers. Unhealthy condition of the countries through which they passed, scarcity of food and drink, insecurity of roads due to barbarian inroads very much discouraged the travellers to take those routes. However, the Assam - Burma route to China started from Pataliputra (Patna), passed through Champa (Bhagalpur) Kajangal (Rajmahal), Pundravardhana (North Bengal), Kamarupa (Gauhati), Burma and finally reached Yunnan - fu (Kun-ming) in South West China.

SEA – ROUTE TO SOUTH EAST ASIA AND CHINA :

For the pre-historic times maritime people in the costal regions of India were acquainted with the crude means of navigation. But with the Aryanisation of India the art of navigation and ship-building developed slowly and steadily. A few centuries before the Christian era merchants, missionaries, priests and political fortune-hunters had learnt to take advantage of this traffic by sea. As recorded in the tradition Asoka sent a Buddhist missionary to Suvarnabhumi.

Names like Indo-China, Further-India, Insulindia, Indonesia, etc., which are applied to various parts of South East Asia and the Far East are as significant as 'Ser-India'. This region is geographically an extension of India and Ptolemy rightly calls it " Trans-Gangetic India. " From the ancient times Indo-China became a sort of buffer state between India and China. Along with the slow expansion of the Aryan culture from India there took place a regular infiltration of the Chinese culture from the north.

Moreover, the traditional dance and puppet theatres in many South East Asian countries, in Thailand, Malaya and Java for example, continued

14. Creel, *Studies in Early Chinese Culture*, p. 175; *The Birth of China*, pp, 85-86.

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to fascinate their audiances with the adventures of Rāma and Sītā and Hanuman, Bhīma, Arjuna and others. In Bali an elaboraie Hindu culture still flouishes, and preserved intact many Indian ideas and practices which have long passed out of use in the sub-continent. Thus, the fact of Indian impact on South-East Asian civilization is indeed very great.

ARTICLES OF TRADE :

Our present study would be incomplete, if we do not say a few words about the articles of trans-continental trade. From the very earliest time India had trade-relations with Ceylon[15]. Ceylon played a distinct role both in the foreign trade of the island and in the inter-oceanic commerce between East and West. Situated in the middle of the Indian ocean and to the extreme south of the Indian Peninsula, Ceylon enjoyed a strategic position commanding the sea-routes that linked one side of the ocean with the other. The best notice of Ceylon's importance as an *entrepot* is found in the work of Cosmas.[16] Being in a central position, it was much fequented by ships from all parts of India and from Persia and Ethiopia (East Aftica) and it likewise sent out many in its own.[17]

Form the remotest countries east of the Cape Comorin, Ceylon recived silk, aloes, cloves, sandalwood and other products. These again came from Male (Malabar) where pepper grew. Calliana (Near Bombay) exported copper and sesame-logs and cloth for making dresses, for it was also a great place of business. From Sindhu came musk, castor-oil and spikenard.[18] Moreover, the king of Ceylon gave a good price both for the elephants and for the horses coming from the Indian marts. The Indian traders brought horses to him from Persia and king of Ceylon used to buy them, exempting them from custom duties.[19] But we know very little about Ceylon's export trade to India. Varāhamihira mentions Ceylon as the home of good pearls from oysters.[20] Fa-hien also notices the pure and brilliant collection of pearls from the sea of Ceylon.[21] These may have been one of the exports of Ceylon to Tamralipti (Tamluk) and the other north Indian marts and probably silver was also imported into India from the silver mines of Ceylon, for there

15. *Mahavaṁśa* XXXI. 10.; *Valahassa Jātaka* (Vol.-II. No. 196); Codrington's *Ceylon Coins and Currency*, p. 16.
16. XI, pp. 363–365.
17. *ibid.*
18. *Cosmos*, XI, pp. 363–367
19. *ibid*, pp. 371–372
20. *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, LXXXI, 2
21. Legge, p. 101

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were no silver mines in India. Moreover, the *Rājataraṁgiṇī* mentions that cloth mauufactured in Ceylon was worn by the queen of Kashmir.[22] The anonymous author of the *Periplus* also mentions that Ceylon produced muslins.[23]

Her commercial relation with China were also flourishing. Fa-hien himself went to China on a merchant vessel.[24] The chronicle 'Sung-chu' states that all the precious things of land and water came from India.[25] Gems made of rhinoceros horns and king-fishers' stones, serpent-pearls and asbestos cloth, there being innumerable varieties of these curiosities, wara imported into China from India. According to the *Chin-hsi-yu-chiu-t'u* rare stone came to China from the countries of Chi-pin (Afghanistan or Kashmir).[26] Moreover, po-tie (a fine textile, probably muslin) was produced in India,[27] and as early as A. D. 430 Indian po-tie was sent to China from Ho lo-tan on Java.[28] In A. D. 519, King Jayavarma of Fu-nan (Cambodia) offered saffron with storax and other aromatics to the Chinese court.[29] Laufer also suggests that in the sixth century saffron was traded from India to Cambodia In the T'ang Annals, India in her trade with Cambodia and the interior orient, export to those countries diamonds, sandal wood and saffron."[30] But we know very little about the Chinese exports to the Indian marts, except silk. So far as we know from our contemporary sources Chinese silk was very popular in thr ancient world. Cosmas refers to China as the 'land of silk'[31] It had a good market in india.

Kalidasa mentions this silk fabric (*cīnāṁśuka*)[32] as one of the most fashinonable textiles among the richer sections of society. Silk and silk-products were also much demanded luxary articles even in the reign of Harshavardhana.[33] They were also in great demand in Arabia, Parthia, many other smaller states of the Middle East and in the Byzantine Empire.[34]

22. Rajt. I, 294–297
23. Schoft., p. 47 (Taprobane = Ceylon)
24. Legge, pp. 111-114
25. CRO. G, pp. 45-46
26. *ibid*, pp. 67–72
27. *Sino-Iranica*, pp. 491 : Nan Si, Ch 78 p. 7a
28. *ibid*, p. 491, Sun-Su, ch. 97, p. 2b
29. *ibid*. p. 318
30. *Sino-Iranica*, p. 518; T an-su, ch 221, A, p. 10b
31. 11, p. 47
32. *Kumārsaṁbhava*, VII. 3; *Śākuntala*, I, p. 438; Kauṭily's *Arthaśāstra* (Tr. Sastry) p. 83.
33. *Harṣacarita*, E. B. Cowell & F. W. Thomas, London 1897, p. 28.
34. S. K. Maity, *Economic life in India in the Gupta period*, p. 134 (1st. Ed.)

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The exchange in trade and commerce, thus, brought about the prosperity of the two famous lands of antiquity.

Indo-Chinese maritime relations not only affected the fortune of the two great nations, but also influenced the many other minor states and island countries through the media of trade. Through the channel of trade, Indian culture flowed all over South East Asia and India's cultural relations with them seem to have been mostly in one direction, which fact tempts many Indologists to claim Malay Peninsula, Siam, Cambodia, Indo-China, Java, Sumatra, Bali, Borneo and Indonesia as the ancient colonies of India.

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INDIAN LINGUISTICS SECTION

AGREEMENT IN GUJARATI AND IN SANSKRIT

By

ARVIND BHANDARI

0. System of Agreement is highly formal in nature. It seems very interesting to know at what juncture in the evolution of language this sophisticated system was introduced. Though traditionally it comes under the head of grammatical categories it is different from other categories – tense, mood, gender, number, person and case. Though mostly person, number and gender categories are used to mark Agreement they do not indicate their preliminary semantic function. They show grammtical linkage of the constituents. The Agreement functions over and above the other grammatical categories and in this sense it is a super-system.

1. 1. Gender — Structurally, the gender-suffixes help to classify nouns under various classses. To an extent it is connected to extra-linguistic classification of objects in the world. However, these are broad classifications such as animate-innanimate, human-non-human, sex-distinction into masculine, feminine, and neuter, or they classify objects aocording to their relative shapes.

(1) *čhokri phaḷ khāti hati*

girl (Fem.) fruit eat (Imperfect feminine) be (Past+femine)

↓ ↓ ↓

Gender agreement

1. 2. Number — This category is related to broad divisions (cognitively very important) of mathematical numbers into singular-plural-dulas.

(2) *čhokrāo pathrā mārtā hatā*

boy (Masc Plu.) stone (Plu.) throw (Imperfect Plural) be (Past+ Plural)

↓ ↓ ↓

Number agreement

1. 3. Person — Generally pronouns and not nouns are connected with this category. They refer to the conversational roles – speaker, hearer, third, speaker and hearer etc.

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(3) *hū̃ jamū̃ chū̃*

I	eat (Imperfect first person singular)	be (Present first person singular)
↓	↓	↓
	Person Agreement	

1. 4. These grammatical categories when they appear in verb-phrase or in adjective-phrase they do not carry their primary functions, as mentioned above, but they mark Agreement between the constituents. A working definition of Agreement / concord can be given as – " two or more constituents are said to be in concord when they are marked by same grammatical category; and if that category is semantically connected only with one of the constituents ". In many languages Agreement is noticed on two levels : (1) clause, (2) phrase.

1. 4. 1. On clause-level Agreement is found between verb and subject.

1. 4. 2. On phrase-level it is found between the head noun and its modifiers : adjectives, articles.

The system of Agreement is examined from three points : (1) Agreeing constituents, (2) Categories empoloyed, (3) Function.

2. 1. In Sanskrit person-number-gender are the categories which are employed to mark Agreement. Number appears in all cases but either with person or with the gender. A single suffix marks both eiteer gender-number or person-number; gender and person are never marked together. It the VP has verbal form (तिङ् suffixes) it agrees in person-number.

(4) *devadattaḥ gacchati*

(5) *vayaṁ gacchāmaḥ*

(6) *sītā gacchati*

But if the VP has participle form (कृत् suffixes) it agrees in gender-number.

(7) *devadattaḥ gataḥ*

(8) *sītā gatā*

2. 2. On clause-level Sanskrit verb always agrees with the subject constituent. If the sentence is passivised the original object is made subject (कर्म becomes अभिहित) and verb agrees with it. But syntactically we cannot say that verb agrees with the object because syntactically it is the subject.

(9) *rāmaḥ rāvaṇaṁ hanti*

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(10) *ahaṃ vyāghraṁ hanmi*

(11) *rāmeṇa rāvaṇaḥ hanyate, mayā vyāghraḥ hanyate*

In Sanskrit verb-forms in all types–verbal types, participle type–have both the active and passive forms. The agreement rule is applied without exception. These types do not condition the agreement rules.

2. 3. In Gujarati agreeing constituents are conditioned not only by passivisation process but also by tense, mood and attitude.

2. 3. 1. In imperfectives the verb agrees with the Subject.

2. 3. 2. In perfectives the verb agrees with the Object.

2. 3. 3. In obtative and desiderative model types it agrees with the Object.

2. 3. 1. Imperfect

(12) *bakri ghās khāše*
goat (Fem. sing.) grass eat (Imperfect + first person + singular)

(13) *hũ copḍi wāčis*
I book (Fem. sing.) read (Imperfect + first person + sing.)

2. 3. 2. Imperfect present

(14) *hũ moḍhũ dhoũ chũ*
I face (Neut.) wash (Imperfect first person sing.) be (Present first person sing.)

(15) *ame moḍhũ dhoie chie*
we face (Neut.) wash (Imperfect first person sing.) be (Present first person sing.)

The verb phrase consisting of Verb + Auxiliary shows agreement in person-number with the Subject.

2. 3. 3. Imperfect past

(16) *hũ maḍhũ dhoti hati*
I face (Neut.) wash (Imperfect fem. + sing.) be (Past + fem. + sing.)

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(17) *čhokro dāt ghasto hato*

boy (Masc.) teeth rub (Imperfect masc.+sing.) be (Past+Masc.+sing.)

↓ ↓ ↓

2. 3. 4. Imperfect furure

(18) *bakri ghās khāti haše*

goat (Fem.) grass eat (Imperfect fem.+sing.) be (Future+third person)

↓ ↓ ↓

(19) *hũ chopḍi wāčti haiš*

I book read (Imperfect Fem.+sing.) be (Future+first person)

↓ ↓ ↓

In 18 and 19 the VP has Verb+Auxiliary both agreeing with the Subject noun. But the verb shows agreement of gender-number whereas the auxiliary shows the agreement of person-number. The future and present auxiliary show the agreement of gender-number.

2. 4. 1. Perfect

(20) *weṭare bil āpyũ*

waiter (Erg) bill give (perfect+neut. sing.)

↓ ↓

(21) *me beg upāḍi*

I (Erg) bag lift (perfect+fem.+sing.)

↓ ↓

2. 4. 2. Perfect present

(22) *weṭare bil āpyũ čhe*

waiter (Erg) bill give (Perfect neut.+sing.) be (Past+third person)

↓ ↓ ↓

(23) *me beg upāḍi čhe*

I (Erg) bag lift (Perfect fem. sing.) be (Present+third person)

↓ ↓ ↓

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2. 4. 3. Perfect past

(24) *weṭare bil āpaũ hatũ*
waiter (Erg) bill give (Perfect neut.+sing.) be (Past.+neut.+sing.)

2. 4. 4. Perfect future

(25) *weṭare bil āpyũ haše*
waiter (Erg) bill give (Perfect neut.+sing.) be (Future+third person)

Same auxiliaries of 'to be' and also of 'to do' are used in copulative constructions. The complement (adjective / noun) shows agreement with the subject noun.

(26) *e čhokro sāro čhe*
that boy (Masc. sing.) good (Masc. sing.) be (Present third person)

(27) *e sṭri gharḍi hati*
that woman old (Fem. sing.) be (Past fem. sing.)

2. 5. 1. Optative

(28) *tamāre das wāge āwavũ*
you (Dative oblioue) ten at come (Optative+neut.)

(29) *tamāre be goḷi sānje lewi*
you (Dat.) two tablets (Fem.) evening (In) take (Optative fem.)

In active-type the verb agrees with Actor-Subject but in passive-type it agrees with patient-subject. In case of transitive verbs this is true. But if the verb is intransitive we find verb does not agree with any constituent. It takes neuter-singular / third person singular irrespective of gender-number-person of noun in the construction. This is true in case of Sanskrit, Gujarati and Marathi. Hindi has no neuter so the intransitive-passive verb takes masculine. In some cases of Marathi even a transitive verb is also made impersonal which is very much new to tradition.

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(30) *tena/taiḥ/mayā hasitaṃ* or *hasyate*

2.6.1. Desiderative

This type is structurally not much different than the optative except that it takes 'to be' auxiliaries.

(31) *māre phul toḍwā c̆he*

I (Dat.) flowers pluck (Des. plural) be (Third person + person)

↓ ↓ ↓

(32) *bābāne goḷi khāwi c̆he*

boy (Dative) toffee (Fem. + sing.) eat (Desire fem.) be (Present third person)

↓ ↓ ↓

2.7. The data is given from Gujarati but the other new Indo-Aryan languages may yield similar picture. The point is that systems are examined to arrive at some universality of feature. What are they in respect to the system of Agreement ?

2.7.1. Language functions – semantic, pragmatic, contextual, textual and attitudinal – realize in Grammatical forms or systems. Grammarians speak of Agreement when they describe Subject and sentence types / procesees. What is the relation between these processes and the system of Agreement ? On sentence level two generalizations can be made :

(1) verb agrees only with the subject constituents; may with the object or complement in some languages.

(2) verb hardly shows agreement (by any process) with the oblique objects.

One can put a question as to why in active type the verb agrees with Agent and in passive type with the object and why not with others ?

As regards the above questions we have to look into the notions of 'Subject' and 'Object' on which the system of Agreement rests. In the linguistic literature the notion of Subject is divided into – (i) logical subject, (ii) grammatical subject and (iii) thematical subject. Agreement is connected with the second one i. e. the grammatical subject. The logical and grammatical notions are interrelated and are connected with sentence whereas the thematical is connected with the utterance.

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2. 7. 2. 1. Logical subject

Logical structure of a sentence is its proposition which has action/process/state and various participant roles. There is a cognitive hierarchy among these roles. Human cognition gives salience to animates over the inanimates; within the animates to the human and within human to the initiator of action. In actions the hierachy is —

Actor → patient – receipant-instrument-locations

In processes – patient → locations

In states → figure – badkground

(33) *dhobi* *kapaḍā* *dhue* *čhe*
washerman clotht wash is .

The verb agrees with the initiator (here the actor) and not with the patient which is inanimate. The hierarchy of human cognition is argued by not only the linguists but also by psychologists.

2. 7. 3. On the foundation of this hierarchy of roles grammatical marking of other functions like contextual, attitudinal and textual is done through grammatical system of case-suffixes and Agreement. On account of cognitive hierarchy even if a constituent (being an initiator of action) marked otherwise hearers are not misguided and on the other hand extra purpose of marking other abovementioned functions is marked with the same system of suffixes.

Thus when logical subject is not realised as subject and some other constituent is realised as subject we say grammatical process of passivisation/causativisation is in action. The change in logical status is made by speaker's motivation. Following are some points (based mostly on Gujarati) which generate passivisation in language and consequently the agreement rules.

(i) Speaker's desire (on account of non-linguistic context to assign salience to the constituent other than that which is cognitive subject.

(ii) Speakers desire to indicate the non-initiation of the Actor of the action.

We know that the actor is the initiator of the action. But in case the actor is forced by sonmeone / circumstances; or speaker feels that he / she is just instrumental in the action; or if the action is looked upon as spontaneous the actor is loooked upon as non-initiator and is demoted down the hierarchy.

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2.7.4. When passivisation or subordination is applied following syntactic operations are generated :

(i) demotion of logical subject (in Gujarati and in Sanskrit to the oblique status).

(ii) it may be dropped

(iii) logical object is promoted as subject

(iv) change in verb structure

(v) Agreement rule – verb agrees with subject

(34) *hũ šāhi ḍhoḷũ čhũ*
I ink spill (Imperfect first person) be (Present first person)

(35) *mārāṭhi šāhi ḍhoḷāy čhe*
I (Obl) ink spill (Imperfect passive third person) be (Present + third person)

The passive indicates non-intentional act of the actor.

(36) *hũ kāgaḷ lakhiš*
I letter write (Imperfect first person)

(37) *māre kāgaḷ lakhwo paḍše*
I (Oblique) letter write (Optative masc. sing.) Compulsion (Imperfect third person)

(38) *eṇe rikšā ubhı rākhi*
he (Erg.) rickshaw stop keep (perfect fem. sing.)

(39) *rikšā ubhi rahi*
rickshaw stop stay / happen (Perfect fem. sing.)

The logical subject is dropped in '39' and object (as if stopped on its own) is given salience.

In Gujarati verbs denoting 'happening' and 'doing' are structurally in passive-active contrast. The happening does not involve an actor and automatically salience is given to the 'object'. A single proposition is viewed by

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Gujarati speaker as 'happening' or 'doing' eventhough it is canceptually an action.

(40) *pāḍośinā gharmā čori thāy čhe*
neighbour honse (Loc.) theft happen be (Present third
(Gen.) (fem.) (passive third per.) person)

The initiator of the 'theft' is treated as non-salient.

(41) *nokar pāḍośinā gharmā čori kare čhe*
servant neighbour house (Loc.) theft do (Imperf. 3rd be (present
(Gen.) person) 3rd person

The actor is salient in '40'.

(42) *hũ sāmbhḷũ chũ*
I hear (Imperfecr first person) be (First person)

(43) *mane sāmbhḷāy čhe*
I (Dat. obl.) hear (Passive imperfect be (Third person)
third person)

In '43' verb does not agree with the actor because it is looked upon as 'patient' i. e. non-initiator.

2.7.5. The use of auxiliary verb (*-aw*) which adds meaning of spontaneity makes the actor non-initiator.

(44) *hũ wičārũ čhũ.*
I think (Imperfect first person) be (Present first person)

(45) *hũ wičār karũ čhũ*
I thought do (Imperfect first person) be (Perfect third person)

(46) *mane wičār āwe čhe*
I (Dative) thought come (Imperfect third be (Present first
person) person)

(47) *hũ bhul karũ čhũ*
I mistake do (Imp. first person) be (Present first person)

(48) *māri bhul thāy čhe*
my (Fem. mistake happen (passive imperfect be (present third
sing.) third person) person)

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Here, in the passive types the '46' and '48' the salient constituent is not logical subject. In '48' it trigers Agreement in two directions – (i) actor-non (logical subject becomes adjective to the complement (logical complement) and agrees in gender-number with it; (ii) verb agrees with the complement. This is also a way in which logical subject is found demoted.

3. 1. Now I touch the point of Agreement and sentence production process. Agreement indicates structural focussing of a constituent. It also gives the idea of hierarchical structures of the constituents. S NP+VP NP N+ADJ Within the clause the Agreeing constituents are at the top; within the phrase Noun/Verb is at the centre.

3. 2. Structurally it is felt that the NP governs the agreement in verb phrase. However, government is of two type —

(i) the verb takes grammatical categories according to the noun with which it agrees.

(ii) with what constituent the verb should agree and what case-suffix the noun should take is governed by the valency of verb (transitivity, intransitivity).

3. 3. Thus in grammatical processing the verb processing is given priority. The decision of activity, process, state or passivisation should precede any grammatical processing. The structural focussing is decided before grammatical process. Pāṇini generates his case-markings in this manner. He takes into account the logical hierarchy of Kārakas and motivation (विवक्षा) by which their status is changed. However, it is kept out of grammatical procossing. Appropriate form of verb suffix (तिङ्) is generated first and then through Agreement (अभिधान) the case suffixes of higher Kārakas – Kartā (कर्ता) and Karma (कर्म) are generated.

Instead of saying 'अभिहिते कर्तरि / कर्मणि प्रथमा' he gets nominative negatively. Why Pāṇini does not consider agreed constituent (अभिहित) under Kāraka is still not well understood.

4.1. It is many a time argued that Agreement serves the purpose of indicating gender-number-person distinction in absence of pronoun/noun or in absence of overt category-marker on noun or pronoun. This function is questionable and it is more or less context dependent. Agreement distinctions are not always clear in verb phrase and this function is not universal. There are languages which do not use this system. The history of Indo-Aryan languages shows a picture that morphemic distinction above categories is not always overtly marked. Agreement

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is connected with syntactic operations of passivisation and others. However, function of Agreement on phrase level requires further resrarch. The ontogory of the system is still not grasped. Even the indispensibility or otherwise of the system to the language structure is not touched upon.

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3. *Syntax : A linguistic introduction to sentence structure*, E. K. Brown and J. S. Miller.

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PHONETIC DENASALISATION IN SPEECH-FORMS

By

K. N. Jha

I am making here a common study of the phenomenon of phonetic denasalisation in speech-forms in some languages with special reference to Sanskrit, Hindi and Maithilī, representing three stages of development of the Indo-Aryan, sometimes corroborating my views with parallel examples from English, an important language in the Indo-European stock. Sanskrit being the most scientific of the languages, especially with respect to the categorisation of speech-sounds, I, in this paper make it the base in point of preliminary study on the topic.

There are five nasals in Sanskrit, each being fifth and last in the five groups of mute oonsonants, namely, guttural, palatal, cerebral, dental and labial being respectively ङ, ञ, ण, न, and म,[1] defined by Pāṇini as that which is pronounced with mouth and the nose.[2] As a matter of fact, no letter or sound can be pronounced from nose only unless mouth is made use of, as it is the most vital organ of speech. Therefore, Pāṇini is perfectly right in defining the nasals as above. Also while defining the उच्चारणस्थान i. e. places of the organic production of these nasals, Bhaṭṭoji Dīxit, in course of making exposition on the appropriate Pāṇinian dictum,[3] echoes the prominence of the help of nose in production of nasal sounds.[4]

On the basis of the above, I can say that these nasals bear dual character; that is, ञ, म, ङ, ण and न are respectively palatal, libial, guttural, cerebral and dental, all being at the same time nasal. Here the detailed discussion of Patañjali in respect of the Pāṇinian dictum 1/1/8, showing prominence or preponderance of mouth or the nose or both, or the superfluousness of the use of word मुख in the dictum, etc. is noteworthy.[5] On this point, the observations of

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1. Māheśvarasūtra No. 7 : ञमङणनम्, *Siddhāntakaumudī*, Part I, p. 2 (with तत्त्वबोधिनी, बालमनोरमा and शेखर comms. edit., पं. गुरुप्रसादशास्त्री).

2. Pāṇini 1. 1. 8 : मुखनासिकावचनोऽनुनासिकः; *Ibid*, p. 9.

3. Pāṇini 1. 1. 9 : तुल्यास्यप्रयत्नं सवर्णम्; *Ibid.*, p. 10.

4. ञमङणनानां नासिका च..., *Ibid on Pāṇini* 1. 1. 9.

5. मुखनासिकावचनोऽनुनासिकः किमिदं मुखनासिकावचन इति ? मुखं च नासिका च मुखनासिकं तद् वचनमस्य सोऽयं मुखनासिकावचनः ...... तत्रानेन निवृत्तिः क्रियेत छन्दस्यचि परतः आङनुनासिकस्य

(Continued on the next page)

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Haradatta Miśra on the famed Kāśikā are also very remarkable and something original.[6]

But distinct from the above five nasals is the pure nasal, variouslly called अनुस्वार or the अनुनासिक proper, which always follows a vowel, and is formed by the breath passing through the nose unmodified by the influence of any oonsonant, as in वंश, हवींषि and in Vedic अभ्र आँ अप: etc., sometimes marked above the letter with semi-lunar form with a dot in it. On the Pāṇinian dictum 1/1/9 itself, Bhaṭṭoji further states that nose is the production-place of अनुस्वार as well.[7]

It goes without saying that being pure nasals, these sounds can be denasalised only on the peril of loss of their very existence. That is, if there is denasalisation in the above examples, the resultant is वश, हवीषि or अभ्र आ अपः where only the base-sounds remain and there is no remnant, whatsoever, of the nasal sound. This may render the particular word containing this nasal or the sentence consisting of such word or words, different, incorrect, useless or even meaningless. But let us see whether denasalisation is possible in the other category i. e. ञमङणनम् and if possible, whether it affects the word or the sentence in the same way as above.

In fact, at least in the case of ञ and ण, on observation we would find that quite a different sound in place of the above i. e. य and ड़, respectively, remains on denasalisation. So far as the first one is concerned, this phenomenon of change from ञ to य is traceable neither in Sanskrit nor in other languages whose behaviour I am aware of, but this has its trace, certainly, in some words comprising ज्ञ having a conjunct phonetic sound consisting of ञ. For instance, on denasalisation ज्ञानेश्वर can be pronounced as ग्यानेश्वर in common man's speech. so far the second one is concerned, one often hears denasalised गड़ेश instead of the usual गणेश, but not गड़पति or गड़िका for गणपति or गणिका. This shows that this denasalisation effects only conveniently in the mouth of the people in certain cases.

Here the peculiarity is that in both these cases, a different letter or sound i. e. य or ड़ appears in lieu of the nasals ञ or ण. It is surprising in the

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(Continued from the last page)

प्रसङ्गेऽनुनासिकः ... ... भवतीति —*Vyākaraṇa Mahābhāṣya on Pāṇini* 1. 1. 4, editor Paṇḍita Lakṣmaṇa Śarmā Tripāṭhi, Kāśi Press, Kāśi.

6. इह त्रीणि दर्शनानि – कृत्स्न एवानुनासिको मुखेन नासिकया चोच्चार्यते, पूर्वो भागो मुखेन परो नासिकया विपरीतं वा नासिक्यभागानुरागाच्चेतदोऽपि भागस्तद्वदेव भासते इति । तत्रोत्तरस्मिम् दर्शनद्वये नासिकान्वयस्य भागे विपयत्वान्नासिकावचनग्रहणेनोभयत्रचनो न गृह्यते इति ... —*Padamañjari on Kāśikā* (with Nyāsa also), Part 5, Chap. I, p. 93.

7. नासिकाऽनुस्वारस्य —*Siddhāntakaumudi* (Noted edition), p. 10.

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case of the first one that there is no change in उच्चारणस्थान in matter of denasalisation from ञ to य as both sounds are produced from palate.[8] The story is the same in case of second change also if ड़ sound be understood as the equivalent ड (which only is available in Sanskrit) or even as र, which both are cerebral sounds, although to my best of observations here the equation ड=र=ळ does not hold good, and only the sound represented by the letter ड़ should, thus, be taken as denasalised from ण.

So far the nasal ङ is concerned, it has a different story to tell. Gutturally speaking, it is almost the subtly equivalent sound of the dental nasal i.e. न and it, perhaps, does not have any denasalised sound in any of the languages to the best of my knowledge. As just now we will see that म and न have altogether a different story to tell. ङ is, perhaps, the only nasal which knows no denasalisotion or change-over to any other sound. Here I may only sound one thing. Some people wrongly pronounce this as something representing वँ sound which is nasalised labio-dental and not guttural. If at all this pronunciation be taken note of, it can well be denasalised as व sound which, to my mind, must have a wrong basis in any case.

Now the fascinating case of labial म and dental न. Unlike as above, on denasalisation they do not give rise to, or leave as remnant any separate, Independent letter or sound, but only are audible as different sounds. Therefore, whetever change is there in any word on denasalisation of any of these sounds, is only phonetic, and that, perhaps, no such denasalised sounds have been, to date, phonologically evolved or earmarked by linguisticians, which might represent them at least academically.

It is obvious that this phenomenon is found not only in Sanskrit but at least in some other Indo-Aryan languages as well. It goes wlthout saying that such change has been wrought by common speakers of the languages as a result of their speech-habits and speech-convenience. Therefore, at present no rules of such denasalisation could be set; rather they could be discerned and framed on the study of such speech-patterns in different languages, which would be the subject of an independent study of this discipline.

I first take up the case of labial म. As found fifth and last in the fifth group of consonants, it is decidedly nasal, but in course of usage in speech-forms, it at times imperceptibly switches over to only labial sound, bereft of nasal character. In Sanskrit, this sound in मति and माता has only nasal character. On the other hand, in महेन्द्र and महीन्द्र, both nasal and denasalised sounds could be pronounced with change from person to person. In नमन, नमामि, यमुना, मान, उपयेमे etc. nasal sounds remain there without variation.

8. इचुयशानां तालु —*Siddhāntakaumudi* (Noted edition), p. 10,

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But sometimes queerly and as exception to the general tendencies, Skt. मृत्तिका has denasalised sound while Hindi मिट्टी and Maithilī माँटि have nasal character. In some regional languages such as Maithilī, denasalisation, especially in the initial part of a word, is the general behaviour as in माहुर, महार, महक्का, etc. but such words with nasal character as मूस, महीस etc. are also not few, though words like माड़, माड़ी etc. seem to have additional nasalising effect (माँड़, माँड़ी etc.). More particularly, the Skt. rudimentary मातृ along with the case-inflexions from accusative plural to dative plural and the rest excluding singulars of ablative, genitive and locative, have denasalised sound while other cases including nominative singular माता have nasal charactsr.

From the abovet vide Sanskrit examples नमन, नमामि etc. corroborated by English examples Moment, Maroon, Mention etc., a rule could be evolved that "influenced by the adjacent nasal sound, the nasal character of such letters almost invariably remains." In condition where there is no such influencing factor, generally – if not always, the resultant is a denasalised sound as in महादेव, महेश, माया· मार्ग etc. where words commence with nasal. On the contrary, where such letter forms last part of a particular word, its nasal character almost invariably remains, such as in Skt. विराम, विश्राम, राम, नाम etc. and Hindi हराम, कोहराम, आम, दाम, काम, etc. In English, when beginning with labial nasal, the words, however, fall in both categories: Make, Miss, Meet, Mix etc. (nasal and Melody, Move, Mare, Mirth etc. (denasalised).

As for न sound, generally what is true of म sound as above, is true of it also. Only some examples from the languages would suffice to bring home the point. Skt. नाभि, नीहार, नीर, नाग, etc. are denasalised while नकुल, नक्षत्र, नक्र, नहि, नैक, etc. have nasal character. Hindi नाई, नाराज, नात्र, etc. belong to the first category while नमक, नाक, नेक, नौकर, etc. are in the second Maithilī नोर, नेर, नैहर, etc. correspond to the first but निन्न, नोकर, नीपन to the second class. English Navy, Near, Need, Never etc. and Necessity, Neck, Nectar, Nature, Nasty etc. are the two corresponding categories. Moreover, as for affecting of form or content, of word or sentence on account of denasalisation in this context, we find above that the content or meaning is almost never affected and the form is affected only in case of denasalisation of ण or ञ, whenever possible.

Therefore, from the above it is clear that this phenomenon of phonetic denasalisation in speech-forms is present at least in some languages and that too, in a systematic manner. The need is to make such a study, at least in all the families. if not all the individual languages of the world so that their behavioral patterns be studied and rules of such phonetic denasalisation in speech-forms in their different groups be made out.

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THE *PAÑCAGRANTHI-VYAKARAṆA* OF BUDDHISĀGARASŪRI (V. Sam. 1080)

By

N. M. KANSARA

The Author

Although the Jaina authors are generally very particular in recording the day, the date and the year in which they finished their particular work, we rarely get any information about their life from their own works. We have, therefore, to lean on secondary sources like the Prabandhas, which do give a few details about the more famous and notewordhy among them. Thus, we come across a brief account of both the pre-initiation as well as the post-initiation period of the life of both Jineśvara and Buddhisāgara incidentally in the canto treating the life of Abhayadevasūri, in the nineteenth Prabandha – entitled Śrī-abhayadevasūri-prabandha – of the *Prabhāvakacarita* of Prabhācandrasūri (V. Sam. 1334, i. e. 1277 A. D.).

Prabhācandrasūri has given the following details about the life of Buddhisāgarasūri :

> During the reign of king Bhoja of Dhārā in the Mālava country, there lived in the city a wealthy merchant named Lakṣmīpati.[1] Once two young learned scholars named Śrīdhara and Śrīpati, the sons of a Brahmin named Kṛṣṇa belonging to Madhyadeśa, arrived in Dhārā and came to the house of Lakṣmīpati for alms.[2] There they saw the accounts of the merchant written on the wall.[3] Since they came for alms to the merchant often the accounts struck into their memory which was extraordinarily sharp.[4] During these days the house of the merchant cought fire and along with the household the wall of the house too was damaged and the accounts got defaced consequently.[5] Lakṣmīpati was worried about the disputes that might arise about the claims of money due to the absence of the records.[6]

1. *PrC.* XIX. 5–7.
2. *Ibid.*, XIX. 9–13.
3. *Ibid.*, XIX. 16–17.
4. *Ibid.*, XIX. 21–22.
5. *Ibid.*, XIX. 25–26.
6. *Ibid.*, XIX. 27–30; 33–37.

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The two young scholars came to his help and wrote down the accounts afresh to the minutest of their daywise details. The merchant was awe-struck at this miraculous feat on their part, and honoured them with profuse presents. He further took them to his religious preceptor named Vardhamānasūri when the latter arrived at Dhārā.[7] The preceptor recognised the spark in these young scholars, and with a view to groom them as potential luminaries in his preceptorial tradition, initiated them as his disciples in the Jaina monachal order under the new names of Jineśvara and Buddhisāgara, educated them in the Jainistic philosophy and spiritual lore, and finally conferred on them the highest monachic degree of "Sūri". They were, then, asked by their preceptor to go to Patan in Gujarat to pave the way for the propagation of the faith and clearing the obstacles to that end.[8]

In those days Durlabharāja was ruling in Gujarat with his capital at Patan.[9] He had a royal priest named Someśvaradeva.[10] When Jineśvarasūri and Buddhisāgarasūri arrived in Patan, they found that nobody was prepared to arrange for their stay in the city which was under the sway of the Caityavāsī mendicants belonging to Jainism.[11] They, therefore, went to the house of the royal priest, stood at the gateway and started reciting Vedic passages most accurately along with their Sāraṇīs.[12] Someśvaradeva was surprised to find two Jaina monks reciting the Vedic hymns and explaining them so marvellously, and having come to know of their plight, offered to play host to them and lodged them at his own residence.[13]

But the leaders of the Caityavāsī monks lodged a complaint with the king against Someśvaradeva, alleging that he had given shelter to two unauthorised monks.[14] The king summoned the priest, who revealed the facts to him and convinced him about the truth that his guests were rather excellent scholars and pious monks worthy to be honoured as such.[15] But the Caityavāsīs objected to their stay in the city on the ground of their having been conferred a favour in the

7. *Ibid.*, XIX. 38–42.
8. *Ibid.*, XIX. 44–45.
9. *Ibid.*, XIX. 48.
10. *Ibid.*, XIX. 49.
11. *Ibid.*, XIX. 59–60.
12. *Ibid.*, XIX. 50–51.
13. *Ibid.*, XIX. 52–58.
14. *Ibid.*, XIX. 63–64.
15. *Ibid.*, XIX. 66–68.

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form of a promise by king Vanarāja, the founder of the Chāvdā dynasty to the effect that none but the Caityavāsīs only will be allowed to stay in the city.[16] However, at the request of the king, they condescended to permit them to stay.[17] The priest requested the king to donate some land in the city.[18] A Śaivite scholar named Jñānadeva welcomed the proposal and agreed to set apart a group of three shops in the market belonging to three merchants, and built an Upāśraya – a monk hostel – for Śvetāmbara Jaina monks.[19] Thus, Jineśvarasūri and Buddhisāgarasūri jointly cleared the way for propagation of the tenets of the Śvetāmbara Jainas in Patan, and carried out the wish of their religious preceptor[20].

The account appears in the canto on Abhayadevasūri due to the fact that he was a disciple of both Jineśvarasūri and Buddhisāgarasūri as has been clearly mentioned by him towards the close of his *vṛtti* on Haribhadrasūri's *Pañcāśaka-granthāḥ*.[21] He completed this *vṛtti* in the year 1124 of Vikrama Era, i. e. 1067 A. D.[22] Prabhācandrasūri notes that pripor to his initiation in the Jaina order, Abhayadevasūri was known as Abhayakumāra the son of a merchant named Mahādhara and his wife Dhanadevī in Dhārā, and that he was initiated by Jineśvarasūri.[23] At the instance of Vardhamanasūri, his disciple Jineśvarasūri later on consecreted him as 'sūri'.[24] It seems Abhayadevasūri refers to Buddhisāgarasūri too as his 'Guru' in the sense that the latter was equally revered to him as the co-disciple of his initiator Jineśvarasūri.

Apart from Abhayadevasūri, there are other Jaina monks who have alluded to Buddhisāgarasūri. Thus, Dhaneśvara the author of the Prakrit *Surasundarī*-

16. *Ibid.*, XIX. 71–77.
17. *Ibid.*, XIX. 80.
18. *Ibid.*, XIX. 81.
19. *Ibid.*, XIX. 82–88.
20. *Ibid.*, XIX. 89.
21. Abhayadevasūri – Pañ. Vr. folio 301 (b), concluding Vss. 2–4 :

    शिष्योऽभवत्तस्य जिनेश्वराख्यः सूरिः कृतानिन्द्यविचित्रशास्त्रः ।
    सदा निरालम्वविहारवर्ती चन्द्रोपमश्चन्द्रकुलाम्वरस्य ॥ २ ॥
    अन्योऽपि वित्तो भुवि बुद्धिसागरः पाण्डित्यचारित्र्यगुणैरनोपमैः ।
    शब्दादिलक्ष्म प्रतिपादकानघग्रन्थप्रणेता प्रवरः क्षमावताम् ॥ ३ ॥
    तयोरिमां शिष्यवरस्य वाक्याद् वृत्तिं व्यधात् श्रीजिनरत्नसूरेः ।
    शिष्यस्तयोरेव विमुग्धबुद्धिर्ग्रन्थार्थवोधेऽभयदेवसूरिः ॥ ४ ॥

22. *Op. cit.*, Vs. 7 :

    चतुरधिकविंशतियुतं वर्षसहस्रं शतं च सिद्धेयम् ।
    धवलक्कपुरे वसतौ धनपत्योर्वकुलचन्द्रिकयोः ॥ ७ ॥

23. *PrC.* XIX. 91–96.
24. *Ibid.*, XIX. 98.

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cariyam (1095 V. Sam., 1038 A.D.).[25] Jinacandra the author of *Saṁvegaraṅga-śālā* (1125 V. Sam., 1068 A. D.), Guṇacandra in his *Mahāvīracarita* (1139 V. Sam., 1082 A. D.) and Padmaprabha in his *Kunthunāthacarita* are known to have mentioned our author.[26]

A slightly different account about the life of both Jineśvarasūri and Buddhisāgasūri is preserved in the Paṭṭāvali of the Kharatara-gaccha.[27] It mentions that both these teachers were originally the two brothers named Śivadāsa and Buddhisāgara and sons of a Brahmin named Soma. When these brothers were going on a pilgrimage to Someśvara Mahādeva, along with their sister Kalyāṇavatī, they halted at a city named Sārasa and prayed to the god, who enjoined them to approach Vardhamānasūri to get their wishes fulfilled. Thus both these brothers get their initiation into the Jaina monachal order at the hands of Varthamānasūri, who gave a new name 'Jineśvara' to Śivadāsa, and retained the old one of Buddhisāgara. The same source further adds that the name of the royal priest of Durlabharāja was Śivaśarmā and that he was the maternal uncle of these brothers.[28] The account of their encounter with the Caityavāsī monks is mentioned here too with more colours, but without the mention of the donation of land by the Śaivite. But it adds one more detail that Durlabharāja was much impressed by the strict adherence to Jainistic conduct on the part of Jineśvara, and remarked that he was very sharp (*ati-khara*) in exposing the looseness of the Caityavāsī monks, and that then onwards Jineśvarasūri accepted the title *Kharatara* since the year 1080 V. Sam., i.e., 1023 A. D.[29]

The account is at variance with the records of the contemporaries like Abhayadevasūri and Jineśvarasūri both of whom declare that Jineśvarasūri as well as Buddhisāgarasūri belonged to Cāndra-gaccha.[30] And the account of Prabhācandrasūri is more reliable in view of the fact that he himself belonged to

25. Dhaneśvara – *Surasundarī-cariam* XVI, 245, 249–250.

26. Velankar, Prof. H. D., *Jinaratnakośa*, Vol. I, p. 224.

27. Muniraj Shree Raja Vijayajee – Skt. *Prastāvanā to Surasundarī-cariam of Dhaneśvara*, (Benaras Edn., 1916), pp. 25–27. Also cf. Muni Jina Vijaya – *Kharatara-gaccha-bṛhadgurvāvalī* (Sin. Jn. Gr. Ml. Series No. 42, B'bay, 1956), pp. 1–2.

28. Muni Shree Raja Vijayajee – *Op. cit.*, p. 25.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

30. Abhayadevasūri – Pan. Vr., folio 301 (a). Vs. 2, quoted above in ft. nt. 21; Jineśvarasūri – *Aṣṭaka-vṛtti*, concluding Vss. 2–3 :

सूरेः श्रीवर्धमानस्य निःसंबन्धविहारिणः ।
हारिचारित्रपात्रस्य श्रीचन्द्रकुलभूषिणः ॥ २ ॥
पादाम्भोजद्विरेफेण श्रीजिनेश्वरसूरिणा ।
अष्टकानां कृता वृत्तिः सत्त्वानुग्रहहेतवे ॥ ३ ॥

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the Cāndra-gaccha.[31] Buddhisāgara too refers to himself as belonging to this same preceptorial family.[32] And the scholars are known to hold that the *Kharatara* sect arose in V. Sam., 1204, i.e., 1147 A.D. from Jinadattasūri who was known to be a proud man as is evident from his pert answers to others mentioned by Sumatigaṇi, that he was therefore called *Kharatara* by the people, but he glorified the new appellation and willingly accepted it.[33]

At the close of his work, Buddhisāgarasūri has given a few details about his preceptorial geneology, which tallies with those given by Dhaneśvara towards the conclusion of his Surasundarī-cariyam. From it we come to know that he traces his line from the last Jaina Tīrthaṅkara Vardhamāna Mahāvīra down to Vajrasvāmī, through Sudharma, Jambu, Prabhava and Śayyaṁbhava and further in the line from Vardhamānasūri to himself,[34] omitting the reference to the intervening two more teachers viz., Jineśvarasūri and Allakopādhyāya who succeeded in the line of Vājrasvāmī before Vardhamānasūri.[35] And we must

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31. Prabhācandrasūri – *PrC.*, Praśasti verse after the end of XXII., pp. 213–216.

32. Buddhisāgarasūri – *Pañcagranthi-vyākaraṇa*, concluding Vs. 5 :

गुरुपदमनुकर्तुं तद्वदेवास्य शिष्यो ··· । ··· श्रीजिनेशो यतीशः ॥ ५ ॥

33. Dr. Bühler's Report, p. 149. It may be noted in this connection that the subsequent Ācāryas of the tradition of Vardhamānasūri, the preceptor of Jineśvarasūri and Buddhisāgarasūri, are known to refer to themselves as *Candrakulīna*, *Bṛhad-gacchīya*, *Suvihita*, and *Apratibaddhavihari*, as has been noticed by Triputi Munis in their *Jaina Paramparano Itihāsa*, Vol. II, p. 210.

34. Buddhisāgarasūri – *Op. cit.*. concluding Vss. 1–3, 5 and 8 :

आसीन्महावीरजिनोऽस्य शिष्यः सुधर्मनामाऽस्य च जम्बुनामा ।
तस्यापि शिष्यः प्रभवोऽस्य शिष्यः शय्यंभवोऽस्यानुपरंपरायाम् ॥ १ ॥
वज्रोऽस्य शाखाम्बरमण्डलेऽस्मिन् साधू तु वृन्दावृतशक्रकान्तिः ।
... ... ॥ २ ॥
कलाकलापोपचयो न्वमूर्तिः श्रीवर्धमानो नतवर्धमानः ॥ ३ ॥
... ...

गुरुपदमनुकर्तुं तद्वदेवास्य शिष्योऽ-
शिवदशिवदकल्पः कल्पशाखोपमेयः ।
अनतिक्रुदति क्रुदब्धिं व्याप्य चित्रोऽप्यचित्रो-
ऽभवदिह वदिहाशः श्रीजिनेशो यतीशः ॥ ५ ॥
श्रीबुद्धिसागराचार्योऽनुग्राह्योऽभवदेतयोः ।
पञ्चग्रन्थिं स चाकार्षीज्जगद्धितविधित्सया ॥ ८ ॥

35. Dhaneśvara – *Op. cit.*, XVI, 238–240 :

एवं सूरीण परंपराए ता जाव वइरोत्ति ॥ २३८ ॥
साहाए तस्स सूरी जिणेसरो नाम आसि विक्खाओ ।
तत्तो य निम्मलगुणो उज्झाओ अल्लओ नाम ॥ २३९ ॥
सीखो य तस्स सूरी सूरोव्व सयावि जणिय-दोसंतो ।
आसी सिरि वद्धमाणो पवड्ढमाणो गुणसिरीए ॥ २४० ॥

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remember that both Dhaneśvara[36] and Abhayadevasūri[37] express profound respect for both Jineśvarasūri and Buddhisāgarasūri as their 'Guru', and the latter two too mention each other in their own works.[38]

The date of Buddhisāgarasūri

The author has himself clearly mentioned the date of composition of his *Pañcagranthi-vyākaraṇa* as the year 1080 of the Vikrama Era, i. e. 1023 A. D. He completed this work at Jābālipura, i. e., Jhalor.[39]

Prabhācandrasūri mentions that when as Śrīpati and Śridhara, the two brothers arrived in Dhārā after their education, King Bhoja ruled in Dhārā.[40] The date of Paramāra king Bhojarāja is 996–1054 A. D.[41] And when, as Jineśvarasūri and Buddhisāgarasūri, the two brother co-disciples went to Patan at the instance of Vardhamānasūri, Durlabhárāja was ruling there.[42] Durlabharāja is known to have ruled in Gujarat from V. Sam. 1067 to 1078, i. e. 1010–1022 A. D.[43]

36. *Ibid.*, XVI. 245 and 249.
एगो ताण जिणेसर-सूरी सूरोव्व उक्कड-पयावो ।
तस्स सिरि-बुद्धिसागरसूरी य सहोयरो वीओ ॥ २४५ ॥
तेसिं सीसवरो धणेसर मुणी … … … … ॥ २४९ ॥

37. Abhayadevasūri – *Pañ. Vr.* concluding Vss, 1–4 :
यस्मिन्नतीते श्रुतसंयमश्रियवप्रानुवत्यावपरं तथाविधम् ।
स्वस्याश्रयं संवसतोऽतिदुःस्थिते श्रीवर्धमानः स यतीश्वरोऽभवत् ॥ १ ॥
शिष्योऽभवत् तस्य जिनेश्वराख्यः सूरिः कृतानिन्द्यविचित्रशास्त्रः ।
सदा निरालम्वविहारवर्ती चन्द्रोपमश्चन्द्रकुलाम्वरस्य ॥ २ ॥
अन्योऽपि वित्तो भुवि बुद्धिसागरः पाण्डित्यचारित्र्यगुणैरनोपमैः ।
शब्दादिलक्ष्मप्रतिपादकानघग्रन्थप्रणेता प्रवरः क्षमावताम् ॥ ३ ॥
तयोरिमां शिष्यवर वाक्याद् वृत्तिं व्यधात् श्रीजिनरत्नसूरेः ।
शिष्यस्तयोरेव विमुग्धवुद्धिर्ग्रन्थार्थवोधेऽभयदेवसूरिः ॥ ४ ॥

38. *Loe. cit., ft, ns.* 34; Jineśvarasūri – *Pramālakṣaṇa*, Vs. 405 :
श्रीवुद्धिसागराचार्यैर्वृत्तैर्व्याकरणं कृतम् ।
अस्माभिस्तु प्रमालक्ष्म वृद्धिमायातु सांप्रतम् ॥ ४७५ ॥

39. Buddhisāgarasūri – *Op. cit.*, concluding Vs. 11 :
श्रीविक्रमादित्यनरेन्द्रकालात् साशीतिके याति समासहस्रे ।
संश्रीकजावालिपुरे तदाद्यं दृष्टं मया सप्तसहस्रकल्पम् ॥ ११ ॥

40. Prabhācandrasūii – *PrC.* X1X, 5–I0.

41. Kansara. N. M. – *Tilakamañjarī of Kavi Dhanapāla, A Critical Study* (unpublished Ph. D. thesis), Vol. I, pp. 81–84.

42. Prabhācandrasūri – *Op. cit.*, XIX. 46–48.

43. Parikh R. C. and Shastrt H. G. – *Gujarata-no Rājakīya Ane Sāṁskṛtika Itihāsa*, Vol. IV, p. 32.

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Now, when as young men the two brothers went to Dhārā, they had already finished their education of the Brahmin lore. This implies that their age at that time was a tleast twenty-five and twenty-three, respectively, allowing a difference of at least one and a half year between the age of the elder brother and the younger one. After that they were initiated by Vardhamānasūri, who is said to have further educated them in the Jaina lores, before consecreting them as 'Sūri'. This must have taken at least a decade or so. And then they went to Patan, and after that Buddhisāgarasūri finished his work in Jhalor, in 1023 A.D. At this time, as per our rough calculation as chalked out above, Buddhisāgarasūri must have been of about thirty-five years of age. The year of his birth, thus, falls in 988 A.D.

This period of Buddhisāgarasūri's life between 988–1023 A. D., coincides with that of his elder brother Jineśvarasūri, too. Thus, we can surmise with a high degree of certitude that both these Jaina luminaries flourished in the first half of the 11th century A. D., and were contemporaries of Paramāra King Bhojarāja of Mālwā, as also of the Solanki kings Cāmuṇḍarāja, Vallabharāja, Durlabharāja and Bhīmadeva the First, of Gujarat.

The works

Although the two brothers were very sharp and equally learned both in the Brahmanic and the Jainistic lores, Buddhisāgarasūri is so far known to be the author of only one work, viz., the *Pañcagranthi-vyākaraṇa*: There is no reference to any other work of his either in his own work or in those of his contemporaries and suceessors. On the other hand his elder brother Jineśvarasūri is recorded to have been the author of about seven works, viz., Sanskrit commentary on the *Aṣṭakas of Haribhadrasūri*, *Pañcaliṅgi-prakarana*, *Chaṭṭhaṇa-pagaraṇa*, *Vīracaritra*, (*Nirvāṇa-*) *Līlāvatī-kathā*, *Kathākośa*, and *Pramālakṣma* with an auto-commentary.[44]

The Pañcagranthi-Vyākaraṇa

Jineśvarasūri, who, as we have seen above, was an elder brother and a co-disciple and hence an undoubted contemporary of Buddhisāgarasūri, has specifically alluded to the *Pañcagranthi-vyākaraṇa* of the latter in the concluding verses of his *Pramālaṣma* and has revealed the circumstances that inspired them both to compose their respective works. Jineśvarasūri states that there were critics in their times who taunted the Śvetāmbara Jainas with the remarks that they did not have to their credit a single work on Nyāya nor on Grammar, that they depended on the works of others, thus proving that they have originated

44. Tripuṭī Munis – *Jaina-Paramparano Itihāsa*, Vol. II, p. 215.

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only recently, and hence they are not authentic Jainas.[45] It was with a spirit of challenge, calculated to fill a serious gap in the literature of the Śvetāmbara Jainas in the field of Nyāya and Vyākaraṇa that both these brother Jaina preceptors Jineśvarasūri and Buddhisāgarasūri undertook to compose a work each, viz., the *Pramā-lakṣma*[46] and *Śabda-lakṣma*, alias the *Pañcagranthī-vyākaraṇa*,[47] respectively.

Jineśvarasūri further adds in his auto-commentary on the *Pramālakṣma*, that before composing his work on grammar, Buddhisāgarasūri had gone through the works of Pāṇini, Candra, Jainendra, Viśrānta and Durga's commentary, that the work was verse-bound in different metres, that it incorporated Dhātu, Sūtra, Gaṇa, Uṇādi, etc., and that it was supposed to treat both the Sanskrit and Prakrit words.[48] Dhaneśvara too alludes to Buddhisāgarasūri's works with a sense of reverence saying that it included the difficult discussions in the Fakkikās, that it was divided into Adhyāyas, and it was known as *Pañcagranthī*.[49]

Some of the MSS. in different Jaina Bhandaras in Gujarat and Rajasthana, call this work *Buddhisāgara-vyākaraṇa* in the left hand margin at the top, on each of the folios, which fact seems to have popularised the alternative

45. Jineśvarasūri – *Pramālakṣaṇa*, Vss. 402–404, and Auto-commentary on the last Vs:

मिथ्यात्वध्वान्तभास्वन्तो जैनास्सन्ति महाधियः ।
यानाश्रित्य वयं पादरेणुस्तुल्या न जातुचित् ॥ ४०२ ।
तैरवधारिते यत्तु प्रवृत्तिरावयोरिह ।
तत्र दुर्जनवाक्यानि प्रवृत्तेः सन्ति बन्धनम् । ४०३ ॥
शब्दलक्ष्म प्रमालक्ष्म यदेतेषां न विद्यते ।
नादिमन्तस्ततो ह्येते परलक्ष्मोपजीविनः ॥ ४०४ ॥

शब्दलक्ष्य व्याकरणम् । श्वेतभिक्षूणा' स्वीयं न विद्यते ।

46. *Ibid.*, Vs. 405 (ab):

श्रीबुद्धिसागराचार्यैर्वृत्तैर्व्याकरणं कृतम् ।

47. *Ibid.*, 405 (cd).

अस्माभिस्तु प्रमालक्ष्म वृद्धिमायातु साम्प्रतम् ॥ ४०५ ॥

48. *Ibid.*, Auto-commentary on VS. 405 : श्रीबुद्धिसागराचार्यैः पाणिनिचन्द्रजैनेन्द्रविश्रान्त-दुर्गटीकामवलोक्य वृत्तबन्धैः धातुसूत्रगणादिवृत्तबन्धैः कृतं व्याकरणं संस्कृतशब्दप्राकृतशब्दसिद्धये ... ।

49. Dhaneśvara – *Op. cit.*, XVI. 245, 247–248 :

एगो ताण जिणेसरसूरी सूरोव्व उक्कडपयावो ।
तस्स सिरिबुद्धिसागरसूरी य सहोयरो बीओ ॥ २४५ ॥
जस्स य मुहकुहराओ विणिग्गया अत्थवारि-सोहिल्ला ।
बुह-चक्कवाय-कलिया रंगंत-सुफक्किय-तरङ्गा ॥ २४७ ॥
तडसद्द-अवसद्द-महीरुहोह-उम्मूलणम्मि सुसमत्था ।
अज्झाय-पवर-तित्था पञ्चगन्थी नई पवरा ॥ २४८ ॥

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name of this work as *Buddhisāgara-vyākaraṇa*. But the author himself, as also his disciple Dhaneśvara, has specifically mentioned that the work was entitled *Pañcagranthi*.[50] The title suggests that the work was supposed to incorporate all the five aspects of Sanskrit Grammar, such as Dhātu, Gaṇa, Uṇadi, Liṅgānuśāsana and Śikṣā, in a single work, while the celebrated grammarians like Pāṇini, Candra and others chose to compose independent works on each of this aspects. The necessity of incorporating all these aspects in a single work seems ro have been felt as early as at least the sixth or seventh century A. D. during which Vāmana and Jayāditya of the Kāśikā fame flourished.[51]

Now, let us see, on the basis of the very contents of the work itself, whether the statements of Jineśvarasūri and Dhaneśvara stand corroborated, or not. We must here clarify that the analysis, given below, of the contents of the *Pañcagranthi-vyākaraṇa* of Buddhisāgarasūri is based on the very general survey of yet unpublished version of the work in the MSS., that it is being published here for the first time, since the historians of Sanskrit Grammar have so far given no information beyond .he name of work and its author, the date of the work and a surmise about the likelihood of the work having contained a *Liṅgānuśāsana*.[52]

This work seems to have been originally planned to have two Adhikāras, one dealing with the Sanskrit language, and the other treating with the Prakrit language, as has been alluded to by Jineśvarasūri.[53] But the work that has come down to us as the *Pañcagranthi* does not go beyond the first Adhikāra which is mentioned as *Saṁskṛtādhikāra* in the colophon at the end of the last Adhyāya,[54] since the work formally ends with the close of the last Adhyāya of the *Saṁskṛtā*[55].

50. Buddhisāgarasūri BS. VYK., concluding Vs. 8 :
श्रीबुद्धिसागराचार्योऽनुग्राह्योऽभवदेतयोः ।
पञ्चग्रन्थीं स चाकार्षीज्जगद्धितविधित्सया ॥ ८ ॥

51. Cf. *Kāśikā*, Introductory Vs. 1 :
वृत्तौ भाष्ये तथा धातुनामपारायणादिषु ।
विप्रकीर्णस्य ग्रन्थस्य क्रियते सारसंग्रहः ॥ १ ॥

52. Paṇḍita Yudhisthira Mīmāṁsaka – *Saṁskrita Vyākaraṇa Śāstrakā Itihāsa*, Vol. II, pp. 446–447.

53. Jineśvarasūri – *Pramā-lakṣaṇa*, folio 89, Vs. 405, auto-commentary :
श्रीबुद्धिसागराचार्यैर्वृत्तैर्व्याकरणं कृतम् ... ... ॥ ४०२ ॥
— कृतं व्याकरणं, संस्कृतशब्दप्राकृतशब्दसिद्धये ... ।

54. Buddhisāgarasūri – *Op. cit.*, colophon at the end of the work :
समाप्तोऽधिकारः । पञ्चग्रन्थ्या संस्कृताधिकार इत्यर्थः ।

55. *Ibid.*, The concluding verses begin just after the words :
पञ्चग्रन्थ्या संस्कृताधिकार इत्यर्थः ।

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dhikāra, after which start the concluding verses giving the details about the author's preceptorial geneology from Mahāvīra onwards.[56]

The work is divided into Adhyāyas, which are further subdivided into the Pādas. But the author has indicated the end of the Adhyāya upto that of the second one only. Similarly, he has shown the end of the Pāda upto that of the thirteenth only. Then onwards upto the end of the work, we are at a loss to find that neither the end of an Adhyāya nor that of any Pāda has been indicated, so much so that when the author declares the closure of the *Saṁskṛtādhikāra*, we are not sure as to which Pāda of which Adhyāya has come to an end: we can only surmise that tbe work, or the *Saṁskṛtādhikāra*, has proceeded upto the end of the fourteenth Pāda, i. e., the first half of the fourth Adhyāya. Now, if we take Jineśvarasūri at his words regarding the Prakrit words supposed to be treated in this work, we may have to conjecture that the portion extending upto the end of the fifth Adhyāya, i. e. covering about six Pādas, has not come down to us, or has not been composed by the author at all. But looking to the concluding verses of the extant work this conjecture has no valid ground as yet.

The first Pāda commences with the *Maṅgala-śloka* paying respect to Jina and the author's preceptor. The next two verses introduce the work. Then starts the topic-wise discussion in the following order: Thirty-six Pratyāhāras, Savarṇa and Sthāna-prayatnas, Paribhāṣas and Sañjñās, Svara-sandhi, Vyañjana-sandhi, Visarga-sandhi and Svādi-sandhi.

The second Pāda starts with the *Liṅgānuśāsana*, which consists of thirty-eight Gāthās and the auto-commentary on it.[57] The rest of the Pāda treats the declension of Neuter, Feminine and Masculine pronouns, numerals, and of Padānta-vidhi.

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56. *Ibid.*, concludiug Vss. 1.ff.

आसीन्महावीरजिनोऽस्य शिष्यः सुधर्मनामाऽस्य च जम्बुनामा ।
तस्याऽपि शिष्यः प्रभवोऽस्य शिष्यः शय्यं भवोऽस्यानु परंपरायाम् ॥ १ ॥
वज्रोऽस्य शाखाम्बरमण्डलेऽस्मिन् ... ... श्रीवर्धमानो नतवर्धमानः ॥ ३ ॥
... ... अस्य शिष्या ... ... श्रीजिनेशो यतीशः ॥ ५ ॥
श्रीबुद्धिसागराचार्योऽनुग्राह्योऽभवदेतयोः ॥ ८ ॥

57. The general idea about the work was given by me in an article entitled *The Liṅgānuśāsana of Buddhisāgarasūri*, presented before the All-India Oriental Conference, XXIXth Session, held at the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona, 1977–78, and published in the *Journal of Ganganatha Jha Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha*, Vol. XXXV, January–June, 1979, Part 1–2, pp. 97–100. The text of the work is contributed in the form of an article in the Joint Felicitation Volume of Pandit Becharadasji Doshi and Pandit Dalsukhbhai Malavaniya, being published by Mahavira Jaina Vidyashram, Varanasi, 1982–83.

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The third Pāda opens with the discussion about the uses of different *Vibhaktis*, and then takes up the topics of the Strī-pratyayas and Samāsāntas.

The fourth Pāda deals with the Gaṇas.

The sixth Pāda is devoted to the discussion about various uses of words in different types of sentences, repetition of words in different situations, verbs derived from nouns, comparatives and superlatives.

The seventh Pāda treats the Taddhitas.

The eighth Pāda continues the topic of the Taddhitas.

In the third Adhyāya, the ninth and the tenth Pādas deal with the Śaiṣikas, and the topic is continued in the eleventh Pāda.

The twelfth Pāda treats the verbal derivatives, and enumerates the Dhātus.

In the fourth Adhyāya, the thirteenth Pāda discusses the conjugation of the verbs and the Kṛdantas.

The fourteenth Pāda continues the conjugation of verbs in Aorist, Desiderative, Frequentative, and etc.

With the close of this last Pāda, the work ends and is followed by the verses which give the preceptorial geneology of the author, his name, the title and the date of the work, as also its extent in terms of Anuṣṭubh verses.

Stylistically, the work consists of Sūtras and verses and the auto-commentary on both of them.

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PĀṆINI AND PĀṆINĪYAS ON THE *ŚEṢA*-DEVICE

By

A. C. SARANGI

1.0 Introductory:

The word *Śeṣa* i. e. 'rest' or 'remainder' has been used sixteen times in Pāṇini (P)'s *Aṣṭādhyāyī* (*Aṣṭ*). Throughout the *Aṣṭ*, P has maintained consistency as far as the meaning of this theoritical terminology is concerned. But the later Pāṇiniyas have put forth different views in connection with the meaning or purpose of this term *Śeṣa* which seems to be alien to Pāṇinian procedure. Hence, an humble attempt has been made here to examine the opinions of later Grammarians including Kātyāyana (Kty) and Patañjali (Ptj) and to see if their views were the same with those of P.

1.1 Theoretical Terminology versus Technical Terminology.

At the outest a clear-cut distinction should be made between these two types of terminology used by P. Grammar is no doubt a technical treatiee and P has used technical terms in his *Aṣṭ*, be they artificial self-explanatory or sample terms. Broadly speaking, as Ptj has opined, all these can be termed as Technical Terms. Besides these technical terms, P has used some other meaningful terms which help in understanding his Sūtras. He has not felt the necessity to analyse them. He freely borrows these terms from other sciences, literature or simply from usage.

1.1.1 Paul Kiparsky[1] has rightly categorised these terms under six groups like (1) semantic terms which P thought to be the task of philosophy to analyse and hence he abstained from analysing. (2) Terms pertaining to ritual and Vedic studies Viz. *Chhandas, Yajus, Ṛc, Brāhmaṇa, Mantra* and *Bhāṣā* etc. (3) Terms denoting elementary spatial relations between objects like *ādi, anta, pūrva, para, madhya* etc.' (4) Terms referring to the form and application of grammatical rules. These include, *lakṣaṇa, vidhi, sthāna, sthānin, prakṛti upadeśa, ādeśa, prāpti, siddha, asiddha, vipratiṣedha adhikāra akathita, anabhihita* and the *Śeṣa*. True these terms are not analysed by P, they are used throughout the *Aṣṭ* with proper consistency. They help in

1. *Pāṇini as a Variationist*, Ed. by S. D. Joshi, (Pooṇa University), 19–, pp. 217 ff.

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formulating certain meta-rules which help in interpreting the Sūtras. To quote Kiparksy[2] : " They are meta-grammatical in the sense that they refer not to concepts about which grammatical analysis must theorise, but to the basic equipment which one brings to the very task of grammatical analysis." He further adds, " it should be noted that many of these terms are common property of the Sūtra-technique as applied not only in grammar but also in ritual and elsewhere. " In this perspective let us analyse the *Śeṣa* terminology which has been successfully utilized by P as a device which is sure to help in interpreting Sūtras. This also is bound to contribute much to the grammatical thought, once a deeper analysis is carried on in all his Sūtras referring to this *Śeṣa* devic-e. Two more categories of terms are phonological and other grammatical terms, the analysis of which is beyond the scope of this paper.

1.1.2 Although some apparently looking synonymous terms are used by P in different contexts, they are not used with similar meaning conditions. For example the terms like *Śeṣa*, *akathita* and *anabhihita* look like synonymous terms and the later grammarians too have raised similar issues during their discussions. But all agree to the fact that these terms are actually not synonymous and formally each has its specific role to play. In a few cases loosely *Śeṣa* may be compared with the terms like *anyataḥ* (4.1.10). Here the distinction between the *Śeṣa* on the one hand and the words like *anyataḥ* (4.1.10), *anyebhyaḥ* (3.2.173, 3.3.130, 3.2.75) *anyeṣām* (6.3.137) and *anyeṣu* (3.2.10) – on the other hand is clearly discernible. When P takes recourse to the *Śeṣa*-device, all the possible instances under his observation seem to be complete. But when he uses other words like *anyataḥ* etc., does not seem to be sure about the completeness of his observation. The terminology *Śeṣa* is formally introduced by P as a device and once he has introduced the term, he has stuck to this throughout.

2.0 The Śeṣa-Device

P has followed this device to put together instances which have not been taken care of by earlier rules. After enumerating special cases, P formulates a general rule to cover the remaining instances which he calls *Śeṣa*. The following are the Sūtras where P makes a general statement utilizing this device in relation to the special cases stated earlier.

2.1. Śeṣāt kartari parasmaipadam (1.3.78)

This rule declares that the suffixes of *parasmaipada* are enjoined in the sense of the agent after all the verbs not falling under previously stated 66 Sūtras

2. *Loc. cit.*

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i.e. from 1.3.12 to 1.3.77. Thus the *Śeṣa* here denotes the remaining general verbal terminations.

2.2. Śeṣo ghy asakhi, (1.4.7)

Here also the word *Śeṣa* is used with relation to previously stated Sūtras; 1.4.3 to 1.4.6. This Sūtra explains the technical term *ghi*. The word *hrasva* is undersrood here. The Sūtra means: the rest of the words ending in short *i* or *u* (which are not the names of females, or if they are feminine names, they are not *nadī* words) are called *ghi* with the exception of the word *sakhi*. Other two Sūtras 1.4.8 and 1.4.9 also define *ghi* but these are again special cases in respect to this general rule that defines the term *ghi*.

2.3. Śeṣe prathamaḥ (1.4.108)

The verbal terminations are called the lowest or *prathama puruṣa* when in agreement with the verbs, the accompanying words are not *yuṣmad* 'you' or *asmad* 'I'. Here the statement *Śeṣa* is used in relation to the rules 1.4.105–107 which prescribe the 2nd person and 1st person terminations.

2.4. Lṛt śeṣe ca, (3.3.13)

The affix *lṛt* is enjoined with a root in the remaining cases i.e. when the futurity is pure and simple, The word *Śeṣa* here is relational with respect to Sūtras 3.3.3 – 12.

2.5. Śeṣe lṛt ayadau (3.3.157)

In the remaining cases i.e. in cases where the words *yacca* or *yatra* are not used as well as the word *yadi* is not accompanied, the first future is used in preference to the potential. Here the word *Śeṣa* is used in relation to Sūtras, 3.3.140–150 where the stated conditions are enumerated.

2.6. Ārdhadhātukam Śeṣaḥ, 3.4.114

The remaining suffixes i.e. the suffices other than *tiṅ* and *śit* (3.4.113) are called *ārdhadhātuka* (in the *dhātu-adhikāra*). The word *śeṣa* here is used with respect to the previous Sūtra, *tiṅ-śit sārvadhātukam*, 3.4.113. The following three Sūtras are the special enumerations of this type of suffixes.

2.7. Śeṣe, (4.2.92)

This is a section-heading rule upto 4.3.134. According to this Sūtra, the suffixes to be taught in this section would have senses other than stated earlier (4.1.92–4.2.91).

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2.8. Śeṣād vibhāṣā, (5.4.154)

The suffix *Kap* is enjoined after all *Bahuvrīhi* compounds after which no *samāsānta* suffix has been enjoined earlier[3]. Kaiyaṭa says that the word *śeṣa* in 5.4.154 does not refer to compounds which have not besn prescribed so far i.e. to all *Bahuvrīhi*-compounds but only to those compounds which are formed by the Sūtra, *anekam anyapadārthe* (2.2.24).

2.9. Nadyāḥ śeṣasya anyatarasyām (6.3.44)

In all the remaining words called *nadī* the substitution of short vowel is optional under the meaning conditions just stated in the previous Sūtra, *gha-rūpa-kalpa-celad-brūba-gotra-mata-hateṣu niyaḥ–anekācaḥ–hrasvaḥ* (6.3.43). Here also the *Śeṣa* refers to the previous Sūtra and means thereby these feminines which are not formed by long *ī* and are called *nadī* and those feminines which end in long *ī* but consist of one syllable.

2.10. Śeṣe lopaḥ, (7.2.90)

In the remaining cases i.e. where *ā* or *y* is not substituted[4] the finals of *yuṣmad* and *asmad* are to be dropped. The word *śeṣa* here is used for the sake of clarity, although universally before all case-suffixes the finals are dropped.

2.11. Halādiḥ śeṣaḥ, (7.4.60)

This Sūtra simply means that out of the consonants of the reduplicate, (i.e. *abhyāsa*) the remainder (*śeṣa*) is the initial consonant. The *Kāśikāvṛtti* (*KV*) paraphrases *śeṣyate* as *avasthāpyate*, i.e. 'retained'. Thus of the reduplicate, the first consonent is retained and the rest of the syllables are dropped.[5]

2.12. Śeṣe vibhāṣā (8.1.41)

In the association of the word *aho*, a finite verb retains its accent optionally in the senses other than praise.[6] The word *śeṣa* is used here in locative conveying the meaning condition other than the sense stated earlier i.e. praise.

2.13. Śeṣe vibhāṣā, (8.1.50)

Here too this Sūtra prescribes that the verb retains accent optionally when the particles *āho* and *utāho* do not precede the verb. The word *śeṣa* is used with reference to the previous Sūtra *āho-utāho ca anyatarasyām* (8.1.49)

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3. From the Sūtras, *Uraḥprabhṛtibhyaḥ kap* (5.4.151) upto *nadī-ṛtaś ca* (5.4.153).
4. See Sūtras, 7.3.84 – 7.3.89.
5. Unlike other Sūtras, the *śeṣa*-device here has nothing to do with the previous Sūtras.

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2. 14. Śeṣe vibhāṣā akakhādau aṣānte upadeśe (8. 1. 48)

The Sūtra speaks of the phonological change of *ni* to *ṇi* in the verbs other than those stated in the earlier Sūtra (8. 4. 17). When these verbs are preceded by *upasarga* competent to cause the change, provided that in the original enunciation the verbs have not an initial *ka* or *Kha*, nor ends with *ṣa*. The statement *śeṣa* here has a clear reference to the previous Sūtra (8. 4. 17).

In all these previous cases the *śeṣa*-device has been utilized mainly with reference to the previous Sūtra or -Sūtras and the opinions of the comentators are mostly the same with that of P as far as the meaning and purpose of the *Śeṣa*-device utilized in the *Aṣṭ* is concerned.

3. 0. The śeṣa-device and Pāṇinian notion of syntax as well as semantics

P's *Aṣṭ* deals with all the four branches of linguistics i. e. phonology and morphology explicitly, semantics and syntax implicitly. The semantics and syntax are like the two sides of the same coin. The discussion of the one is incomplete without that of the other. Behind each utterance there lies the meaning-input implicitly. It is the grammarians' duty to cautiously frame the Sūtras with proper meaning-conditions in order to avoid the over statements caused by the overapplication of his Sūtras. The syntax, as defined by J. A. F. Roodbergen,[7] " is that part of grammar which studies the way in which words are formally organised into a larger meaningful combinations with a view of enabling the listener to correctly interput the speaker's intention " In this context, the *śeṣa*-device followed in two important Sūtras i. e. *śeṣo bahuvrīhiḥ* (2. 2. 23) and *Ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe* (2. 3. 50) may be taken for the deeper analysis. Out of these two rules although the Sūtra *śeṣo bahuvrīhiḥ* is a rule for compounding and the compound-formations strictly adhere to syntactic and semantic relationship of different words in the stage of non-technical constituent analysis.[8]

3. 1. Śeṣo bahuvrīhiḥ (2. 2. 23)

3. 1. 1. This Sūtra defines the compound *Bahuvrīhi* with the help of the *śeṣa*-device. Simply this Sūtra means that remaining compound is *Bahuvrīhi*. Again the word *śeṣa* here is used in relation to the earlier Sūtras which prescribe the compound-formations of *Avyayībhāva* and *Tatpuruṣa*. The word *śeṣa* here is used in the nominative and probably refers to the *Samāsa* in the Sūtra *Prāk*

6. See the Sūtra, *tu-paśya- paśyata- ahaiḥ-pujāyam* (8. 1. 39).

7. See J. A. F. Roodbergen, *Patañjali's Vyakaraṇa Mahābhāṣya : Bahuvrihi-Dvandvāhnika*, Ed. by S. D. Joshi. University of Poona, (1974). Introduction ; p. iv n 16.

8. *Ibid*, p. XLii.

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kaḍārāt samāsah (2. 1. 3). This is the view of the *Kāśikākāra*[9] when he says that *Bahuvrīhi* comes in when other compounds are not stated. Here Haradatta and Jinendrabuddhi too bring home to the same view.[10]

3. 1. 2. Kty does not say anything clearly on the word *śeṣa* on the present Sūtra. He just rejects two possible alternatives : (i) *Śeṣa* cannot mean *śeṣaḥ śabduḥ*, as all the compoundable words, have been stated earlier.[11] (ii) *Śeṣa* cannot mean *śeṣaḥ arthaḥ* as all meanings have already been covered earlier.[12]

3. 1. 3. Ptj agrees with the views expressed by Kty by refuting these two alternatives and gives at last his own comment ; *trikas tarhi śeṣa-grahaṇam yasya trikasya anuktaḥ samāsaḥ sa śeṣaḥ. kasya cānuktaḥ. prathamāyāḥ.* For Ptj *śeṣa* here refers to the *vibhakti* and so the remaining triplet is the nominative case with reference to which compound-formation has not yet been specially prescribed. As P has framed some special Sūtras like *Saptamīviśeṣaṇe bahuvrīhau* (2. 2. 35) justifying the compounds like *kaṇṭhekālaḥ* etc. it is indicated that generally constituents are in nominative in *Bahuvrīhi*. He specifically asserts that *śeṣa* must not refer to samāsa to exclude the *Avyayībhāva* compounds like *Unmattagaṅgam*,[13] conveying *anyapadārtha* which is a pre-requisite of *Bahuvrīhi*.[14] But the very fact that non-appositional constituents are possible in *Bahuvrīhi* compounds, may be Ptj has failed to read the mind of P here and most probably *śeṣaḥ samāsaḥ* as the *Kāśikākāra* believes, is correct.

3. 1. 4. The grammarians beginning from Kty onwards do not seem to be sure about the Pāṇinian usage of this *śeṣa*- device. Although Kty's view is not clearly stated here Kaiyaṭa following Ptj tries to convince us that the word *śeṣa* in this Sūtra is redundant and hence it must not be understood in the Sūtra *anekam anyapadārthe* (2. 2. 24). Then only the *Bahuvrīhi* compounds like *dvīrāvatīkaḥ* (*deśaḥ*) will be justified even though the Sūtra, *nadībhiś ca* (2. 1. 20) prescribes the *Avyayībhāva* with a numeral as its first member. On the other hand if the word *śeṣa* is not retained in the Sūtra,

9. See *Kāśikā* on 2. 2. 23 : *upayuktād anyaḥ śeṣaḥ. Śeṣaḥ samāso bahuvrīhisaṁjño bhavati. Kaś ca śeṣaḥ ? yatrānyaḥ samāso noktaḥ.*

10. See *Padamañjarī* on 2. 2. 23 : *yeṣāṁ padānāṁ yasminn arthe avyayībhāvādikaḥ samāso na vihitaḥ sa śeṣa ity arthaḥ*. Also See *Nyāsa* on the same Sūtra : *yatrānya samāsa-saṁjñā na vihitetyarthaḥ.*

11. Cf. Kty's Vt. 2. 2. 23. 1 : *śeṣa-vacanam padataś cen na bhāvāt* and *M* on this : *Śeṣa-vacanam padataś cet' tan na – kiṁ kāraṇam bhāvāt. na hi santi tāni padāni yeṣām padānām anuktaḥ samāsaḥ.*

12. Cf. Kty's Vt 2. 2. 23. 2 : *arthaś ced aviśiṣṭam.* Again *M* on this : *na hi santi te arthāḥ yeṣu anukta- samāsaḥ.*

13. By the Sūtra, *anyapadarthe ca saṁjñāyām* (2. 1. 21).

14. By the Sūtra, *anekaṁ anyapadārthe* (2. 2. 24).

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śeṣo bahuvrīhiḥ (2. 2. 23) and then not understood in the Sūtra *anekam anyapadārthe* (2. 2. 24) the compounds like *Unmattagaṅgam* etc. will come under *Bahuvrīhi* as well as *Avyayībhāva* and as the latter is specially prescribed, it prevails over the former. Hence the conclusion follows that the word *śeṣa* is not required in the Sūtra. But, again Ptj understands *śeṣa* in the Sūtra *Cārthe dvandaḥ* (2. 2. 29). But the examples discussed there (viz. *vaiyākaraṇa-yājñikau* and *Kṛtākṛte*) never show to prove that the *Anuvṛtti* of *śeṣa* is necessary there. However, in the context of compounds, a general statement like *śeṣaḥ samāsaḥ* seems to be a more practical solution.

3.2. Ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe (2.3.50)

3.2.0. The Sūtra just means that the sixth case-suffix is enjoined in the remaining cases i.e. the genitive endings express the notions not covered so far. The *KV* explains the present rule as *Karmādibhyo yo'nyaḥ, prātipadikārthavyatiriktaḥ svasvāmisaṁbandhādiḥ śeṣaḥ*. Thus according to him, the word *śeṣa* refers to the owner-owned relation etc. which is other than *Karman* etc. and different from the nominal stem-meaning.

3.2.1. Kty is silent regarding the meaning of the word *śeṣa* here on the present Sūtra. Ptj explains the meaning of *Śeṣa* here as *Karmādibhyo ye'nye'rthāḥ sa śeṣaḥ*. Ptj clearly states that *śeṣa* means any relation other than the *Kāraka* relations. Again he himself raises the counter question : *Yady evaṁ śeṣo na prakalpate, na hi karmādibhyo' nye 'rthāḥ santi*. Here Kaiyaṭa comes forward and clarifies the pūrvapakṣin's stand taken by Ptj that *śeṣa* relations pre-suppose *kriyā-kāraka* relations irrespective of the actual expression of the verb and for this he quotes Bhartṛhari.[15] Hence Ptj is not satisfied with his first definition of *śeṣa* (i.e. other than *Karman* etc.) and redefines the term as *karmādīnām avivakṣā*. Thus Ptj leaves the grammatical control to the sweet will of the speaker. The *vivakṣā* technique probably is first referred to by Candragomin who justifies different modes of *kāraka*-expression to the wish of the speaker[16] Chandragomin very clearly avoids this *śeṣa*-device here and for genitive relations he frames the Sūtra *ṣaṣṭhī saṁbandhe* (C 2.1, 95). That *vivakṣā* is not a grammatical concept is perhaps hinted by Ptj himself when he says that there cannot be absence of any intention to express what does exist and so he gives examples from the usage viz. *alomikā eḍakā* (*a woolless goat*),

15. See *Vākyapadīya* (*Vp*), III. 7. 157 *Vp*, ed. by K. A. Subramania Iyer, Poona (Deccan College), 1963, p. 354.

16. See *Vṛtti* on C. 2. 1. 49 : *vivakṣātaḥ kārakāṇi bhavanti*. For details regarding the present issue See S. D. Joshi, J. A. F. Roodbergen, *Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣya* : Kārakāhnika (Poona University), 1975, pp. xvi–xviii.

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and *anudarā kanyā* (*no-belly girl*) etc. But this argument seems to be unscientific as he mixes up linguistics with rhetorics.

3.2.2. The *Kāraka*-theory is the key-stone of the Pāṇinian syntactical arch. The neo-grammarians have gone deep into the subject and have clearly visualized the deep and the surface structure of a sentence. In this context the genitive-ending conveying the different relations may be looked out as the surface structure and the underlying *Kriyā-kāraka* relation is the deep structure. In the example, *pituḥ putraḥ*, the genitive-ending expresses the producer-product relation whereas one can choose the *Kriyā-kāraka* relation and can use the sentence as *pitā putram ajanayat*.

3.2.3 The *śeṣa*- relations are other than the *prātipadikārtha* or *kāraka* relations. A *prātipadika* as in *nīlaḥ ghaṭaḥ* has the appositional relation with the verb even if not stated. The *kāraka*-relations are always established with the action. On the other hand the *śaṣa*-relations pre-suppose *Kriyā-kāraka* relations and hence there is no need to take the help of a non-grammatical device like *vivakṣā*. It will not be out of place to investigate the deep structure of one example viz. *naṭasya śṛṇoti*. Here *naṭa* does not come under any *kāraka*-designation, not even it can be termed as *akathita karman* as the root *śru* is not included in the list of verbs which take double accusatives. Hence the genitive case-ending is added to the word *naṭa* by *ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe* (2.3.50).

3.2.4 Later commentators starting from Ptj onwards hold the view that the word *śeṣa* is continued from 2.3.50 to 2.3.64. Joshi-Roodbergen rightly remarked that this goes against the rules for *Anuvṛtti*[17] as *śeṣa* and *karman* etc. are incompatible terms. If *śeṣa* is to be understood and interpreted as *avivakṣā* the Sūtras 2.3.51–64 will be redundant as the inteneded *kāraka*-relations can be expressed by the Sūtras 2.3.2 etc. and the *śeṣa*-relations can be expressed by 2.3.50. To make these (2.3.51-64) Sūtras meaningful motif is attached by the later Pāṇinīyas that genitive-endings must be added in these cases and in no other situation they will be dropped because the restatement will have an emphatic value. Hence compounding is not allowed as in compounds there is the question of deletion of the endings. As a consequeuce, the vārttika (vt.) 1 on 2.2.10 directing non-compounding of a *pratipadavidhānā ṣaṣṭhī* (2.3.51–64) becomes redundant. The very Vt of Kty goes to prove that he did not conceive any such idea in connection with the *Vivakṣā*.

3.2.5 The Sūtra, *adhīgarthadayeśāṁ karmaṇi* (2.3.52) prescribes genitive ending to express *karman* in connection with the verbs having the senses

17. See Joshi-Roodbergen, *Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣya : Prātipadikārtha-śeṣāhnika* (Poona University) 1981, pp. 80 ff.

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of *adhī* (to remember) √*day* (distribute) and *iś* (to be the owner of). Ptj explains the Sūtra by providing us with the examples like *mātuḥ smarati*. The passive form will be *mātuḥ smaryate* for the justification of which Kty framed a Vt *karmādiṣu akarmakavat vacanam* (2.3.52.1). Ptj takes the plea of the suffix *vat* in the Vt and justifies his intended example like *mātā smaryate* in passive form of *mātaram smarati*. But strictly to P, the usage like *mātaram smarati* was undesired and to avoid such wrong construction he framed a special Sūtra (2.3.52) Kty's Vt (1) here seems to be intended solely to justify Pāṇinian usage and so it is clear indication that the *śeṣa* is not understood in 2.3.52 and the *śeṣa* should not be redefined as *avivakṣā*.

4.0 Concluding Remarks:

4.1 All the above said instances only go to prove that P is systematic throughout his *Aṣṭ* when he has taken the help of this device. Always he has placed such general Sūtras at the end of particular sections after enumerating the special instances in the begining. The *śeṣa* has always been used by P in the sense of residue.

4.2. Kty's position with regard to the device is at times not clear but sufficient indication is here that he followed P very closely. May be he understood P better as he was closer to P than other Pāṇinīyas.

4.3 One may wonder as to the intention of Ptj as well as that of the later commentators who usually follow Ptj in connection with all sorts of grammatical conflicts.[18] Although some grammatical justifications have been suggested here and there, one is at a loss to see the way Ptj behaves in interpreting the *śeṣa*-device, so scientifically, so systematically P has utilized. Ptj appears to be unhistorical when he redefines *śeṣa* as *vivakṣā*. As has been stated earlier the *vivakṣā* is qnite alien to the grammatical instruction and hence a free-licence on hands of a speaker whether he is a *śiṣṭa* (i.e. the learned) or not. P could take such a metagrammatical concept like *śeṣa* and successfully utilize it as a basic equipment to explain his grammatical analysis but Ptj such a great grammarian went away so much from the original intentions of P by taking recourse to *vivakṣā*. This appears strange.

18. Cp. the oft-quoted maxim : *yathottaram munīnāṁ prāmāṇyam*,

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उच्चारणदोषाणां देशकालभेदेन निर्दोषत्वम्

लेखक : लडुकेश्वर शतपथी शर्मा

एकस्मिन् भूभागे ये दोषरूपेण परिचिताः, भूभागान्तरे तेषु केषांचिद् दोषरूपेण गणनं नैव क्रियते, तथैवैकस्मिन् काले यस्मिन् भूखण्डे केषांचिद् दोषरूपेण व्यपदेशो भवति, कालान्तरे तत्रैव तेषामदोषता सर्वैः स्वीक्रियते 'इत्थमदुष्टेष्वपि देशकालभेदेन दुष्टत्वं समापतति' उदाहरणम् — बहुपत्नीस्वीकारः देशकालभेदेन दोषयुक्तो दोषहीनो वा विविच्यते।

वर्णोच्चारणविषयेऽपि सैव गतिः। ऋक्प्रातिशाख्ये महाभाष्ये शिक्षाग्रन्थेषु च केचिद् दोषाः परिसंख्याताः उदाहरणान्यपि दत्तानि। परन्तु इदानींतने समये प्रयुज्यमानेषु शब्देषु तदुक्ता दोषास्तिष्ठन्त्येव। तथापि ते दुष्टा इति नैव परामृश्यते। प्रत्युत तेषां परिहारो दोष इति गण्यते भण्यते च। अस्मिन् विषये सोदाहरणसंक्षिप्तविवेचनं निबन्धस्यास्य प्रयोजकम्।

उच्चारणदोषा ऋक्प्रातिशाख्ये त्रिविधा निगदिताः। यथा — "तदायापायव्यथनानि दोषाः" इति आयस्तावत् शब्देष्वसतां वर्णानामागमः। आयनम् आयः। आङुपसर्गात् इण्-गतौधातोर्घञ्। कस्यचिच्छब्दस्योच्चारणवेलायां तत्रासतोऽपि वर्णस्योच्चारणेऽयं दोषो भवति। अपायो नामापगमनम्, वर्णानामिति यावत्। अपपूर्वात् इण्गतौधातोर्घञि रूपम्। यत्र शब्दे सतोऽपि कस्यचिद्वर्णस्यानुच्चारणं तत्रापायदोषो भवति। व्यथनं नाम कस्यचिद् वर्णस्य स्थाने वर्णान्तरस्योच्चारणम्।

वर्णोच्चारणे आयापायव्यथनानां प्रवेश उच्चारयितुः शक्त्यभावस्य परिचायकः, स्थलविशेषेषु अशुद्धमुच्चारणं शुद्धं मन्यमान उच्चारयिता स्वशक्तिसत्त्वेऽपि तादृशमेवोच्चारणं करोति। इयमशुद्धता शुद्धता वा तत्तद्देशकालशिक्षितसमाजरुचिनिबन्धना। शिक्षितानामनुमोदने सति एतान्येव आयापायव्यथनानि अदोषाणि भवति। यथा—सम्-कर्ता, इत्यत्र असन्नपि सकारः संस्कर्तेत्यत्रोच्चार्यते। पृषत्-उदरमित्यत्र सन्नपि तकारः पृषोदरमित्यत्र नोच्चार्यते। एवं नदी+अम्बु इत्यत्र ईकारस्थाने यकारोच्चारणेन 'नद्यम्बु' इति भवति। ईदृशानि आयापायव्यथनानि नैव दोषावहानि। तानि व्याकरणे भाषाविज्ञाने च आगमलोपवर्णविकारनाम्ना व्यपदिष्टानि। शिक्षितजनसमाजसम्मत्यभावे तु तादृशमुच्चारणं दोषत्वाय प्रकल्पते।

अथ केषांचिद्दोषाणामनुशासनं देशकालभेदेन निर्दोषत्वप्रतिपादनसहितं प्रकाश्यते। तद्यथा-

(१) 'अयथामात्रं वचनं स्वराणाम्' इति ऋक्प्रातिशाख्यम्। यस्य स्वरवर्णस्य या उच्चारणकालमात्रा समुचिता। तामपहाय अन्यथा उच्चारणे दोषो भवतीत्यनेन प्रतिपाद्यते यथा — 'अग्न आयाहि-' इत्यत्र ह्रस्व इकारो वर्तते। तत्स्थाने यदि कश्चिद् दीर्घम् ईकारं पठेत् तर्हि दोषो भवेत्। 'एवा नो दूर्वे' —इति मन्त्रांशे 'एवा' इति दीर्घावर्णपाठस्तु शिष्टसम्मतः। दीर्घविधायकं पाणिनिसूत्रं तावत् 'निपातस्य च' इति। अत एव नात्र दोषः।

एवं भ्रूकुटिः / भ्रुकुटिः, प्रतीहारी/प्रतिहारी, रात्री/रात्रिः इत्यादिषु रूपद्वयं साध्वेव। 'ङ्यापोः संज्ञाछन्दसोर्बहुलम्' इति सूत्रादिभिः ह्रस्वविधानात् कालिदासः, ब्राह्मणितरा, ग्रामणिकुलम् इत्यादिरपि साधुः। एषु मूलभूतो दीर्घः कालक्रमेण ह्रस्वरूपेणोच्चारितः स च शिष्टैरनुमोदितश्चेत्यनुमीयते।

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यत्रानुशासनमन्तरेण अयथामात्रमुच्चारणं भवति, तत्रैव दोषः प्रातिशाख्यसम्मतः। प्राचीनभाषागतस्य कस्यचित् पदस्य ह्रस्वस्थाने औत्तरकालिकभाषागते सामञ्जस्यविशिष्टे पदे दीर्घस्थितिः शिष्टानुमोदिता चेत्तर्हि साऽपि साधुरेव। यथा—(सं.) पथ–(इं.) path, (सं.) ब्रुड–(इं.) brood, (सं.) असि–(इं.) are, एवं दीर्घस्थाने ह्रस्वोऽपि साधुः। यथा—(सं.) भ्रातृ–(इं.) brother, (सं.) पूर–(इं.) full, (सं.) क्रूर–(इं.) cruel इत्यादयः।

(२) अ–आ इत्यनयोरनुच्चारणे ग्रस्तं नाम दोषः। तथा च ऋक्प्रातिशाख्यसूत्रम्—'ग्रासः कण्ठ्ययोः' इति। 'अग्निमीळे' इत्यस्य स्थाने 'ग्निमीळे' इत्युच्चारणेऽयं दोषो भवति। 'वातजूतो यो अभिरक्षति त्मना–' इत्यत्र तु 'आत्मना' इत्यस्य स्थाने 'त्मना' इति प्रयोगस्य शिष्टसम्मतत्वान्न दोषः, अवगाहः—वगाहः, अपिधानम्–पिधानम्, प्रदत्तम्–प्रत्तम्, अपूपः–पूपः, अरिष्टम्–रिष्टम् इत्यादिषु उभयथा प्रयोगोऽपि शिष्टसम्मतत्वात् साधुः।

(३) औत्तरकालिकभाषासु ग्रस्तदोषस्यादोषता यथा—(सं.) अरण्यम्–(प्रा.) रण्णं, (सं.) अङ्गारः–(इं.) coal, (सं.) अवटः–(इं.) pit, (सं.) फलकम्–(इं.) plank, (सं.) अङ्गुरीयकम्–(इं.) ring, (सं.) दक्षतरः–(इं.) dexter, (सं.) मशककीटः–(इं.) mosquito. अननुनासिकानामनुनासिकीकरणेऽनुनासिकं नाम दोषो भवति। यथोक्तम्—'नासिकयोस्त्वनुसङ्गेऽनुनासिकम्' इति। यथा—'अग्निमीळे' इत्यत्र 'अंग्निमीळे' इति पाठे। दधिं–दधि, देवँ–देव इत्यादि द्विविधं रूपं तु 'अणोऽप्रगृह्यस्यानुनासिकः' इति सूत्रबलात् साधु।

इदानीम् अननुनासिकं संस्कृतपदं परवर्तिभाषासु सानुनासिकमपि निर्दोषं भवतीति विविच्यते। यथा—(सं.) श्वास–(हिं.) साँस, (सं.) सर्प–(हिं.) साँप, (सं.) बुक्क–(हिं.) भौंक, (सं.) उष्ट्र–(हिं.) ऊँट, (सं.) जलौक–(हिं.) जोंक। क्वचित् सानुस्वारमपि भवति। यथा—(वै.) मास–(सं.) मांस, (सं.) दर्शन–(प्रा.) दंसण, (सं.) स्पर्श–(प्रा.) फंस, (सं.) वक्र–(प्रा.) बंक, (सं.) पक्ष–(हिं.) पंख, (सं.) तत्क्षणे–(प्रा.) तंखणे।

(४) 'अनुनासिकानां संदष्टता विषमरागता च' इति ऋक्प्रातिशाख्ये दोषद्वयमभिहितम्। तत्र इनु अवनम्यानुस्वारस्योच्चारणे संदष्टता नामः दोषः। एवमुच्चारणे कृते नासिकया वायुनिर्गमाभावादनुस्वारो विकृतमुच्चार्यते। यथा 'पुरोहितं देवस्य' इत्यत्र 'पुरोहितन् देवस्य' इति। स्थलविशेषेष्वनुस्वारः पूर्णतया लुप्यते। (सं.) बुद्धानां शासनम्–(प्रा.) बुद्धान सासनं इत्यादयस्तु शिष्टैः स्वीकृतत्वान्न दुष्टाः।

(५) विषमरागतादोषस्तु अनुस्वारोच्चारणार्थमावश्यकस्य नासिक्यत्वस्य न्यूनतायामाधिक्ये वा भवति। वंशकांस्यादिशब्दानां वँश·काँस्यादिरूपेणोच्चारणेऽयं दोषो भवति। बाँस·काँस इत्यादि हिन्दीशब्दास्तु शिष्टसम्मतत्वान्न विषमरागतादोषदुष्टाः।

(६) 'संयोगानां स्वरभक्त्या व्यवायः' इति ऋक्प्रातिशाख्यम्। संयुक्तव्यञ्जनयोर्मध्ये उच्चार्यमाणः सूक्ष्मः स्वरभागः स्वरभक्तिरुच्यते। यथा—श्रीरित्यत्र शरयोर्मध्ये सूक्ष्म ईस्वरभाग उच्चार्यते। यदि तस्य स्वरभागस्य तथा वृद्धिर्भवति येन संयोगः प्रणश्यति, तदा दोषो भवति। दोषोऽयं परवर्तिभाषासु क्वचिदनादृतः। तेन प्राकृतभाषायां श्रीः इत्यस्य स्थाने सिरी इति भवति। एवं ह्रीः–हिरी, क्लान्तः–किलन्तो, स्वप्नः–सिविणो इत्यादिष्वपि द्रष्टव्यम्। करम-भगत इत्यादिहिन्दीरूपमपि ईदृशमेव। संस्कृताङ्गलभाषे अप्यत्र तुलनीये। यथा—पत्र–feather, शौर्य–courage, गोष्ठ–cow-shed, अधिवक्ता–advocate, कुत्र–whither, व्याघ्र–tiger, संयुक्त–conjugate इत्यादि।

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(७) 'लुम्पन्ति वा सन्तमेव खकारम्' इति ऋक्प्रातिशाख्यम्। स्थितं यकारं वकारं च केचिन्नोच्चारयन्तीति तत्र दोषं मन्यन्ते प्रातिशाख्यकाराः। यथा—'देवमृत्विजम्' इत्यत्र '-देव-मृतिजम्' इति पाठे। यथा वा—'यज्ञस्य' इत्यत्र 'यज्ञस' इति पाठे। परवर्तिभाषासु तु क्वचिद् यवयोर्लोपोऽपि शिष्टसम्मतः। यथा— (सं.) काव्यम् - (प्रा.) कव्वं, (सं.) अर्घ्यः - (प्रा.) अग्घो, (सं.) शल्य - (ओ.) छेल, (सं.) सत्त्व - (प्रा.) सत्त, (सं.) साध्वी - (प्रा.) सद्धी।

एवं बह्व उच्चारणदोषाः प्राचीनैर्विवेचिताः। निबन्धकलेवरवृद्धिभिया सर्वेषां दोषाणां विवेचनं नैवात्र कर्तुं पार्यते। केवलं महाभाष्ये दोषवर्णनप्रसङ्गे यानि नामान्युपात्तानि तान्युद्धृत्यैव संतुष्यामः। यथा—'संवृतः कलो ध्मात एणीकृतोऽम्बूकृतोऽर्धको ग्रस्तो निरस्तः प्रगीत उपगीतः क्ष्विण्णो रोमश इति' अपर आह—

ग्रस्तं निरस्तमवलम्बितं निर्हतमम्बूकृतं ध्मातमथो विकम्पितम्।
संदष्टमेणीकृतमर्धकं द्रुतं विकीर्णमेताः स्वरदोषभावनाः॥

ऋक्प्रातिशाख्यनिरूपितौ अनुनासिकताविषमरागतादोषौ त्वत्र विवेचितावेव। पीडन-धारणाभिधौ अन्यौ दोषावपि तत्रोदाहृतौ।

एषां दोषत्वं क्वचित् परवर्तिभाषारूपेषु नैव विविच्यते। एवं वैदिकशाखाभेदेषु केषांचिद् दोषाणामदोषता भवति। अदोषाणां च दोषता भवति। अत एव कुत्रचिद् वैदिकशाखायां 'सहस्रशीर्खा पुरुखः' इत्युच्चारणमेव साध्विति गृह्यते, न तु 'सहस्रशीर्षा पुरुषः' इति। शाखान्तरे त्वेतद्वैतपरीत्यम्।

एकस्मिन्नपि काले देशभेदादुच्चारणभेदः क्वचिद् भवति। एक एव संस्कृतविद्याशब्दः कलिकातायां बिद्दा इत्युच्चार्यते, भुवनेश्वरे तु विद्या इति।

अनेन परिशीलनेनैतावत् साध्यते यत् उच्चारणदोषविचार इतरदोषविचारवत् सर्वदा नैकरूपः। देशकालादिभेदेन विविधमात्रया दोषत्वस्वीकारः प्रत्यक्षसिद्धः। अत एव दोषत्वा-दोषत्वयोर्नियामकं सर्वदेशकालसम्मतं किमपि तत्त्वं नास्तीति निश्चप्रचमेवेति।

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DRAVIDIAN STUDIES

DRAVIDIAN ELEMENTS IN BENGALI : A MYTH, OR A REALITY ?

By

GIRINDRA NATH CHATTOPADHYAY

The aim of this paper is not to discuss over all the Dravidian elements in Bengali, but to enquire into the possibility of those in Bengali on the basis of certain type of compounds actually used by the speakers.

In the post-Grierson period the nature of thr Bengali language has been thoroughly investigated by Dr. S. K. Chatterji in his *The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language.* His investigation covers both historical and comparative study. In course of his investigation Dr. Chatterji has been convinced that the Dravidian elements form a significant part of the non-Aryan elements in Bengali. Next after him comes Dr. Sukumar Sen with his *Bhāsār Itivṛtta,* a book written in Bengali and widely read in the educational institutions of W. Bengal for the specialised study of the Bengali language. In contradiction with Dr. Chatterji he opines that, since Bengali had no direct connection with any of the Dravidian languages either before or after its emergence as a distinct language, it cannot be said that there are Dravidian elements in it. According to him, the so called Dravidian elements in Bengali are but a few vocables which it inherited from OIA and MIA[1]. Thus, the two eminent scholars reached, in this respect, diametrically opposite conclusions which have no scope for compromise. And the problem has so far remained unsolved.

Earlier than this debate, the same problem, though not with specific reference to Bengali, had been raised by Dr. Caldwell with the question " Is there a Dravidian element in the vernacular languages of Northern India ? " And he reached the following conclusion : " I feel persuaded .... that the direction in which those vernaculars have been differentiated from Sanskrit has to a considerable extent been non-Aryan, and that this must have been owieg, ... to the operation of non-Aryan influence[2]. ...... (But) whatever may have been the nature and origin of the influences by which the Gaurian languages were

1. *Bhāṣār Itivṛtta* (13th edn.), pp. 168–169.

2. *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages,* (1875), p. 53.

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modified, those influences do not appear to have been distinctively Dravidian[3] ". Dr. Sen, probably following Dr. Caldwell, approves of the Austric influence on Bengali and denies the Dravidian influence on it. Now, let us join the debate.

Language is nothing but a special form of social behaviour and, like the behaviour of an individual, the social behaviour also is susceptible to being conditioned by environment. Hence, the linguistic situation in the pre-historic as well as in the historic period of Bengal should be analysed in the dimension of the pragmatic linguistics in which, according to Joseph H. Greenberg 'we include reference to the users of language[4]. And, in this respect, social history of Bengal can be of much help to us. It, in addition to linguistic evidences, can help us to decide whether the existence of Dravidian speakers in Bengal was a possibility or not. As such, we are to pay our attention to the findings of Dr. Nihar Ranjan Roy in his *Bāmāler Itihās* : *Ādiparva*, a pioneer book, written in Bengali, on the social history of ancient Bengal.

In the second chapter of the first edition of his book, Dr. Roy, with the help of anthropological researches conducted upto the period, reaches the conclusion that the people of Beegal speaking Bengali as their mother-tongue are composed of various racial elements of which the Melanid and the Kolid occupy a formidable portion. And, according to Von Eicksted, the speakers of the Dravinian languages to-day " are prevailingly of Melanid race[5] ". Whereas, the proto-Nordic elements who brought the OIA, form of the Aryan languages in India constitute a very negligible part of the people speaking Bengali. It means in the early history of Bengal, when the process of Aryanisation started in this part of India, the proto-Nordic elements speaking the Aryan language/languages were undoubtedly very small in number in comparison with the native elements. In the second edition (1980) of his book Dr. Roy enlarged the second chapter by incorporating recent archaeological findings on the pre-history of Bengal. On the basis of those evidences, he is convinced that the western part of Bengal which consisted of the valleys of the Mayūrākṣī, the Vakreśvar, the Ajay, the Kunnur and the Dāmodar was the centre of the Chalco-lithic culture. And he assumes that this type of culture was not so vitally connected with that of the Gangetic India as was with that of Orissa through the valley of the Kaṁsāvatī covering parts of the districts of Purulia, Bankura and Midnapore. But he thinks that round about 300 B. C. the chalco-lithic cultural centre of Bengal had come into the fold of the Gangetic India. These facts prove that, before the arrival of the

3. *Ibid.*, p. 57.

4. " Linguistics and Ethnology " In *Language in Culture and Society*, ed. by Dell Hymes.

5. Quotation from Dr. Ray's book.

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Aryan-speakers in Bengal, at least the western part of it or the ancient *Rāḍha-bhūmi* was connected with the southern part of India through Orissa. Dr. Ray's assumption is further strengthened by the archaeolegical evidences found at *Pāṇḍurājār ḍhibi* in the district of Burdwan. The human skeleton found there belongs to the dolicho-cephalic group. Hence the anthropologists conclude that this part of Bengal was once inhabited by a group of people of the Mediterranean race. And, according to them, the Dravidian speakers also belong to the same race. Most of the skeletons found in the pre-historic burials of Adichanallur and elsewhere in South India belong to the same category. As such, the assumption that a substantial number of people speaking one or other form of the Dravidian languages lived in Bengal before the arrival of the Aryan speakers cannot be summarily rejected. And, such was the history and pre-history of Bengal before the emergence of Bengali as a distinct language.

Now, let us analyse the linguistic situation in this part of India at the time when the Aryan speakers arrived here. Though the spoken form of the Aryan dialects at that time adopted the shape of MIA, yet the linguistic situation was not much more different from that when the OIA speakers arrived in India. Prof. M. B. Emeneau has depicted the situation in the following manner[6] :

" We know in fact from the study of the non-Indo-European element in the Sanskrit lexicon that at the time of the earliest Sanskrit records, the *Ṛgveda*, when Sanskrit speakers were localised no further east than the Panjab, there were already a few Dravidian words current in Sanskrit. This involves a localization of Dravidian speech in this area no later than three millennia ago. It also of course means much bilingualism and gradual abandonment of Dravidian speech in favour of Indo-Aryan over a long period and a great area – a process for which we have only the most meagre of evidence in detail. (This is the historical process to be invoked, rather than the too facile and unrealistic one of a displacement of populations through expansions. Undoubtedly there were expansions involved, in the shape of marauding bands and of missionaries, but neither of these agencies had an interest in getting rid of earlier populations; it was to their advantage, political, economic, religious, to have subjects and proselytes. Absorption, not displacement, is the Chief mechanism in radical language changes of the kind we are considering)." Now, let us reconstruct the pre-historic linguistic situation in Bengal in the line shown by Prof. Emenean.

Before the arrival of the MIA speakers in this part of India, there were many tribes speaking various dialects of non-Aryan languages. of which

6. " India as a Linguistic Area "– a paper collected in *Language in Culture and Society*.

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Dravidian was undoubtedly one. It might be that these developed some sort of mutual intelligibility among the speakers of those non-Aryan dialects. Some of the then socio-economic activities like cattle-breeding might have frequently brought them together. Otherwise, the Khaṛiā and Muṇḍārī word for 'cowherd' (i. e. *māhrā*) cannot be found in the vocabulary of the Kurukh – a Dravidian dialect. Probably, this type of mutual intelligibility developed long before the advent of the Aryan speakers when both the Dravidian and the Muṇḍā speakers lived side by side in the northern part of India. Otherwise, there could not have developed a situation in which the Brahui speakers' word for 'house/houses' (i.e., *urā/urāk*) could have the almost identical form with those of the Muṇḍā dialects (i.e., Sāntāli *oṛāk*; Muṇḍāri *oṛā*; Ho *oā*; etc.), which are at present completely out of touch with the Brahui. But, when the MIA speakers came to the eastern part of India including Bengal, there was probably no such mutual intelligibility between the Aryan and the non-Aryan dialects spoken here. Nevertheless, there would have been no linguistic problem at all if the newcomers did not settle here permanently. After the arrival of the Aryan speaking newcomers, two social situations developed. In one case, some of the non-Aryan speakers left the plane and field for new shelters in the hilly tracts of the western part of Bengal covering the present states of West Bengal, Bihar and Orissa; and, in the other, the remainders surrendered to the newcomers and reached a compromise to live together in the plane. Now, following the logical line of Prof. Emeneau we can safely say that it was the similar linguistic situation in which the Dravidian speakers who surrendered to the Aryan-speakers were compelled to develop 'much bilingualism' which ultimately led to the 'gradual abandonment of Dravidian speech in favor of Indo-Aryan over a long period.'

In general, such a conclusion is all right. But, if we are to answer the question how the linguistic situation of bilingualism arose in case of the Dravidian speakers to whom the Indo-Aryan was unintelligible, the conclusion seems to be too hasty to be satisfactory. We are able to answer that question satisfactorily only when we take into consideration the linguistic pragmatics in details.

Bilingualism is that type of linguistic situation in which the users of X language can understand as well as speak in Y. If there is no mutual intelligibility between X and Y, then it naturally pre-supposed 'semi-bilingualism – a linguistic situation which has been defined by Prof. C. F. Hockett as 'receptive bilingualism accompanying productive monolingualism.'[7] In the present case also, the Dravidian speakers under consideration had to pass through the stage of semi-bilingualism before they become fully bilingual. Due to constant touch

7. *A Course in Modern Linguistic*, p. 327.

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with the Aryan speakers they came to know the meaning of some necessary words of the Indo-Aryan language frequently used by them. Unless they could identify the basic vocables denoting things and ideas essential for oocio-cultural contact with the Indo-Aryans, no minimum form of communication between them was possible. Having been in close touch with the IA speakers the people speaking various dialects of the Dravidian languages had to learn by the painful process of trial and error that the word *a* denoted the same concept which was usually expressed by them in their language/languages with the help of the word *b*. New, if the identification of *a* with *b* is partial or wrong, then the entire communicating process also will be either partially or totally disrupted. In order to avoid such situation, the user of *b* has, naturally, no other way but to devise a linguistic means by which the identification of *b* with *a* becomes flawless. In the literate society, such a need helps the compilation of bilingual dictionary and the person willing to communicate by means of the second language takes the help of such dictionary as and when he requires. But, for any illiterate society, such a device is beyond question. Yet, it is essential for the user of *b* to correctly identify it with *a* by memorising the meaning of the latter. Under such circumstances he has to tag *a* with *b* leading to the formation of a type of Hybrid compounds in which the meanings of both the elements become identical, i. e., $a=b$. In the last chapter of his *Indo-Aryan and Hindi*, Dr. S. K. Chatterji dealt with some of such compounds for which he used the term 'Translation-compounds'.

In a paper of mine presented in this section of the 30th session of the AIOC I dealt with such compounds in which Perso-Arabic words formed one of the elements having meaning identical with that of the native one. There my contention was that the compounds like *rājā-bādśā* type formed an oral bilingual dictionary to be used by the illiterate people during the first stage of the cultural contact with the Persian-speaking foreigners. And, as soon as this first stage of the cultural contact ended the socio-linguistic need behind the formation of such compounds also ceased to exist. But, some of such translation-compounds which subsequently became a part of the living vocubulary of Bengali lost the original socio-linguistic context, surrendered to the general law of the semantic change, and began to be used to denote the extension or completion of meaning. Almost the same linguistic situation developed when the Dravidian speakers first came in contact with the IA. speakers in the eastern part of India and consequently a good number of such compounds were formed in Bengali of which one of the elements is Dravidian. In the middle-Bengali period, when the Persian-speakers arrived, many of the Dravidian words had been naturalised in Beagali, and we find few translation-compounds to be formed with such

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Dravidian words also. Now, I am presenting a listr without claiming it to be exhaustive and complete, of such compounds arranged alphabetically.

1. *āṛ-cokho* ('partial', i.e., one who takes a particular side) <Td. *āṛ* (OIA. *árdha-*; 'side')=Kur. *Cokh* (side') + -O, (Beng. adjectival suffix). (Here, the *cokh* seems not to be connected with the Td form of *cakṣu-*, which means 'eye'.

2. *āp-ni* ('You' in honorific sense) <Td. *āp* (OIA. *ātman*; 'self'> your self>you) = Ta., Ma., Ko., To., Kod., Mod. ka. *nī*; O. Ka. *nīn*; Te. (n) *īnu*; Kol. *nīv*; ('you', 2nd sg.)

3. *ālo-cāl* ('unboiled husked rice') <Kur. *ālō* (eatable things>rice)=Ho. *Cauli*; Sā̃. *Cāole*, (husked rice).

4. *ekṭu-kun(i)* ('a little' <Td. *ek-* ÷ *-ṭu* (Beng. suffix. Meaning of the whole word is 'a little', 'some'.)=Kur. *kun – ā / i* (a little', 'some').

5. *kā̃cā-paysā* ('coin', 'liquid cash') <Ta. *Kācu* (gold-coin, money, a small copper coin); Ma. *Kāsu*; Ko. *Kā̃c*. (rupee); Ka. *Kāsu* (the smallest copper coin, a cash, coin or money in general); Tu. *Kāsu* (an old copper coin worth half a pie, a cash); Te. *Kāsu* (a cash, a coin in general, a gold coin, money) = Pers. *paisa* (a copper coin, money). (It appears that before the advent of the Persian speakers in Bengal *Kācā* or its equivalent form was used in the sense of 'coin', and during the Muslim administration the *paysā* gained ground for which the old meaning of *Kācā* was lost. Probably from then on it began to be used adjectivally in the sense of 'small' because of the context which favoured the introduction of big coins like *muhar*, *ṭākā*, etc. Further semantic change imposed on it the meaning of 'unripe, immature', etc.).

6. *Kuli/puli-piṭhe* (a variety of indigenous cake made of boiled rice) <Kod. *kuṭi* (boiled rice>cake made of boiled rice); Ta. *kūṛ* (thick gruel porridge, semi-liquid food, food); Ma. *kūṛ* (boiled rice); Ka. *kūṛ* (boiled rice, food); Tu. *kūru*, *kūlu*, *kūḷ* (boiled rice); Te. *kūdu* (boiled rice, food) = Td. *piṭhā* (<OIA, *piṣṭaka* –; 'cake').

7. *Korā-kāpaṛ* (a new and unwashed cloth) < Ta. *kūṛai* (cloth, clothes); Ma. *kūṛa* (a set of cloths, thick cloth); Td. *kāpaṛ* (<OIA. *karpaṭa* –; old or patched or ragged garments). (In modern usage *korā* has lost the original meaning and acquired the adjectival sense of 'new and unwashed').

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8. *Khaṛ-kuṭ-i/o* (straw and such things) < Muṇḍa? (straw) = Ta. *koṭi* (creeper); Ma. *koṭi* (creeper, what is long and thin); Kui. *koṭa* (a species of flowering grass). (Probably the reed-like shape helped the tagging here).

9. *Khaṛi-nadī* (name of a small hilly river in the district of Burdwan) < Kur. *k͟h͟āṛ* (river) = Ts. *nadī* (Since the Kuruk͟h word lost its original meaning in Bengali, it is used at present as a proper noun, But the original sense seems to be preserved in the place – name of *khaṛi-beṛe* in the district of 24 Parganas in West Bengal. The origin of the name seems to come from the fact that the place was once surrounded by a river).

10. *ganḍa-grām* (a big village) < Kui. *ganḍa* (an elevated plateau, flat crest of a hill > such place which is fit for a settlement > a settlement or a village) = Ts. (an inhabited place, village, hamlet). (After the loss of the original meaning of the Kui word it acquired the adjectival sense).

11. *gāch-pālā* (tree etc.) < MIA *gaccha* (tree) < ? = Ta. *pala* (tree, jack-tree); Ma. *pilāvu, plavu* (jack-tree); Kui. *pala* (the bark of a tree).

12. *ghar-bāri* (house, residence, etc.) < Td. *ghar* (<OIA. *gṛha*–; 'house') = Old Ta. *vati-* (dwell, stay); Mod. Ta. *vīṛū* – (house). (Skt. *vāṭi* (*kā*) seems to be a loan-word from the Dravidian languages and Beng. *bāṛi* does not seem to be a Td form of it. Before the advent of the Aryan-speakers the Dr. form was used here).

13. *Chānā-ponā* (children) < Kur. *sanni* (small > small child) = Td. *potā* (< Pota-la < OIA **putra-la.*; 'children').

14. *Chele-pile* (offsprings) < Td. *chāliyā* < OIA. *śāva* (the young of an animal) + *-la* (pleonastic suffix) + Bengal suffix (*-iyā'* = O. Ta. *piḷḷey* (child); M. Ta. *piḷḷai* (child, son, etc.); Ma. *piḷḷa* (child, infant, young of animals); Ka. *piḷḷe, piḷḷa, pilla* (child, young of animals); Tu. *piḷḷe* (child, baby); Te. *pilla* (child, baby, young of animals); Kol. *pilla* (baby, daughter); Nk. *pilla* (girl, daughter); Gond. *pilā* (child, young of animals); Kur. *pellō* (female child).

15. *tā-hole* (then) < Td. (< OIA+*tád*; 'then, at that time, in that case') = Kur. *hole* (then). (Here, *hole* has so far been wrongly identified with √*ha-*).

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16. *du-ri* (the second one of the playing cards) < Td. < (OIA. *dvi-*; 'two') = Kui. *rī* (two); Kuwi. *ri/rī*; Ta. *iru/ir*; Ma. *iru/ir*; Ka. *iru/ir*; Tu. *iṛu/ir* etc.

17. *naṛā-caṛā* (movement) < Ta., Ma. *naṛa* – *naṛakk-* (to go); Kod. *naṛa-* (to walk) = Sts. (√*car-* 'to move') + Beng. suffix – *ā*.

18. *nekṛe-bagh* (wolf) < Kur. *lakṛā* (tiger) = Td. (< OIA. *vyāghra-*).

19. *neṛo-dīghi* (name of an outskirt of Burdwan-an ancient city of W. Bengal The place is situated by a long tank.) < Ta., Ma. *neṭu* (long); Ma. *niṭu* (long, tall, straight); Ka. *niḍu, niṭṭu* (state of being long); Tu. *niḍu* (long, tall, high); Te. *nīḍu* (long) = Td. (< OIA. *dīrghikā* –; 'long tank'. It is to be noted here that the vital component of the word is *dīrgha-* meaning 'long').

20. *pāṛā-gā̃* (rural area) < Kur. *paddā* (village); Kui. *vāṛa* (a row of houses); Ko. *paṭ* (flatness), *paṭm* (obl. *paṭṭ-*; ground for house) Kod. *paṭṭi* (space before house, spreading space); Ta. *paṭṭai* (flatness), *paṭṭam* (flat or level surface of anything) = Td. (< OIA. *grāma-*).

21. *bāksa-pēṭrā* (box, etc.) < Eng. loanword 'box' = Ta. *peṭṭi* (box, chest, basket), *poṭṭi* (box); Ma., Ka. *peṭṭi* (box, trunk); Te. *peṭṭe* (box, chest, safe); To. *poṭy* (box); Kod. *poṭṭi* (box); Tu. *peṭṭige* (box, chest) Pa. *peṭeya* (box); Kui. *puṭi* (a large basket) + *-rā* (seems at present to be a Beng. suffix. But here, probably, the law of contamination operated due to the influence of Ta. *pēṛai* 'chest, box, basket'; Ma. *pēṛa* 'basket of reeds or of bamboo slips'. In some of the dialects *piṭri* has been found to be used in the sense of *mat*, which might have changed to 'basket made of materials used to make mats'. The Santals are also found to use *piṭāri* in the sense of 'bamboo-made box').

22. *beṛā-binuni* (a style of hair-braid of women) < Kui. *beṛi* (a woman's knot of hair) Td. *binānī* (< OIA **varṇāpanikā* + *vinyāsa* according to Dr. S. K. Chatterji).

23. *mār-kuṭe* (person having habits of beating others) < Ts. *māra-* (causative of √*mṛ-*) = Ta. *kuṭṭu, kuṭṭi* (to cuff, strike with the knuckles on the head or temples), *koṭṭu, koṭṭi* (to beat, strike with the palms); Ma. *kuṭṭuka* (to pound, cuff), *koṭṭuka* (to beat so as to produce sound); Ko. *kuṭ* – (to pound), *koṭk-*, *koṭky-* (to strike); To. *kuṭ-*, *kuṭy* – (to knock, pound); Kod. *kuṭṭ-*, *kuṭṭi-* (to pound)

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koṭṭ- (to tap, beat, drum); Ka. *kuṭṭn* (to beat, strike, pound); Te. *koṭṭu* (to beat, strike, knock); Pa. *koṭṭ-* (to strike with axe), Ga. *koṭ-* (to strike with axe); Kur. *khoṭṭ-* (to break, smash); Malt. *qoṭe* (to break, knock, strike) + Bengal adjectival suffix *-e*.

24. *mār-piṭ* (reciprocal action-noun meaning 'striking each other') < Ts. (as above) = Ko. *peṭ* (beating); Ka. *peṭṭu* (to beat. as with hand, staff, hammer, etc. As noun, 'striking, a blow, stroke, hurt'); Tu. *peṭṭu* (blow, slap); Te. *peṭṭu* (blow, stroke, knock, thump); Kol. *peṭṭ* (a blow); Kur. *piṭ-* (to kill < to sfrike).

25. *moṭā-kāpaṛ* (coarse cloth) < Kui. *māṭo* (a caarse, heavy cloth) = Td. (< *karpaṭa*). In Bengali *moṭā* is used at present in the sense of fat. In modern Tamil and Telugu also *mutuku* (coarseness) and *mutuka, muduga* (coarse, thick, rough, etc.) respectively are found to be used not in the sense of 'cloth'. Dr. Chatterji wants to derive the Bengali word from *mūrtaka*, which does not seem to be probable.

26. *rā-kāṛā* (uttering sound or word) < Td. *rā* (< OIA. *rava*; 'sound' to utter a sound. The Ho word *rā* with checked pronunciation means 'to cry, bleat, neigh, roar,' etc. Probably the word is a borrowed one from the Aryan languages). = Ta. *karai* (to sound, roar, weep, lament, call, invite); Ka. *kaṛe, kari* (to emit a sound, sound, call, invite). This root seems to have no connection with Dr. Chatterji's *kār* (snatch away) which is derived from OIA. *kṛṣṭa-*.

27. *rā̃dhā-bāṛā* (Coorking and distributing) < Td. *rā̃dh-* (< OIA. √*randh-*; 'to cook') + *-ā*, Beng. suffix to form verbal noun. = Ta. *vaṛu-* (to fry); Ma. *vaṛa* (frying); Kod. *bara-* (to fry in oil or ghee); Kui. *vanḍa* (to taste); Te. *vanḍu* (to cook, boil, prepare); Pa. *venḍ-* (to cook); Ga. *vanḍ* (to cook). Here *bāṛā* seems to have no connection with the Td √*bāṛ* (to increase) which is derived from OIA. √*vṛdh-*.

28. *luṭ(h) – pāṭ* (activities like robbery, snatching, etc.) < Td. *luṭ (h)* (< OIA. √*lunṭh-*) = old. Ta. *paṭṭ* (te snatch), Ta. *paṭu* (to be caught); Ka. *paḍu* (to catch) Pa. *paḍ* – (to acquire); Ko. *paṛ*– (to be caught); Ga. *par* – (to receive).

29. *Sādā–māṭā* (very simple) < Pers. *sāda* (plain, simple, sincere, artless, stupid, etc.) = old Ta. *maṭa* – (simplicity > simple), Mod. Ta. *maṭam* (ignorance, folly, simplicity), *maṭṭai* (stupid fellow),

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maṇṭu (fool); Ma. *maṭam* (stupidity); Ka. *maṭa* (stuipidity, ignorance), *maḍḍa* (stupid man); Te. *maḍḍi* (dull, stupid).

30. *hā̃ṭā-calā* (walking, moving, etc.) < Old. Ta. *āṭṭu* - (to move) = Ts. √*cal* – Beng. suffix -*ā*.

31. *hātā-beṛi* (ladle. etc.) < Td. (<OIA **hasta-ka-*) = Kui. *boḍi* (a spoon, small ladle).

I am convinced on the basis of my studies in such compounds in Bengali that whenever two groups of people speaking different as well as mutually unintelligible languages came in constant touch with each other the linguistic situation forces them to build up such words. Let me cite one stray example from the Kui language. Rev. W. W. Winfield has itemised such compound as *lokubāku* in his 'A Vocabulary of the Kui language' in the sense of 'people, folk'. The indigenous word for 'people' in the Kui is *bāku*. Rev. Winfield indicated it to be the 'balance-word' of *loku*. This *loku* is nothing but the Sts. form of *loka* used in the sense of 'people'. The Kui speakers certainly formed the compound in the linguistic situation discussed so far.

Hence the very existence of the compounds presented in the above list prove that the Dravidian element in Bengali is a reality, and not a myth.

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PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION

A NOTE ON *DṚṢṬI-SṚṢṬI-VĀDA*

By

MADAN MOHAN AGRAWAL

In the present article I propose to discuss the criticism of the doctrine of *Dṛṣṭi-sṛṣṭi-vāda* with special reference to the philosophy of Nimbārka.

To start with I would like to explain the doctrine of *Dṛṣṭi-sṛṣṭi-vāda*. Some Buddhists maintain that the entire universe is created by perception only, i. e. a thing is so long as it is perceived. When a person sleeps, his body does not exist for him, since it is not perceived by him. For example, the body of Devadatta, who is sleeping, does not exist for him, though it exists for Yajñadatta who is awake and is perceiving it. The recognition (*pratyabhijñā*) 'this is that Devadatta', (*so'yaṁ devadattaḥ*) is an illusion, like the perception 'this is that lamp' (*so'yaṁ dīpaḥ*), because the real lamp never persists for two consecutive moments. The recognition of the identity of an object or a person is due to the similarity of the objects cognized. Identity is similarity. There are only momentary cognitions and momentary objects created by them. This doctrine is called *Dṛṣṭi-sṛṣṭi-vāda*.[1] Some Advaitins hold that there is only one eternal perceiver or knower called Brahman, and that all other entities are created as soon as he perceives them. This doctrine also is called *Dṛṣṭi-sṛṣṭi-vāda*.[2]

Puruṣottama Prasāda Vaiṣṇava, a Nimbārkist, refutes this doctrine. It denies the permanence of the universe and contradicts the Śrutis which assert its permanence. According to the Advaitins themselves, there are six things which are beginningless viz., Jīva, Īśvara, pure *cit*, the difference between the Jīva and Īśvara, *avidyā* and the connection between the *cit* and *avidyā*. Hence the universe being beginningless must be permanent.[3]

1. (A) Puruṣottama Prasāda Vaiṣṇava I, (1927) *Śrutyanta-kalpavallī*, p. 105. Benaras.
   (B) Puruṣottama Prasāda Vaiṣṇava II, (1907) *Śrutyanta-suradruma*, p.213 Benaras.
   (C) Dasgupta Surendranath. (1975) *History of Indian Philosophy*. Vol. I, pp. 161–162, Delhi.
2. (A) Dasgupta Surendranath, *History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. I, p. 478.
   (B) Sharma, Ram Murti, (1972) *Advaita Vedānta*, pp. 214–215, Delhi.
3. *jīva īśa viśuddhā cit tathā jīveśayor bhidā |*
   avidyā taccitor yogaḥ ṣaḍ asmākam anādayaḥ || *Śrutyanta-kalpavallī*, p. 105.

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A critique of *Dṛṣṭi-sṛṣṭi-vāda* could well be attempted on the following grounds :

First, if the entire universe is due to perception then the effect being of the form of perception only cannot be said to be due to its own particular cause, e. g. it can be said that a pot is due to the perception of one who is perceiving it at that moment, and not to clay. But if an effect is not due to its cause, then the scriptural injunctions regarding the performance of sacrifices etc. leading to heaven, or of hearing etc. leading to liberation, are simple meaningless. And the Advaitins ought not to take food for allaying hunger, or utter words for making others understand their thoughts.[4] If the Scriptural injunctions are like those relating to dreams then the doctrince of Monism would not be proved.[5]

Secondly, if objects like pots etc. have no existence before their perceptions, then different actions would not follow upon different perceptions.[6] Further, on this view, illusion itself becomes impossible. Thus, if the conch-shell does not exist prior to being perceived, then when a man perceives 'this is silver' there is created only silver, and not the conch-shell, and hence the perception cannot be a false perception due to the superimposition of the silver on the conch-shell. Also, the knowledge 'this is silver' and the knowledge 'this is not silver' are connected with different objects, and hence the latter cannot negate the former. Also, this negation of the illusory silver itself being created by perception only (*dṛṣṭi-sṛṣṭa*), the illusory silver must be true.[7]

Thirdly, on this view, the difference between Jīva and Brahmana must be non-existent during deep sleep, dissolution etc., there being no perceiver of it. Everyday, i. e. after deep sleep and after dissolution even a liberated Jīva will be again involved in mundane existence. Also, there being no impressions of past deeds, a man who went to sleep may not arise again. Liberation itself being created by perception only (*dṛṣṭi-sṛṣṭa*) must be false like dream-liberation.[8]

Lastly, if pots and the like are created by pure consciousness alone, they are always created by it, and determinate objects are denoted by words, they are created by its determinate perception, and its determinate perceptions are created by other determinate perceptions, and so on to infinity. It will lead to infinite regress. Thus, pure consciousness or Brahman will become determinate and this

4. *Śrutyanta-kalpavallī*, p. 105.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Śrutyanta-kalpavallī*, p. 105 and *Śrutyanta-suradruma*, p. 214,
7. *Śrutyanta-kalpavallī*, p. 105.
8. *Ibid*.

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position will contradict Monism.[9] There are not defects, the nescience, the perceiver, the body, the sense-organs and so on, there can be no illusions. and they also are created by perception of Brahman and this will lead to infinite regress. Hence, the pots and the like said to be created by the perceptions, and Brahman are really created by an infinite series of determinate perception, and not by Brahman. And again, the doctrine of *Dṛṣṭi-sṛṣṭi-vāda* itself being created by perception only must be false and hence things cannot be created by perception alone (*dṛṣṭi-sṛṣṭa*).[10]

Dṛṣṭi-sṛṣṭi-vāda contradicts the recognition 'This is that pot' (*so'yaṁ ghaṭaḥ*),[11] because pot is nothing but a series of similar perceptions. Similarity is mis-perceived as identity although they are numerically different from each other. The difference in perceptions of a pot is created by the difference in the perception of Brahman. But this position contradicts the Monist's view.

If it be said that the recognition 'this is that pot' is simply an error like the perception 'This is that lamp' (*so'yaṁ dīpaḥ*), then it could be said that the example of a lamp is not to the point,[12] for a lamp is being consumed every moment but not pots etc. Pots etc. are permanent and so to the perceiving self and this makes recognition and memory possible.

In addition to this, on this view there can be no recognition of the identity of a Jīva such as 'This is that Devadatta'. There can be no comprehension of identity of a Jīva with Brahman 'Thou art that' through implication by partly excluding and partly including the primary meanings of the words. Further, if everything is created by perception only, then the knowledge of non-dualism must also be so, and hence it cannot annul the knowledge of plurality.[13]

This doctrine contradicts the Śrutis, which assert the permanence of the universe, like : "The heaven is permanent, the earth is permanent, the mountains are permanent, this world is permanent."[14] Further, if the pot, the cloth etc., which are perceived to be different from one another, are really non-different from one another then whatever are perceived to be non-different from one another are

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9. *cinmātrasyaiva ghaṭādisṛṣṭitve tasyaiva sadā pratityāpattyā viśiṣṭasya tattve vācye tasyāpi viśiṣṭasya dṛṣṭi-sṛṣṭitve'navasthādiprasaṅgāc ca* / — *Śrutyanta-kalpavallī*, pp. 105–106.

10. *ghaṭāder dṛṣṭi-sṛṣṭiritvasyāpi dṛṣṭi-sṛṣṭitvena ghaṭāder adṛṣṭi-sṛṣṭyāpātāc ca* / — *Śrutyanta-kalpavallī*, p. 106.

11. *so'yaṁ ghaṭaḥ iti pratyabhijñāvirodhāc ca* / — *Śrutyanta-kalpavallī*, p. 214.

12. *dṛṣṭāntavaikalyāt* / — *Śrutyanta-suradruma*, p. 214.

13. *Śrutyanta.kalpavallī*, p. 106.

14. *Atharva-veda*, 6. 88. 1.

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really different from one another. This position will involve the assumption of the opposite of what is perceived and the imagination of what is not perceived.[15]

Since the fruit – libration, characterized by attaining the state of Lord *Bhagavad-bhāvāpatti-lakṣaṇa-mokṣa*), which is due to the immediate experience of Lord, the sub-stratum of inconceivable, infinite and natural attributes and powers, is permanent, the doctrine of *Dṛṣṭi-sṛṣṭi-vāda* is absurd.[16] The Śrutis : " Desirous of heaven one should perform the Jyotiṣṭoma sacrifice ",[17] and ' the Ātman is to be seen, to be heard, to be thought, to be meditated on '[18] are significant only of the doctrine of *Dṛṣṭi-sṛṣṭi-vāda* is false. They are meaningless if this doctrine is true.[19]

If it be said that the entire universe is created by perception only (*Dṛṣṭi-sṛṣṭi-mātram eva*) and the advocates of *Dṛṣṭi-sṛṣṭi-vāda* prove its validity by following inference :

The universe is false. (The thesis = *pratijñā*)

Because it is created by perception only. (The reason = *hetu*)

Those which are created by perception only are false, like dream-objects. (The exemplification = *udāharaṇa*)

This (universe) is so (i. e. created by perception only). The sub-sumptive correlation = *upanaya*)

Therefore it is so (i. e. false). (conclusion = *nigamana*)

The inference is corroborated by the Śrutis : " The one Brahman without a second exists ",[20] ' No plurality exists here '.[21] The validity of Monism cannot be disproved by any other Śruti.[22]

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15. *Śrutyanta-kalpavallī*, p. 106.
16. (A) *dṛṣṭi-sṛṣṭir api naiva sammatā,*
    darśanāt tava phalaṁ yataḥ sthiraṁ / — verse, 22.
    — *Saviśeṣa-nirviśeṣa-kṛṣṇastvarāja of Nimbarka*, (1927), Benarasa.
    (B) *Śrutyanta-kalpavallī*, p. 106.
    (C) *Śrutyanta-suradruma*, p. 215.
17. *Taittirīya-saṁhitā*, 2. 5. 5.
18. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad*, 2. 4. 5, 4. 5. 6.
19. (A) *sārthako bhavati yatra śabdakaḥ,*
    sarva eva paradevatātmani //
    — *Saviśeṣa-nirviśeṣa-kṛṣṇastavarāja*, Verse, 22.
    (B) *Śrutyania-kalpavallī*, p. 106.
    (C) *Śrutyanta-suradruma*, p. 215.
20. *Chāndogya-upaniṣad*, 6. 2. 1.
21. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka-upaniṣad*, 4. 3. 9.
22. *Śrutyanta-kalpavallī*, p. 107.

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To this it could be said that this inference is not valid, because there is fallacious reason (*hetvābhāsa*) namely 'the counterbalanced reason' (*satpratipakṣa-hetvābhāsa*). As for instance :

The entire universe is real. (The thesis = *pratijñā*)

Because it serves practical ends. (The reason = *hetu*)

That which serves practical ends is real, like valid knowledge produced from the means of valid knowledge (The exemplification = *udāharaṇa*) This (universe) is so (i. e. serves practical ends). (The subsumptive correlation = *upanaya*)

Therefore, it is so (i. e. real). (Conclusion = *ntgamana*)

If it be objected : This inference, too, has fallacious reason (*hetvābhāsa*) since merely serving practical ends is not a criterion of reality, the endlessness would be served. There is the inconclusive fallacy (*savyabhicāra-hetvābhāsa*), because the serpent, superimposed upon a rope which is not a serpent, the non-existent also (*asatopi*) gives terror, tremor etc.

To this objection : the mental (*prātītika*) serpent does not give the terror etc., but only the knowledge of a real serpent does the same. Because the non-existence can never produce the effects. Hence, it is established that the very first inference has fallacious reason.[23] And again, the same inference undoutedly is invalid, because the example of dream-objects is not appropriate in that they are false, being created by the Supreme Lord Himself.[24]

If it be argued : the dream-objects are created by the Jīva, in accordance with the Scriptural texts; "there are no chariots nor animals to be yoked to them, nor roads there, but he creates the chariots, the animals and the roads. There are no pleasures, joys or delights there, but he creates the pleasures, joys and delights. There are no pools, tanks or rivers there, but he creates the pools, tanks and rivers. For he is the agent."[25] And also, the dream-objects are stable for a very short time.

The Nimbārkists observe tn this regard that the Śruti relating to dream also conveys that the dream-objects are created by the Supreme Lord. Because the dream-objects like chariot, tank etc. are created by the Lord in accordance with the respective deeds of Jīvas in order that they may enjoy these objects. The dream-objects are not created by the Jīva that experiences them.[26] That the

23. *Śrutyanta-suradruma*, p. 216.
24. *Śrutyanta-kalpavallī*. p. 107.
25. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka-upaniṣad*, 4. 3. 10.
26. *Śrutyanta-kalpavallī*, pp. 107–108.

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dream-objects and the rest are created by the Lord is proved further by the following facts : dreams are indicative of good and ill, in accordance with the Śrutis like : 'When during works undertaken for a wish, a man sees a woman in his dreams, let him there conceive of success in that dream-vision ',[27] "Now, when a man sees a black person with black teeth in his dreams, he kills him ".[28] If the Jīva were the creator of dream-objects, then it would have enjoyed happiness alone by creating women and the rest which are indicative of good alone but it would never have created a black person and the rest for its own destruction. Hence, the Jīva is not the creator of dream-objects.[29]

Since the dream-objects are created by a real cause – Lord, since they produce their real effects, the universe also must be created by a real cause – Lord, and must be real.[30] Just as the Lord creates the dream-object he creates the objects of waking state. He is the support of the dreaming Jīvas and creator of the dream-objecss and creator of the universe.[31] The universe is real, because it is created by Brahman (Lord) because it produces effects and serves our practical ends, and lastly because its reality cannot be disproved by other arguments.[32]

An objection may be raised here : a real object only does not produce an effect but that a superimposed unreal entity also can produce an effect.

This objection is baseless, because a non-existent entity cannot be superimposed. An object existing in one place is superimposed elsewhere. An absolutely non-existent entity like the horns of a hare, cannot be superimposed upon another entity.

If it be argued that superimposition depends upon mere experience of an object and not upon its existence, then this argument is unsound because there can be no experience of a non.existent object.[33]

If it be objected : a defect alone is the cause of the experience of the universe, just as a defect alone is the cause of the experience of an illusory

27. *Chāndogyopaniṣad*, 5. 2. 9.
28. *Aitareya-āraṇyaka*, 3, 2. 4.
29. (A) *Śrutyanta-kalpavallī*, p. 108.
(B) *Vedānta-pārijātā-saurabha of Nimbārka*, 3. 24., (1932), Vṛndāvana.
(C) *Vedānta-kaustubha of Śrīnivāsa*, 3. 2. 4., (1932), Vṛndāvana.
(D) *Śrutyana-suradruma*, p. 217.
30. *Śrutyanta-kalpavallī*, p. 108.
31. *Ibid.*
32. *Śrutyanta-kalpavallī*, p. 109.
33. *Ibid.*

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serpent, and that the existence of the universe is not the cause of its experience.

This can be repudiated, because a non-existent effect cannot produce an experience, because an existent cause always produces an effect, and because a non-existent cause is never found to be a cause. It cannot be said that the rule, an existent cause always produces an effect, – would be contradicted, because a non-existent superimposed serpent is found to be a creator of terror, tremor etc. – for an absolutely non existent cause is not possible at all. Otherwise mirage would quench thirst of deer and the rest, the berry of Abrus precatorious (*guñjā*) would remove the cold and poison would serve the purpose of nectar. In the experience of an illusory serpent, too, only the knowledge of a superimposed serpent is the cause of terror, tremor etc., and that serpent is not cause of the same.[34]

If it be objected that a non-existent dream-woman gives the sexual-satisfaction, then it can be said that a non-existent dream-woman is not the cause of the sexual-satlsfaction but the knowledge concerning women and the impressions relating to women are the cause of sexual-satisfaction, as they have their existence in dream. If a non existent, dream-woman is the cause of the sexual satisfaction, then a child also would feel sexual-satisfaction but a child does not feel it the same way, because he has no such knowledge.[35]

The universe is real because it is protected by the Lord.[36] And also being protected by the Lord the universe is not created by perception alone.[37] Thus, has the Lord a direct knowledge of the falsity of universe or not ? If He has a direct knowledge of the falsity of the universe, then why should He have any lnclination to protect it, and if He has not, then He cannot be held to be omniscient, and, the text : "who is omniscient, all-knowing",[38] would be contradicted.[39]

If it be objected : just as a magician protects false objects, so the Lord protects the false universe, To this, it could be said that the example quoted is not correct,[40] because the magician simply shows real objects, which are past or in some other places through the power of gems, mantras etc., but never knows

34. *Ibid.*
35. *Śrutyanta-kalpavallī*, p. 110.
36. (A) *Śrutyanta-suradruma*, p. 218.
    (B) *Śrutyanta-kalpavallī*, p. 110.
37. *Śrutyanta-suradrum*, p. 218.
38. *Muṇḍakopaniṣad*, 1. 1. 9, 2. 2. 7.
39. *Śrutyanta-kalpavallī*, p. 110.
40. *Śrutyanta-suradruma*, p. 218.

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them directly nor protects them. But the Lord being omniscient cannot wish to protect what is false (*mithyā*).[41] Hence, it is concluded that the entire universe is real, because it is created and protected by the Lord, and serves the practical ends, but is never created by perception alone.[42]

To sum up, it can be said that the doctrine of *Dṛṣṭi-sṛṣṭi-vāda* is evidently absurd. This doctrine denies the permanence of the universe and contradicts the Śrutis which assert its permanence. On this view, the effect being of the form of perception only, cannot be said to be due to its own particular cause. Objects like pots etc., have no existence beyond the particular perceptions of particular individuals, and this makes ordinary activity impossible. Illusion itself becomes impossible. Liberation itself being created by perception only becomes false like dream-liberation. This doctrine also fails to explain the fact of recognition (*pratyabhijñā*), such as 'this is that pot'. At least, on this view, the entire universe, being created by perception only, becomes false (*mithyā*).

41. *Srutyanta-kalpavallī*, p. 110.

42. (A) *Śrutyanta-kalpavallī*, p. 110.
(B) *Śrutyanta-suradruma*, p. 218.

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ŚRUTI PASSAGES AND VALLABHA

By

S. S. AMONKAR

Prasthānatrayī consists of *Upaniṣads*, *Brahmasūtras* and *Bhagavadgītā*. This *Prasthānatrayī* was commentated upon by Śaṅkarācārya, Rāmānujācārya, Madhvacārya and Vallabhācārya. Each one of these Ācaryas propagated his own philosophy through the medium of his commentary on *Prasthānatrayī*.

Vallabhācārya, (1500 A. D.) one of these Ācāryas, propagated *Śuddhādvaita* philosophy through all his works. शुद्धयोः मायासंबंधरहितयोः जगद्ब्रह्मणोः अद्वैतम् According to Vallabhācārya, everything is pure. Brahman is pure, the world is pure. Māyā which plays an important role in Śaṅkara's philosophy is nullified in Vallabha's system. Pure Brahman is identified with pure world. Every philosophical system introduced by the Ācāryas, recommended a definite means for liberation. Accordingly Vallabhācārya laid down *Puṣṭi-Mārga* as the path towards liberation. Although the idea of devotion-cum-grace was present in earlier works starting with the *Upaniṣads* down to the thinkers like Rāmānujācārya, it is at the hands of Vallabha that it reached a state of complete systematisation and enjoyed the status of a cardinal doctrince in the *Śudhādvaita* School of Vedānta. In *Puṣṭi-Mārga* what is most important is 'choice' through his wish and is explained as the 'the acceptance of an individual by God as one's own' [स्वामित्वेन अङ्गीकारः]. Again this choice does not take place in strict accordance with his fitness or antecedent merits. This grace is such that even in the absence of any means, the fruit may arise e. g. in spite of being most unfit; while the full paraphernalia of means may not yield any result at all. [स्वीयत्वेन अङ्गीकृतो जीवकर्तृकसाधनानां यत्र न कारणता स शुद्धपुष्टिमार्गः]. This *Puṣṭi-Mārga* of Vallabha impressed the masses and brought the exodus of devotees under its fold.

For Vallabha God's grace is to be achieved through devotion of pure love-type. Important points according to Vallabha for this love-type of devotion are as follows: (1) It does not require any means like knowledge. (2) It imparts a sense of security and absolute fearlessness. A devotee regards God as his protector in all concerns and situations of life. (3) It is open to all classes. Even women and down-trodden Śūdras are qualified for admission to it. (4) Its goal is only enjoyment of God's love in union with him. (5) It does not require the devotee to give up life of a householder and turn a recluse. He may stay in

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the world and experience God through service and love, even as a householder. (6) It is not obligatory for a devotional life that desires should be suppressed. It stresses the need that our desires should be sublimated and turned to God. (7) It is absolute trust in God, so a devotee preserves his composure of mind in the midst of any cares or anxieties or worldly troubles. (8) In devotion, we transcend oneself. In whatever we do, we do not think in terms of our own self, but with reference to God. We love God for his own sake; and our world and ourself for the sake of God. (9) In devotion, the entity of the individual soul is preserved intact. The soul participates in full glory. Thus it is clear that the path of *Śuddhādvaita* philosophy was thouroughly based on faith.

Like other Ācāryas, Vallabha too had to take resort to *pramāṇas* or means of knowledge to support his teachings. The purpose of this paper is to find out the *pramāṇas* accepted by Vallabhācārya and to study the relative importance be attaches to these *pramāṇas*, especially Śrutis.

Pramāṇas and Vallabhācārya :

With Vallabha, Vedas, the *Brahmasūtras* and the *Gītā*, are the canons of authority. To this, he adds *Bhāgavata* as the fourth canon of authority, superior to the previous three. Generally, the Vedas, Brāhmaṇas and *Upaniṣads* constitute what is known as Śruti. What Vallabha thinks of Śruti and how much he utilises them for the interpretation of *Brahmasūtras* is to be recorded.

Śrutis and Vallabhācārya :

Of all the *pramāṇas*, Vallabhācārya relies upon the word proof only. For him शब्द is authoritative. This शब्द is not the word of wordly men. It is defined as आप्तवाक्य. आप्त is the one in wbose words we place implicit and unshakable faith as in the oracles of superhuman beings. Such a word-proof, worthy of great trust is none but the Veda. Vallabhācārya at the beginning of *Aṇubhāṣya* says 'The meaning of Vedas is extraordinary; it is difficult to understand with the help of ordinary reasoning. One can grasp it only with the help of penance reasoning based on Vedas and grace of God. [अलौकिको हि वेदार्थो न युक्त्या प्रतिपद्यते। तपसा वेदयुक्त्या तु प्रसादात्परमात्मनः]. In *Aṇubhāṣya* 1.1.4, while discussing the question namely what should serve as a proof in the matter of Brahman, Vallabha answers that Vedas alone can supply reliable proof in the case of Brahman, Vedas are the breath of the lord. अतो निरपेक्षा एव भगवद्भिः श्वासरूपवेदा एव प्रमाणम्. In 1.3.29 अत एव च नित्यत्वम्, अ. भा. Vallabha explains, the Veda is quite different from प्रपञ्च. It is not only eternal but also similar to ब्रह्म. This similarity with ब्रह्म is implied by च in the Sūtra (तस्मादाधिदैविक प्रतिपादकत्वाद्वेदस्य नित्यत्वम्). In the commetory upon 2.1.27 in *Aṇubhāṣya*, Vallabha maintains that the Sūtrakāra bases all his evidence upon the authority furnished

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from Śrutis. He refuses to believe in evidence other than that of Śruti. The Śrutis declare repeatedly that Brahman is the doer (कर्तृ). If it be so, we must admit it, inspite of our logical reasoning forcing us to draw opposite kind of conclusion. Vallabha's admiration of Śruti is expressed in these words. In the case of unfathomable greatness of Brahman, Śruti alone is to be regarded as proof and not any other verbal clue. [अनवगाह्यमाहात्म्ये श्रुतिरेव शरणं नान्या वाचोयुक्तिः].

The above quotations make it very clear that Śruti is the highest canon of authority for Vallabha. Accordingly, he interprets many Sūtras of Bādarāyaṇa on the basis of Śrutis. On 1. 2. 26 of अणुभाष्य there is a controversy regarding the possible meaning of the word वैश्वानर. While winding up the topic Bhāṣyakāra says. " For whatever views expressed, strong authority must be given " (तस्मात्प्रमाणमेवानुसतर्व्यम् । न युक्तिः । शब्दवलविचार एव मुख्यः । अ. भा.). Similarly, there is a Sūtra of Bādarāyaṇa, शब्द इति चेन्नातः प्रभवात्प्रत्यक्षानुमानाभ्याम् 1. 3. 28. In context of this Sūtra, it can be said that the theory of the performance of Vedic rites with respect to gods is mostly accepted. But some perceive discrepancy arising from the शब्द. They are of the opinion that the performance of action will follow the knowledge of sense (अर्थ). And the knowledge of sense results from the Vedas. The Vedas in their turn declare the performance of action of the साध्य etc. Hence at the time of acquiring the knowledge of the sense of the Vedas, as the performance of action does not exist, this part of the Vedas that makes declaration of such performance also will not exist. This will further lead us to suppose the non-permanent character of the Vedas. Thus there is a great contrast in the words, if not in the sense. While removing this objection, the Sūtrakāra says that as all the objects stated above make their manifestation independently from the words, the objection does not stand. All objects, mentioned in the Vedas are supremely divine. Not only that, but they constitute the limbs of the पुरुष i. e. ब्रह्म. This is supported by the proofs of perception and inference. Both these kinds of proof leave no room for doubt that all objects have their origin in the Vedas. The Bhāṣyakāra, in conclusion of his comments on the Sūtras, rightly observes, on the position of the Sūtrakāra in these words : तस्मात्प्रत्यक्षानुमानाभ्यामिदानीन्तनभौतिकयज्ञपदार्थेषु भगवदवयवावेशस्तथामुत्रापि देवादिलोके तस्माद्वैदिकः पदार्थः सर्वोप्याधिदैविको भिन्नो इति सिद्धम् । Bhāṣyakāra emphasizes here the divinity of Vedas. In the Sūtra 3. 4. 8 अ. भा. अधिकोपदेशात्तु बादरायणस्यैव तद्दर्शनात्, Jaimini's theory regarding the superiority of कर्म is controverted and Bādarāyaṇa's belief is given, namely Brahman is superior to कर्म. This is declared even by a श्रुति passages स वा अयमात्मा सर्वस्य वशी सर्वस्येशानः सर्वस्याधिपतिः etc. (बृ. 44. 22). Not only Brahman's superiority over कर्म is asserted here, but even over ज्ञान etc. As Bhakti is connected with Brahman directly, it is the most reliable means for the attainment of Brahman. Before भक्ति, ज्ञान and

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कर्म have no power. Vallabhācārya then comments upon this attitude of Bādarāyaṇa as follows : एवं कर्मज्ञानाभ्यामधिको भक्तिमार्गस्तत्प्राप्यः पुरुषोत्तमश्च श्रुतावुपदिश्यत इति तदेकप्रमाणवादिनो बादरायणस्य मतमप्येव जैमिनिमतादधिकमित्यर्थः। अ. भा. श्रुति seems to be the highest *pramāṇa* for Vallabha.

So far we have observed how Vallabha glorifies Śruti on different occasions in specific words. It is also interesting now to note how he upholds the views given by other scholars only on the criteria whether these views follow the Śruti or not. In the concluding portion of his comments on the Sūtra जन्माद्यस्य यतः I, 1, 2 अ.भा. the Bhāṣyakāra refers to the views of Naiyāyikas and Vijñānabhikṣu. He states their views by referring to them as केचित् and अन्ये. In केचिदत्र जन्मादिसूत्रं लक्षणत्वादनुमानमिति he refers to the views of Naiyāyikas. They hold that Sūtra being the *lakṣaṇa* of Brahman (ईश्वर according to their system) is inference. There are two kinds of inferences here; one describes जगत् as a कार्य and the other states its cause. The first can be briefly stated as: "The world is an effect; because it has parts like a jar". The other can be put as : "The world must have some intelligent cause, because it is an effect like a jar". In अन्ये पुनः श्रुत्यनुवादकमाहुः, the attitude of Vijñānabhikṣu is referred to. He thinks here there is an अनुवाद of the Śrutis. Our Bhāṣyakāra refuses to accept both these views. He, disregards them, because they are not in accordance with Śruti. He briefly puts his own views in तत्तु तं त्वौपनिषदं पुरुषं पृच्छामि इति केवलोपनिषद्वेद्यत्वादुपेक्ष्यम्. Similarly in the context of the Sūtra, तत्तु समन्वयात् I, 1. 3. four principal वादs prevalent among the various schools of philosophical thought viz. आरंभवाद, प्रकृतिवाद, विवर्तवाद and अविकृतपरिणामवाद are being introduced. आरंभवाद is resorted to by Naiyāyikas, the प्रकृतिवाद by Sāṁkhyas, the विवर्तवाद by Māyāvādins and the last one by Śuddhādvaitins. Vallabhācārya tries to refute the विवर्तवाद. He points out the flaw in this theory, that if जगत् is considered a विवर्त (delusion) in ब्रह्म, then those favouring this theory shall have to be known as Asuras, in accordance with the words of *Gītā*, असत्यमप्रतिष्ठं ते जगदाहुरनीश्वरम्। अपरस्परसंभूतं किमन्यत्कामहैतुकम्. Śaṅkarācārya, the follower of विवर्तवाद explains that, it is through the instrumentality of Māyā that Brahman, destitute of attributes and form appears as जगत्. This is often illustrated by the popular simile of the rope which is mistaken for a snake. Śaṅkara says that here the cognition of a snake in a rope is due to some error. Really it is not the snake but a rope; and yet the beholder sees that it is a snake. The cognition of a snake in this illustration is ertoneous, because it is created by some illusion (विवर्त). In the same way, seeing jagat only in Brahman is also due to error (विवर्त) which is caused by nescience. Against this Vallabhācārya says that all this sounds inconsistent with the teaching of Śruti. The *Vivartavāda* has perforce to suppose the existence of Māyā, which is beginningless. But in reality there does not exist any entity as Māyā other than Brahman. Should be however accept

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both the entities, then the doctrine of Advaita at once falls down to the ground. Therefore the theory of *vivarta* cannot hold good.

Smṛtis and Vallabhācārya :

Like Śruti, Vallabha also shows leaning towards Smṛtis. In तत्वार्थदीपनिबन्ध he declares that only scripture is the *Gītā*, sung by the son of Devakī, the only God is Kṛṣṇa, the chant consists of his names alone, and the one and only activity is the service of that Deity.

" एकं शास्त्रं देवकीपुत्रगीतमेको देवो देवकीपुत्र एव ।
मन्त्रोऽप्येकः तस्य नामानि यानि कर्माप्येकं तस्य देवस्य सेवा "
(T. D. N. I. 4)

In addition to *Gītā*, another Smṛti work chosen by Vallabha is *Bhāgavata*. Vallabha has chosen this work as representing the highest truth and added it to the normally accepted *prasthānatrayī* as the fourth, endowed with the maximum authority (T. D. N. 7–8)

Befitting his reliance on Smṛti in 1–2–25 'स्मर्यमाणमनुमानं स्यादिति' अ. भा. Vallabhācārya points out that the word वैश्वानर in the Sūtra must be taken in the sense of Brahman. He says Smṛti also furnishes us with a proof of inference that does enable us to take वैश्वानर in the sense of Brahman. The Bhāgavata has this verse :

केचित्स्वदेहे हृदयावकाशे प्रादेशमात्रं पुरुषं वसन्तम् ।
चतुर्भुजं कञ्जरथाङ्गशङ्खगदाधरं धारणया स्मरन्ति (भागवत 2. 2. 8)

Here also प्रादेशमात्र occurs. This describes वैश्वानर that is identified with Brahman. Vallabhācārya adds that what is heard in Smṛtis is repeated here, after remembrance and meditation. So the Śrutis describing वैश्वानर are expressive of Brahman only. In the same manner, having explained in the Sūtra अनुकृतेस्तस्य च 1. 3. 22 अ. भा. that all objects imitate or follow Brahman as the rays follow the sun and shadow, the body of a man, Vallabha furnishes the testimony from Smṛti in corroboration of what has been said earlier "न तद् भासयते सूर्यो न शशाङ्को न पावकः" भ. गी. 15. 16).

यदादित्यगतं तेजो जगद् भासयतेऽखिलम् ।
यच्चन्द्रमसि यच्चाग्नौ तत्तेजो विद्धि मामकम् ॥ (भ. गी. 15/12)

and the conclusion arrived at is expressed by him in words that "तस्माद् भगवानेव सर्वभासकः । तमेव सर्वमनुकरोति इति सिद्धम् " अ. भा.

Sometimes to drive home a certain point Bhāṣyakāra brings in both Śruti as well as Smṛti. The Sūtra अन्तरा चापि तु तद्दृष्टेः 3. 4. 35 अ. भा. declares that the duties of castes and stages of life interfere with the fruit in the

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case of a devotee (भक्त). In his commentary on this Sūtra, Vallabha writes "भगवद्धर्मेभ्यआश्रमधर्मा हीना इत्यल्पमुच्यते । अपि तु तस्मिन्पुरुषोत्तमे धर्मिण्येव दृष्टितात्पर्यं यस्य पुंसस्तस्याश्रमधर्मा अन्तरा च फलसिद्धौ व्यवधानरूपाश्चेति श्रुतिर्दर्शयति" । अ. भा. He then quotee the following Śruti "एतद्ध स्म वै तत्पूर्वे ब्राह्मणा अनूचाना विद्वांसः प्रजां न कामयन्ते किं प्रजया करिष्यामो येषां नायमात्मायं लोकः" ... ... बृ. (4. 4. 22). The Smṛti also does support this (Cf. न ज्ञानं न च वैराग्यं प्रायः श्रेयो भवेदिह । (भागवत, 11. 20, 39, 6. 14. 6) & अहं भक्तपराधीनो ह्यस्वतंत्र इव द्विज (भागवत 9. 4. 63).

Some discrepancies :

It is noteworthy that even in his adherence to Śrutis, Vallabhācārya prefers one set of Śruti to the other. In the context of discussion on I. i. 3 तत्तु समन्वयात् अ. भा. he lays down that the nature of human objective as well as the meaning of the scriptures should be understood only as it is laid down in the scriptures, and should not be fancied to one's own taste. It may be pointed out here that the same charge could be brought against Vallabha himself, since the contradiction between the two sets of scriptural passages has to be explained, that is what each commentator has, surely tried to do, though each one in consonance with reason – considered as fundamental and paramount (rightly or wrongly) underlying the entire set-up of his philosophical system. But this necessarily implies the subordination of one set to the other; and the question then boils down so whether it is the *Saguṇa* or the *Nirguṇa* set that is upheld as principal. Any contradiction, whether pertaining to earthly entities or to revelation so-called has to be explained in rational terms. If the staunch followers of the word of the Śruti profess to be faithful to it, they should accept both the sets of texts – and hence the inherent contradiction also – as they are offered and should not try to attribute greater importance to either. This would result in blind faith and that may be acceptable to religion or dogma, but not to philosophy. Thus Vallabha's statement that "those having imagined, the scriptural meaning according to their own fancy, seek to explain the Vedas in that light, are indeed too daring and deserve to be condemned by the god" can easily be applicable to Vallabha too.

Vallabhācārya sometimes keeps aside Śrutis and substantiates his statement with the help of Smṛtis only. In III, 3, 9 "व्याप्तेश्च समञ्जसम्" Bhāṣyakāra explains how the different forms of meditation such as of a child, a youth etc. do not go against his being of the nature of Saccidānanda. *Vyāpteḥ* in the Sūtra is interpreted to stand for *Sākāratva* on the basis of the *Gītā* statement, viz. 'सर्वतःपाणिपादं तत्' etc. This strikes us unnatural and the lines that follow, which declare the lord to be *rasa-rūpa* etc. make it obvious that this interpretation of the Sūtra under consideration as of the whole section is sectarian, since such discussions as the one pertaining to the "experience of the deliciousness of

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the divine sport" etc. can hardly claim to be based on the authoritative and acknowledged *Upaniṣad* texts, nor can they be deducted from the text of *BS*. It is in itself remarkably out of place and unhistorical that the Sūtras should be deemed to postulate what a very modern work (comparatively speaking) like the *Bhā*. preaches and the Sūtras should be interpreted in the light of the same. It can be said in Vallabha's defence that he did not pay much, attention to historical sequel, since for him, all were sources of the one revelation whose words contained one consistent, timeless body of truth for whose validity mere historical succession was of scanty value except that the later works could contain clearer statements of the older truth.

To conclude it can be said that for Vallabhācārya words of the Lord were divine- It is equally true that Indians do not differentiate in general between the statements coming from Vedas, Vyāsa or Lord Kṛṣṇā. Their words become our mandates. Faith does have this power and this faith rules over the minds of devotees. Yet this is not expected from Vallabhācārya. Though in his case too, faith supercedes reasoning, he as the Ācārya should have measured the ancient works like Śrutis and Smṛtis in proper spirit. As it is rightly said in *Bhagavad-gītā* that great people should never behave in such a way that it leaves a certain doubt in the minds of commoners. For Vallabha, the Lord from *Bhāgavata* appealed to his heart most, the fact which can be marked in his works.

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काश्मीर शैवदर्शन में चतुर्विध मोक्षोपाय

लेखिका : कमला द्विवेदी

काश्मीर शैवदर्शन की सभी शाखाओं में सामान्यतः मुक्ति के चार उपायों को स्वीकार किया गया है — अनुपाय, शाम्भवोपाय, शाक्तोपाय एवं आणवोपाय। इन चतुर्विध उपायों को ही तत्तत् गुणों के प्राधान्य के कारण क्रमशः आनन्दोपाय, इच्छोपाय, ज्ञानोपाय, एवं क्रियोपाय भी कहा जाता है। इनमें से शाम्भवोपाय अभेददृष्टिप्रधान, शाक्तोपाय भेदाभेददृष्टि-प्रधान तथा आणवोपाय भेददृष्टिप्रधान है।

त्रिकदर्शन एक अनुभूति-सिद्ध दृष्टि है। इसके दार्शनिकों ने अपनी मान्यताओं का आधार एवं लक्ष्य साधारण जन को बनाया है। शास्त्राभ्यासी विद्वानों अथवा मूर्खों को नहीं[1]। यही कारण है कि वे दुर्लभ एवं जटिल मुक्ति का अथवा मुक्ति के उपायों का उपदेश नहीं देते। उनको दृष्टि दुःख में सुख, विष में अमृत एवं संसार मे मोक्ष की अनुभूति कराने की है[2]। इस दर्शन में वही उपाय सहज एवं सर्वोत्कृष्ट है जो विना किसी प्रयत्न के सामान्य जन को आत्मस्वरूप का साक्षात्कार करा सके[3]। अनुपाय का विचार इसी दृष्टि का परिचायक एवं प्रमाण है।

अभिनवगुप्त ने इसी उपाय को सर्वाधिक महत्त्व प्रदान करते हुए तन्त्रालोक के द्वितीय आह्निक में इसका विस्तृत विवेचन किया है। इस उयाय का संबंध प्रमुखतः प्रत्यभिज्ञा शाखा से है। इसके नाम में 'नञ्' का प्रयोग निषेध अथवा अभाव के लिए न होकर 'ईषत्' अर्थ में किया गया है। दूसरे शब्दों में अनुपाय का अर्थ उपायों का निषेधमात्र[4] नहीं है अपि तु इसका वास्तविक अर्थ उपायों की अत्यल्पता है। इसमें उपायों की गन्धमात्र भी नहीं होती[5]। इसमें मुमुक्षु शिष्य गुरुपदेशों के द्वारा यह समझता है कि सभी उपाय परमेश्वर से और स्वयं उसके स्वरूप से मलिन हैं, निम्न हैं। उसके आत्मस्वरूप को ये प्रकाशित नहीं कर सकते। स्वरूप के प्रत्यभिज्ञान के लिए उसे किसी भी उपाय की आवश्यकता नहीं है[6]।

1. (अ) तत्त्वनिरूपणमुपदेश्यजनापेक्षया ...। प. सा. वि., १४.
   (ब) जयरथ भी इस बात का समर्थन करते हैं कि इस दर्शन में अत्यन्त ज्ञानी एवं मूर्ख दोनों का अधिकार नहीं है। ज्ञानी के लिए शास्त्र तृणवत् है [तत्त्वज्ञस्य तृणं शास्त्रम्] और मूर्ख के लिए व्यर्थ। फलस्वरूप मध्यम-जन ही शास्त्र का लक्ष्य है —
   संसाराम्बुनिधिं यः स्यात्तितीर्षुः कश्चिदुत्तमः।
   नात्यन्ततज्ज्ञो नो मूर्खः सोऽस्मिन्छास्त्रेऽधिकारवान्॥ विवेक २. ३.
2. दुःखान्यपि सुखायन्ते विषमप्यमृतायते।
   मोक्षायते च संसारो यत्र मार्गः स शाङ्करः॥ शिवस्तोत्रावली, 20. 12.
3. जनस्यायत्नसिद्ध्यर्थम् ... ...। ईश्वरप्रत्यभिज्ञाविमर्शिनी, 4. 1. 18:
4. अनुपायः इति नोपायनिषेधमात्रम्। विवेक, १. १४२.
5. नात्र उपायगन्धोऽस्ति! विवेक, १. २४२.
6. (अ) उपायैर्न शिवो भाति भान्ति ते तत्प्रसादतः।
   स एवाहं स्वप्रकाशो भासे विश्वस्वरूपकः॥

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इस उपदेश के फलस्वरूप वह अपने भीतर शिवत्व का विमर्श करने लगता है। शिवैक्य का यह परामर्श उसे बिना किसी योगाभ्यासादि के हो जाता है। जैसे— गुरु के अनुग्रहमात्र से, उसके दृष्टियात से, उसके स्पर्श से, उसके द्वारा दिए गए किसी भोज्य पदार्थ को खाने से अथवा किसी अन्य ही प्रकार से[7]। जब यह अनुभव-परामर्श प्रतिदिन के अभ्यास द्वारा दृढ हो जाता है। तब मुमुक्षु शरीर धारण करते हुए तथा देहधर्मों का निर्वाह करते हुए भी मुक्त रहता है।

शाम्भवोपाय में मुक्ति की प्रबल इच्छा के अभ्यास के द्वारा ही साधक को शरीर, मन, बुद्धि एवं प्राणादि के द्वारा किसी भी प्रकार की साधना नहीं करनी पडती। इसलिए इस उपाय में मन्त्र मुद्रा आदि क्रियाओं की अपेक्षा नहीं है[8]। साधक शरीरादि की क्रियाओं से निवृत्त होकर मुक्ति-विषयक इच्छाशक्ति की तीव्रता एवं दृढता का अभ्यास करता रहता है। वह शरीरादि के द्वारा न किसी वस्तु का ग्रहण करता है और न ही परित्याग। वह हेयोपादेयता से परे रहकर अपनी इच्छा को आत्म-स्वरूप में ही केन्द्रित किए रहता है। स्वस्थिति अथवा स्वात्म-विश्रान्ति का यही अभ्यास शाम्भवोपाय है। यही मुक्ति का साक्षात् उपाय माना गया है[9]। अनुपाय इसी की पराकाष्ठा है[10]।

शाम्भवोपाय में अभेददृष्टि का विशेष महत्त्व है। इस उपाय का साधक विकल्पों से परे रहते हुए[11] दर्पणनगरन्याय से प्रतिबिम्बित इस विश्व को स्वयं से अभिन्न समझता है[12]। विश्व शिवेच्छा का मूर्त रूप है एवं तद्रूप है। अतः शाम्भवोपाय का स्वरूप भी स्वात्म-परामर्श का है[13]।

त्रिक दर्शनानुसार अज्ञान अर्थात् अपूर्ण ज्ञान की निवृत्ति ही मुक्ति है। पारिमित्य बन्ध का पर्याय है एवं अपरिमितता की अनुभूति मोक्ष का। अशुद्ध विकल्पों अथवा अज्ञान के कारण प्रमाता स्वयं को अल्पज्ञ, अल्पशक्ति तथा अनीश्वर समझने लगता है। यही अशुद्ध विकल्प है। अतः जब मुमुक्षु सर्वज्ञाता, सर्वशक्तिमत्ता, पूर्णाहन्ता एवं पूर्ण ऐश्वर्य की अनुभूति

(*Continued from the last page*)

इत्याकर्ण्य गुरोर्वाक्यं सकृत् केचन निश्चिताः।
विना भूयोऽनुसन्धानं भान्ति संविन्मयाः स्थिताः॥ विवेक, २. २.

(ब) उपायजालं न शिवं प्रकाशयेद् घटेन किं भाति सहस्रदीधितिः।
विवेचयन्नित्थमुदारदर्शनः स्वयंप्रकाशं शिवमाविशेक्षणात्॥

7. सिद्धानां योगिनीनां च दर्शनं चरुभोजनम्।
कथनं संक्रमः शास्त्रं साधनं गुरूसेवनम्।
इत्याद्यो निरुपायस्य संक्षेपोऽयं वरानने॥ विवेक, २. २.

8. मन्त्रमुद्राक्रियोपासास्तदन्या नात्र काश्चन। तन्त्रा., 3.270.

9. साक्षादुपायेनेति शाम्भवेन। विवेक, १. १५२.

10. स (शाम्भव) एव परां काष्ठां प्राप्तश्चानुपाय इत्युच्यते। विवेक, 1.142.

11. (अ) निराधारं मनः कृत्वा विकल्पान्न विकल्पयेत्। विज्ञानभैरव, 108.
(ब) अविकल्पस्वरूपपरिशीलनात्मा शाम्भवावेशः। विज्ञानभैरवविवृति, 24.

12. मत्त एवोदितमिदं मय्येव प्रतिबिम्बितम्।
मदभिन्नमिदं चेति त्रिधोपायः स शाम्भवः॥ तन्त्रालोक, 3.280.

13. परामर्शमात्राद्विश्वस्य संविन्मात्ररूपत्वमित्येवं परामर्श एव चास्य शाम्भवोपायस्य स्वरूपम्।
विवेक, 3.280,

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के शुद्ध विकल्पों द्वारा इदन्ता के स्पर्श से कलुषित अशुद्ध विकल्पों को समाप्त कर लेता है तभी उसको अपने वास्तविक स्वरूप का ज्ञान होता है। इस दृष्टि से अपूर्ण ज्ञान की निवृत्ति के लिए शुद्ध विकल्पात्मक ज्ञान का अभ्यास ही शाक्तोपाय है[14]। यही इसके ज्ञानोपाय नाम की सार्थकता है। इसमें उच्चारादि का पूर्ण अभाव होता है। जप, ध्यानादि अनेक उपायों के समावेश के कारण इसे 'उपायमण्डल' भी कहा गया है। इस उपाय की तुलना वेदान्त के ज्ञानोपाय से की जा सकती है। जिसमें आत्मज्ञान को ही मुक्ति का प्रधान एवं प्रत्यक्ष उपाय माना गया है।

त्रिकदर्शन में स्वीकृत चतुर्विध उपायों में सर्वाधिक स्थूल (बाह्य) अथवा मूर्त उपाय आणवोपाय है। क्रिया के प्राधान्य के कारण इसे क्रियोपाय कहा जाता है। इस उपाय में कतिपय कल्पित मन्त्रों का उच्चार होता है। मन्त्रोच्चारण में शारीरिक क्रियाओं का भी विशिष्ट स्थान है। मन्त्रोच्चारणादि संवित् के सन्निकृष्ट उपाय हैं तथा ध्यानादि विप्रकृष्ट, जो क्रमशः बुद्धि एवं मन से साध्य हैं। दीक्षा का इसी उपाय में अन्तर्भाव किया गया है। इस उपाय को भेदोपाय कहने का औचित्य यह है कि इसमें साधक इदन्ता तथा अहन्ता को समान महत्त्व देता है। मुमुक्षु का अपने से भिन्न वस्तुओं पर चित्त को स्थिर करने का अभ्यास ही आणवोपाय है।

शैव दार्शनिकों ने अपने ग्रन्थों में अनेकत्र यह मत प्रस्तुत किया है कि अन्य दर्शनों द्वारा प्रदर्शित मुक्ति का स्वरूप एवं उसके उपाय अपूर्ण हैं। ये दर्शन पूर्ण मोक्ष के जिज्ञासुओं को सही मार्ग दिखाने के स्थानपर द्वैत के पङ्क में गिरा देते हैं। उसकी बुद्धि को भ्रमित कर देते हैं। परन्तु स्वयं त्रिकदर्शन में उपायों के इस विस्तार को देखकर सहज शंका उठती है कि क्या इनसे अद्वयतत्त्व का जिज्ञासु भ्रमित नहीं होता है? उपायों का यह नानात्व मुक्ति के स्वरूप में भी नानात्व को उत्पन्न नहीं करेगा? सभी प्रकार के मायीय तत्त्वों से परे रहनेवाले परम तत्त्व का इन मायीय उपायों के द्वारा कैसे साक्षात्कार किया जा सकता है? इस तरह की अनेकानेक शंकाओं को स्वयं शैव दार्शनिकों ने प्रस्तुत करते हुए उनका तर्कसंगत एवं आगम-सम्मत समाधान प्रस्तुत किया है।

उपर्युक्त चतुर्विध उपाय एवं उनके अन्तर्गत स्वीकृत अनेकानेक अन्य उपाय मुक्ति के जिज्ञासु को भ्रमित नहीं करते हैं। इसका कारण यह है कि उपायों का यह विभाजन अधिकारि-भेद से किया गया है। सभी प्रमाता एवं स्वरूप-ज्ञान के जिज्ञासु, परमार्थदशा एक होते हुए भी, विविध मलों[15] से आवृत्त होने के कारण, अलग-अलग उपायों का विवेचन किया गया है। इसके साथ ही इन उपायों के विषय में दार्शनिकों ने यह भी स्पष्ट कर दिया है कि कोई भी उपाय परमार्थतः उत्कृष्ट अथवा निकृष्ट नहीं है। जिज्ञासु का मन जिस किसी उपाय में विश्वास रखे, जिस उपाय से आश्वस्त हो तथा जिस उपाय को वह अपने अनुकूल समझे वही उसके लिए वास्तविक उपाय है। उपायों के नानात्व में जिज्ञासु भ्रमित न हो, इसलिए त्रिक दर्शन में यह मान्यता प्रस्तुत की गई है कि उपायों का यह वैचित्र्य फल-भेद उत्पन्न नहीं करता है। अर्थात् यद्यपि स्थूल दृष्टि से यह कहा जाता है कि साधक विविध उपायों के

14. सर्वाहंभावभावनात्मकशुद्धविकल्पनावमर्शरूपः शाक्तः। विज्ञानभैरवविवृति, 24.

15. मल त्रिविध हैं— आणव, मायीय एवं कार्म। इनके विस्तृत विवेचन के लिए द्रष्टव्य— तन्त्रालोक, १३.१०३, ११०; तन्त्रालोकविवेक, १.४, ८.६५-८८; शिवदृष्टिवि., १.४२-४३; ई.प्र.वि., ३.२.४, ५, १०; म.सा.वि., २४.

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द्वारा अद्वयतत्त्व की विविध भूमिकाओं एवं स्तरों का साक्षात्कार करता है तथापि फलों का यह भेद कल्पित है, व्यवहारमात्र है। वास्तव में तो आत्मज्ञान ही मुक्ति का उपाय है और वही उसका फल है। उपाय एवं उसके फल की चर्चा का परमार्थ स्तर पर कोई महत्त्व नहीं[16]। उपायों को व्यावहारिक चर्चा का औचित्य यह है कि ये मुमुक्षु के द्वैत अथवा भेद-ज्ञान की निवृत्ति करके स्वरूप-ज्ञान में सहायक बनते हैं।

पारमार्थिक दृष्टि से उपायों की निष्प्रयोजनता का एक कारण और है। उपाय अज्ञात अर्थ के ज्ञापक माने गए हैं[17]। त्रिकदर्शन में आत्म-स्वरूप को सर्वथा अज्ञात नहीं माना गया है। आत्म-स्वरूप को संकुचित समझना व्यवहारदशा बन्ध कहा जाता है। यह संकोच, स्वरूप का ज्ञानाभाव न होकर अपूर्ण एवं संकुचित ज्ञान ही है। इसके साथ ही मुक्ति अथवा स्वरूप का प्रत्यभिज्ञान कोई नूतन उपलब्धि नहीं हैं। इस प्रकार अवास्तविक बन्ध एवं मोक्ष के प्रसंग में अन्ततो गत्वा उपाय भी अवास्तविक अर्थात् निष्प्रयोजन ही सिद्ध होते हैं। उपाय का स्वरूप या लक्षण ही यह है कि जिन्हें ग्रहण करके भी छोड दिया जाय[18]।

अधिकारि-भेद से बताये गए विविध उपायों से जो फल प्राप्त होता है वह एक ही है जिसे मुक्ति, आत्मज्ञान अथवा आत्मस्वरूप का साक्षात्कार कहा जाता है[19]। मुक्ति को आत्मज्ञान अथवा स्वरूप की प्राप्ति कहने का यह आशय कदापि नहीं कि मोक्ष कार्य है और आत्मज्ञान उसका कारण। यहाँ उपाय एवं उपेय में यदि कार्यकारणभाव माना जायेगा तो अनेक असंगतियाँ उत्पन्न होगी[20]। मोक्ष कोई नूतन उपलब्धि नहीं है[21]। अपि तु ज्ञात का ही ज्ञान है। यह अनुत्तर तत्त्व से तन्मय हो जाना है। यही पूर्णता है। इसमें सभी प्रकार के संकोचाभिमान गल जाते हैं। इस महान फल की प्राप्ति होने पर किसी भी प्रकार के अन्य फल की आकाङ्क्षा शेष नहीं रहती[22]। इस पूर्णता में पारतन्त्र्य का लेशमात्र भी नहीं होता। यह तुर्यातीत अवस्था है जिसे शिव के शक्तिपात से पवित्र कोई भी मुमुक्षु योगी अनुभूत करता है[23]। जिस योगी को आत्मस्वरूप का प्रत्यभिज्ञान हो चुका है वह समस्त विश्व से स्वयं को अभिन्न

16. ... एक एव ज्ञानात्मा मोक्षावाप्तावुपाय इति न उपायनानात्वम्, अत एव तत्फलभूते मोक्षेऽपि न कश्चिद्भेदः ... काल्पनिकेऽपि हेतुफलयोर्भेदे ज्ञानात्मा एक एव उपायोऽभ्युपगतः इति उपायनानात्वस्यैव अभावात् को नाम फलभूतेऽपि मोक्षे भेदः स्यात्। —तन्त्रालोकविवेक, 9. 165.

17. वस्तुतो हि परप्रकाशात्मा शिव एव उपेयः। स च सर्वत एवावभासते तस्य क्वचिदपि अनपायात्। अत एव नात्र उपायानां किंचित्प्रयोजनम् अज्ञातज्ञापकत्वात् तेषाम्। —तन्त्रालोकविवेक, 1. 145; और भी द्रष्टव्य— विवेक, 1. 166; शिवदृष्टिवृत्ति, 3. 26–29.

18. उपादायापि ये हेयास्तानुपायान् प्रचक्षते। —तन्त्रालोकविवेक 4. 41 में उद्धृत वाक्यपदीय.

19. संविदेव सर्वम् इति को नाम हेतुफलभेदः। —तन्त्रालोकविवेक, 1. 165.

20. इह आत्मज्ञानमेव मोक्षः इति ज्ञानमोक्षयोः कार्यकारणभाव एव वस्तुतो नास्ति— इति नावश्यं कारणानि कार्यवन्ति भवन्ति इति न्यायेन ज्ञानिनां सत्यपि ज्ञानाख्ये कारणे कार्यात्मा मोक्षो न स्यात् इत्यनिष्टापादनात्मायं प्रसंगो नाशङ्कनीयः। —तन्त्रालोकविवेक, 1. 161.

21. अभिमानमात्रसारां परिमितप्रमात्रपेक्षया बन्धमोक्षौ, न पुनः परमार्थे संवित्तत्त्वे एवं किंचित् सम्भवति। तस्मात् मुक्तौ नूतनं न किंचित् साध्यते, निजमेव स्वरूपं प्रथते। परमार्थसारविवेक, 60.

22. द्रष्टव्य। —तन्त्रालोक, 209–10.

23. केतकीकुसुमसौरभे भृशं भृंग एव रसिको न मक्षिका।
भैरवीयपरमाद्वयार्चने कोऽपि रज्यति महेशचोदितः॥ —तन्त्रालोक, 4. 276.

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समझता हैं तथा सभी वस्तुओं में शिवता को देखता है। उसका जगत् के प्रति वही दृष्टिकोण एवं अनुभव हो जाता है। जो वस्तुतः शिव का जगत् के प्रति है। अर्थात् मुक्त पुरुष इस जगत् को त्याज्य, मिथ्या अथवा हेय न मानकर इसे शिवरूप अथवा अपने से अभिन्न समझता है। वह लौकिक देह को धारण करते हुए तथा उस देह के द्वारा लौकिक विषयों का उपभोग करते हुए भी तत्संबंधी दोषों से उसी प्रकार अप्रभावित रहता है जैसे मन्त्रादि से सम्पन्न व्यक्ति विष से प्रभावित नहीं होती है। अतः सर्वशिवात्मकता की अनुभूति ही परम एवं पूर्ण मुक्ति है। बद्ध एवं मुक्त पुरुष में भी व्यवहारदशा यही भेद है कि मुक्त पुरुष सांसारिक वस्तुओं को स्वात्मा से अभिन्न मानकर उनका उपभोग करता है तथा बद्ध पुरुष उनमें भेद-बुद्धि रखते हुए एवं उन्हें अपने से भिन्न समझते हुए उनका उपभोग करता है[24]। यही इस दर्शन के अनुसार बन्ध और मोक्ष का स्वरूप है। इसीलिए इस दर्शन में जीवन्मुक्ति का दृढता से समर्थन करते हुए उसे भोगमोक्षरूपा माना गया है[25]।

मुक्ति के बारे में त्रिकदर्शन का उपर्युक्त मत शाङ्करमत से तुलनीय है। दोनों ही मतों में जीवात्मा के परमतत्व से ऐक्य को मुक्ति माना गया है। दोनों ही मत मुक्ति को नित्य, उपायों से परे, असंस्कार्य मानते हैं। परन्तु जहाँ शंकर जीवनन्मुक्तिका अर्थ जीव में सांसारिकता अथवा द्वैत प्रपंच का अभाव मानते हैं क्योंकि उनके मत में जगत् हेय है वहाँ त्रिकदर्शन जगत् को सत्य, शिव का सत्य आभास मानता है। इसलिए उसकी मुक्ति में जगत् के प्रति आत्मीयता का अनुभव स्वीकार किया है। शाङ्करमत में जगत् के नानात्व को मिथ्या मानकर उसके प्रति भेदबुद्धि का परित्याग करने की बात कही गई है। किन्तु त्रिकदर्शन में नानात्व को शिव के स्वातन्त्र्य का विस्फार तथा शिवरूप मानकर उसके प्रति भेद-व्यवहार को समाप्त किया जाता है[26]।

त्रिकदर्शन के अद्वयवादी होने के कारण द्वैतवादी दर्शन-विचारों से इसका अत्यन्त भेद होना स्वाभाविक है। यह शिवाद्वयवाद द्वैतवादी दार्शनिकों द्वारा प्रदर्शित मुक्ति एवं उसके उपायों की समालोचना करता है तथा उन्हें हेय बताता है क्योंकि वे मुमुक्षु को परमाद्वयतत्त्व की ओर ले जाने तथा विषयों के प्रति उनके दृष्टिकोण को यथार्थ बताने के स्थानपर विपरीत मार्ग का उपदेश देते हैं[27]। इस विपरीत मार्ग में उनकी प्रवृत्ति का कारण रागतत्त्व है। इसी के कारण वे सुलभ शैवज्ञान की महत्ता को जानते हुए भी तदनुकूल आचरण करने से पराङ्मुख रहते हैं[28]। इसका साथ ही वैष्णवादि अन्य दर्शनों के द्वारा अपूर्ण मोक्ष का उपदेश देना तथा उसके अनुयायियों के द्वारा तदनुसार आचरण करना शिव की इच्छा का परिणाम है।

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24. (अ) अयमेव हि समानेऽपि व्यवहारे बद्धमुक्तयोर्विशेषो यन्मुक्तस्य स्वाङ्गरूपतया भावा अवभासन्ते, बद्धस्य तु स्वरूपतः परस्परतश्चात्यन्तं भेदेनेति। तन्त्रालोकविवेक, 4. 212.
(ब) मेयं साधारणं मुक्तः स्वात्माभेदेन मन्यते।
महेश्वरो यथा बद्धः पुनरत्यन्तभेदवत्॥ —ईश्वरप्रत्यभिज्ञाकारिका, 4. 1. 13.
(स) गीता भी इसी का समर्थन करती है :
यो मां पश्यति सर्वत्र सर्वं च मयि पश्यति। 6. 30.
सर्वभूतस्थमात्मानं सर्वभूतानि चात्मनि। 6. 29.
25. भोगमोक्षसाक्षात्कारलक्षणो जीवन्मोक्षः। —महार्थमञ्जरी-परिमलटीका, 52.
26. भेदा अपि तदात्मकाः। —शिवदृष्टिविवेक, 1. 41.
27. द्रष्टव्य —तन्त्रालोक, 4. 17.
28. द्रष्टव्य —तन्त्रालोक, 4. 20–21.

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शिव स्वयं अपनी स्वातन्त्र्य इच्छाशक्ति के द्वारा उन्हें उसी रूप में मोक्षलिप्सा में भ्रमित करना चाहता है[29]। अतः वेद, साङ्ख्य,[30] पुराण आदि शास्त्रों को जानने वाले पाञ्चरात्र में श्रद्धा रखने वाले, बौद्ध, आर्हत अथवा अन्य किन्हीं भी शास्त्रों के मत मायापाश से बद्ध माने गए हैं। ये शैवों की पूर्णमोक्ष की दीक्षा को प्राप्त करने में असमर्थ हैं[31]। दूसरे शब्दों में वेद एवं अन्य दर्शनों का ज्ञान मायीय है और शैवज्ञान माया से ऊर्ध्ववर्ती है। अतः शैवेतर दर्शनानुयायियों का मायाग्रस्त रहना स्वाभाविक है[32]। त्रिकदर्शन ने अपनी आलोचना में साङ्ख्यादि मतों को हेय कहा है। परन्तु इस आलोचना में यह असंगति प्रतीत होती है कि जब से सभी वस्तुयें शिवात्मक है तथा इस दर्शन का दृष्टिकोन भी हेयोपादेयता के विभाजन से सर्वथा परे रहने का है तब साङ्ख्यादि मतों को हेय कैसे कहा जा सकता है। वस्तुतः असंगति की यह प्रतीति आभासमात्र है। इस दर्शन का वास्तविक दृष्टिकोन समन्वय का हैं। यह मत व्यावहारिक रूप से अन्य मतों की आलोचना करते हुए भी अन्त में उन्हें निश्चित स्तर पर रखता है। अतः अन्य दर्शनों द्वारा प्रदर्शित मोक्षावस्था का भी इस अद्वयज्ञान के क्रम में निश्चित स्थान है[33]। जिसके अनुसार उनका मोक्ष प्रलयाकलता की स्थिति तक पहुँचना मात्र है[34]।

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29. देखिये —तन्त्रालोक, 4. 21, 22, 33, 38.
30. (अ) तेनेह वैष्णवादीनां नाधिकारः कथञ्चन।
    ते हि भेदकवृत्तित्वादभेदे दूरवर्जिताः॥ —तन्त्रालोक, 13. 28–8.
    (ब) वैष्णवाः सौगताः श्रौतास्तथा श्रुत्यन्तवादिनः।
    इत्यादयो नाधिकृता जातुच्चित्पतिशासने॥ —तन्त्रालोकविवेक, 13. 315–16.
31. द्रष्टव्य —शिवदृष्टि, अध्याय 6.
32. वेदादिशास्त्रनिष्ठा मायान्तःपातात् तदुत्तीर्णं शैवं ज्ञानं न लभन्ते। —तन्त्रा. विवेक, 4. 27.
33. (अ) नैरात्म्यदृष्टेश्चात्मदृष्टिर्विशिष्यते, इति साङ्ख्यानां बौद्धेभ्यः पूर्णप्रथात्मकं ज्ञानम् इत्येषां बुद्धितत्त्वोर्ध्ववर्तिपुंस्तत्त्वप्राप्तिः ... ... पातंञ्जलानां पुंस्तत्त्वोर्ध्ववर्तिनियतितत्त्वप्राप्तिः।
    (ब) और भी द्रष्टव्य —भास्करी, 1. 1. 1, पृष्ठ 101; तन्त्रालोकविवेक, 1. 33.
34. द्रष्टव्य —तन्त्रालोक 4. 29–32.

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तन्त्र एवं हठयोग में मुद्रा

लेखक : पीताम्बर झा

अनादिकाल से गुरु-शिष्य परम्परा द्वारा आगत ग्रन्थ सन्दर्भ आगमशास्त्र है। आगम-शास्त्र से ही तन्त्रशास्त्र की उत्पत्ति हुई है। गुरुमुख से शिष्यों द्वारा सुने जाने के कारण जिस प्रकार वेदों को श्रुति कहा जाता है, उसी प्रकार श्रवण-द्वारा उपलब्ध होने के कारण 'आगम' भी श्रुति कहलाती है। हारीत धर्मशास्त्र में कहा गया है कि धर्म को श्रुतियाँ प्रमाणित करती हैं, और श्रुतियाँ वैदिकी और तान्त्रिकी भेद से दो प्रकार की हैं[1]। यही कारण है कि तन्त्र को भी श्रुति कहा जाता है।

कणाद ने धर्म की परिभाषा करते हुए कहा है कि जिससे अभ्युदय और निःश्रेयस की सिद्धि होती है, वह धर्म है[2]। तान्त्रिक शैवागम में प्रवृत्तिपरक और निवृत्तिपरक धर्म को पशुधर्म और पतिधर्म कहा गया है। ये ही दोनों प्रकार के धर्म अभ्युदय और निःश्रेयस के लिए भुक्ति और मुक्ति नामान्तर से तन्त्रशास्त्र में व्यवहृत हुए हैं। वस्तुतः शैव, वैष्णव, शाक्त, बौद्ध और जैन आदि भेद से आगम भिन्न-भिन्न हैं, और उनके भी अनेकानेक भेद-प्रभेद हैं। किन्तु हमें यहाँ आगम या तन्त्र के विस्तृत विवेचना में न जाकर मात्र 'मुद्रा' के ऊपर विचार करना है।

'मुदं आनन्दं राति लाति इति मुद्रा', इस व्युत्पत्ति के अनुसार जिससे आनन्द की प्राप्ति हो, उसे 'मुद्रा' कहते हैं। विजयतन्त्र में कहा गया है कि-सत्सङ्ग के द्वारा मुक्ति प्राप्त होती है तथा असत्सङ्ग के द्वारा बन्धन। अतः असत्सङ्ग को जो दूर करे, वह 'मुद्रा' है[3]। मुद्राओं से देवताओं को प्रसन्नता होती है एवं पापराशि भाग खडी होती है। इसलिए मुद्रा सर्वकर्मसाधिका कही गई है। पूजा, जप, ध्यान, आवाहन, नैवेद्यनिवेदन आदि में मुद्रा आवश्यक है। इस प्रकार की मुद्रा की निरुक्ति 'मुद्राप्रकरण' नामक हस्तलिखित अप्रकाशित ग्रन्थ में की गई है[4]। वैसे मुद्रा का जो सर्वसामान्य अर्थ है, वह है आकृति या आकारविशेष। मुद्रा या आकृति का मूलस्रोत पृथ्वी पर सृष्टिरचना के आरम्भ से ही दिखाई पडता है। जब भी मनुष्य या पशु-पक्षी किसी खास आकृति में होते होंगे, तभी यह अमुक मुद्रा में है, ऐसा प्रयोग होता होगा। आदि वैदिक-काल में इसका स्वरूप अङ्गुलियों से अवगुण्ठित उन आकृतियों से होता था, जो कि अपने मन की पृष्ठभूमि में विशेष भावोद्दीपन के लिए धारण किये जाते थे। उपनिषदों में कहा भी गया है — 'देवताविशेषप्रीतिजनिका अङ्गुलिरचना मुद्रा' ईस्वीपूर्व पाँचवी शती से तीसरी ईस्वी तक

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1. अथातो धर्मं व्याख्यास्यामः। श्रुतिप्रमाणको धर्मः। श्रुतिश्च द्विविधा वैदिकी तान्त्रिकी च।
2. यतोऽभ्युदयनिःश्रेयससिद्धिः स धर्मः।
3. सत्सङ्गेन भवेन्मुक्तिरसत्सङ्गेषु बन्धनम्।
   असत्सङ्गमुद्रणं यस्मात्तन्मुद्रा परिकीर्तितम्।
4. मोदनात् सर्वदेवानां द्रावणात्पापसन्ततेः।
   तस्मान्मुद्रेति सा ख्याता सर्वकर्मार्थसाधिनी॥ —तान्त्रिक साहित्य, p. 526.

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तान्त्रिक वाङ्मय में मुद्रा का वर्णन इसी भावना को प्रधान मानकर दिया गया है। किन्तु यह शब्द भी काल के साथ अपने स्वरूप को परिवर्तित करता आ रहा है।

बाद में (चतुर्थ शती के बाद) मुद्रा शब्द का सामान्य अर्थों के साथ-साथ गम्भीर अर्थ में भी प्रयोग होने लगा। खासकर साधनाकाल में शरीर की या किसी अङ्गविशेष की कुछ विशिष्ट आकृति को मुद्रा कहा जाने लगा। जैसे– अङ्कुशमुद्रा[5], अभयमुद्रा[6], कुम्भमुद्रा[7], वरमुद्रा[8], शङ्खमुद्रा[9] आदि। इस प्रकार के अनेकानेक आकृतिविशेषजन्य मुद्राओं के नामकरण के बाद तन्त्रसाधकों का ध्यान इन मुद्राओं के अभ्यास से प्राप्त लाभों को देखकर, बाद में इसको कुछ खास अभ्यास से भी संयुक्त कर विशिष्ट स्थिति में विशिष्ट मुद्रा का ही अभ्यास हो, ऐसा नियमन कर दिया गया। तान्त्रिकपद्धति में मुद्रा का उपयोग यहाँ तक हुआ।

वैसे बीच में एक ऐसा भी समय आया, जब तन्त्र की विकृतियों के साथ मुद्राओं में भी विकृतियाँ आयी। एक समय जो मुद्रा सम्मान का स्थान प्राप्त किये थी वही असम्मानजनक लगने लगी। उनमें वज्रोली, सहजोली आदि मुद्राओं का समावेश है। यद्यपि असंग द्वारा वर्णित 'गुह्यसमाजतन्त्र' में (तीसरी शती) हठयोग से समन्वय की जात हमें मिलती है[10]। किन्तु इसके बहुत बाद में लगभग आठवीं शती के अन्त से बारहवीं शती तक के काल में बौद्धों के महायान का परिवर्तित रूप 'मन्त्रयान' और फिर 'वज्रयान' के रूप में उभरा। इस परिवर्तन में वज्रयान में मन्त्र और योग के साथ मद्य और मैथुन भी सम्मिलित हो गया। इस प्रकार वज्रयान सम्प्रदाय लगभग चार सौ वर्षों तक अपने दिन देखकर पतनोन्मुख हुआ। वज्रयानियों में प्रायः सभी वर्ण के साधक थे। इस कारण इसमें वर्ण और वर्ग की भावना थी। प्रत्येक वज्रयानी साधक एक महामुद्रा के सम्पर्क में अवश्य रहता था। वह किसी नीच जाति की रूपवती स्त्री को अपने लिये चुन लेता था और फिर गुरु के आदेश से उसे अपनी महामुद्रा बना लेता था। उसके सहवास में रहकर ही उस साधक की हर प्रकार की साधना चला करती थी। उन दोनों की वृत्तियों में साम्य लाने के प्रयत्न सहवास के द्वारा ही किये जाते थे। इन सिद्धान्तों के कारण साधना कामप्रधान बन गयी। इसका दुष्प्रभाव समाज में बड़ी तीव्रता से फैलने लगा। आगे चलकर यह वज्रयानी सम्प्रदाय ही सहजयान सम्प्रदाय के रूप में परिवर्तित हो गया। और तब सहजयानियों ने वज्रयान में प्रचलित मन्त्र आदि बाह्यसाधनों की उपेक्षा करके मानसिक शक्तियों के विकास पर ही विशेष ध्यान दिया। उन्होंने अपने पूर्वजों के मूल पारिभाषिक शब्दों को

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5. दक्षमुष्टिगृहीतस्य वाममुष्टेस्तु मध्यमाम्।
प्रसार्य तर्जन्याकुञ्चेत्सेयमङ्कुशमुद्रिका॥
6. अर्धीकृतो दक्षहस्तः प्रसृतोऽभयमुद्रिका। —शा. ति. 73.
7. दक्षाङ्गुष्ठे पराङ्गुष्ठं क्षिप्त्वा हस्तद्वयेन तु।
सावकाशात्मकं मुष्टिं कुर्यात्कुम्भस्य मुद्रिका॥
8. अधोमुखो वामहस्तः प्रसृतो वरमुद्रिका। —शा. ति. 73.
9. वामाङ्गुष्ठं तु संगृह्य दक्षिणेन तु मुष्टिना।
कृत्वोत्तानं तथा मुष्टिमङ्गुष्ठन्तु प्रसारयेत्॥
वामाङ्गुल्यस्तथा शिष्टाः संयुक्ताः सुप्रसारिताः।
दक्षिणाङ्गुष्ठसंस्पृष्टा मुद्रा शङ्खस्य चोदिता॥ —शा. ति.
10. यदा न सिद्ध्यते बोधिर्हठयोगेन साधयेत्॥ —गु. स. त. 18/162.

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स्वीकार करते हुए भी उनको अपनी व्याख्या से विभूषित किया। इस प्रकार वज्रयान में जो वज्र शब्द पुंसेन्द्रिय का प्रतीक था, वह सहजयान में उस प्रज्ञा का बोधक बना लिया गया, जो बोधिचित्त का सार है[11]।

तन्त्र अपने आप में एक पूर्ण योग है। तान्त्रिक सिद्धियों के लिए योगाभ्यास अनिवार्य है। तन्त्रशास्त्र एक वस्तु को दूसरे वस्तु से मिलाने को योग मानता है[12]। अभिनवगुप्त ने कहा है कि— यदि मनुष्य गार्हस्थ्य जीवन बिताते हुए, लौकिक सुखों का अनुभव करते हुए, शास्त्र-विधि से भोगवासनाओं को तृप्त करते हुए माहेश्वरआगम द्वारा बताये गये योग का अभ्यास करे तो वह आत्मानन्दकला का रसास्वादन करता है[13]। इस प्रकार के अभ्यास से सभी सांसारिक भोगों से विरक्ति हो जाति है। और मन में यह विचार पैदा होता है कि— 'किमेतैःक्षणिकैर्भोगैः ?' इन क्षणिक भोगों में क्या धरा है ? इस प्रकार का निरादर भाव उत्पन्न होने पर साधक इन्द्रियों के कार्यव्यापार विषयभोगों की तृष्णा से विरत हो जाता है।

नाट्य-नाटकों में भी अधिकांश रूप में बाह्यशरीराकृतिपरक अर्थ लेकर मुद्रा का उपयोग पर्याप्त रूप में होता है। अभिनयकाल में कलाकार अपने शरीर की विभिन्न आकृतियों के द्वारा अपनी भावना को अभिव्यक्त करता है। किन्तु यहाँ पर इस आकृति का सम्बन्ध शारीरिक या भावनिक स्तर तक ही अधिकांशतः रहता है। साधना की दृष्टि से आध्यात्मिक मार्ग में प्रगति के लिए यह अधिक उपयोगी नहीं होता है।

मुद्राओं का तीसरा परिवर्तन नाथपन्थियों के समय में प्रारम्भ हुआ, जिसमें हठयोग का प्राधान्य था। यहाँ मुद्राएँ अङ्गुलियों के अवगुण्ठन में न रहकर शरीर के आन्तरिक धरातल पर कुछ विशिष्ट प्रक्रियाएँ बन गयीं। तब इस मुद्रा को हठयोग का एक अङ्ग मानकर इसका विधिवत् अभ्यास किया जाने लगा। और इसके परिणाम बडे ही विलक्षण तथा आध्यात्मिक मार्ग में प्रगति के लिए उपयोगी प्रमाणित होने लगे।

नाथों के योग की विशेषता यह थी कि उसमें संयम के कायिक पक्ष पर बल दिया गया था। इसका सम्बन्ध शारीरिक-नाडी विषयक तथा प्राणसञ्चार सम्बन्धी ज्ञान से विशेष है। नाथों का सामान्य सिद्धान्त उन भौतिकतत्त्वों का ज्ञान है, जिनको हम जाग्रत् अवस्था में स्थूलतम रूप में पाते हैं और सम्प्रज्ञात या तथाकथित सस्मिता समाधि में सूक्ष्मतम रूप में अनुभव करते हैं।

आनन्द ज्ञान से प्राप्त होता है और योग की सहज अभिव्यक्ति ही ज्ञान है। यह ज्ञान पुस्तक-ज्ञान से भिन्न होता है। पुस्तकों से प्राप्त सैद्धान्तिक-ज्ञान को नाथों ने हेय माना है। इसीसे यह कहा गया है कि– 'योग से रहित ज्ञान मोक्ष के लिए नहीं होता'[14]। नाथों की यह स्पष्ट धारणा है कि योग के विना सिद्धि प्राप्त करना असम्भव है[15]।

11. कबीर एक विवेचन (ले. डॉ. सरनामसिंह शर्मा), p. 123.
12. योगमेकत्वमिच्छन्ति वस्तुनोऽन्येन वस्तुना॥ —त. शा.
13. अनादरविरक्त्यैव गलन्तीन्द्रियवृत्तयः।
    यावत्तु विनियम्यन्ते तावत्तावद्विकुर्वते॥ —मालतीविजयवार्त्तिक
14. योगेन रहितं ज्ञानं मोक्षाय नो भवेत्।
15. सन्मार्गश्च योगमार्गः तदितरस्तु पाषण्डमार्गः॥ —सिद्धसिद्धान्तपद्धति

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गोरक्षनाथ का कहना है कि हठयोग-साधना में मुद्रा के द्वारा कुण्डलिनीजागरण होने पर, ब्रह्मरन्ध्र तक पहुँचने पर अनाहतनाद सुनाई पढता है, जो समस्त सारतत्त्वों का सार है और गम्भीर से भी गम्भीर है। इसीसे ब्रह्मानुभूति की स्थिति उपलब्ध होती है, जो स्वसंवेद्यता के कारण अनिर्वचनीय है[16]। इस प्रकार गोरक्षनाथ प्राणक्रिया तथा मुद्रा-प्रधान योग साधना को वेदाध्ययन से भी अधिक महत्त्व देते हैं[17]।

तान्त्रिक मान्यता के अनुसार योग को चार भागों में विभक्त कर इसे महायोग की संज्ञा दी गई है। "मन्त्रो हठो लयो राजयोगान्तः भूमकाः क्रमात्। एक एव चतुर्धायं महा-योगोऽभिधीयते"। इनमें पहला है– मन्त्रयोग। "मननात् त्रायते इति मन्त्रः" इस अर्थ के अनुसार इस योग में कुछ खास-खास तान्त्रिक मन्त्रों (बीजमन्त्रों) के जप आदि के द्वारा साधक को विशेष दैवी सहायता प्राप्त होती है, जिससे वह अपनी साधना में सफल होता है। इस क्रिया से वीज में निहित अन्तःशक्ति साधक के चित् व मन पर प्रभाव डालता है। और साधक के चित् अस्तित्व में एक विचित्र प्रकार की महाशक्ति उत्पन्न करती है[18]।

इसके बाद है हठयोग। हठयोग एक ऐसा विज्ञान है, जिसके द्वारा साधक शरीर की गहराई में सफलतापूर्वक उतर सकता है। इस योग में 'ह' और 'ठ' के मिलन के द्वारा साधक उस स्थिति में पहुँचता है, जिसे मुद्रा कहा जाता है। इडा-पिङ्गला के मिलन से अभीतक जो प्राणवायु इन नाडियों से आ-जा रहा था, उसका प्रवेश-सुषुम्ना में हो जाता है। जब सुषुम्ना में वह वायु प्रविष्ट होता है और धीरे-धीरे ऊपर की ओर चींटी जैसे सरकता है, तब उस अलौकिक आह्लाददायक संवेदनात्मक अनुभव को बडी ही सतर्कतापूर्वक पूर्ण एकाग्रता के साथ के साथ अनुभव करना या देखना मुद्रा है। इसके लिए प्रथम साधक को बाह्येन्द्रियों को भीतर की ओर उन्मुख करना होता है अर्थात् प्रत्याहार की स्थिति लानी होती है। इस प्रकार जब सभी इन्द्रियों अन्तर्मुख हो जाती है, तब अपने मन को उस आन्तरिक संवेदनात्मक अनुभव को ही देखने में लगाकर इस मुद्रा का अभ्यास किया जाता है। इसी स्थिति को कुण्डलिनीप्रबोध की संज्ञा दी जाती है[19]।

इस प्रकार कुण्डलिनीजागरण के लिए मोटे तौर पर मुद्राओं के दस विभाग किये गए है[20]। इन दस मुद्राओं के अभ्यास से आन्तरिक रूप में प्राण की कुछ खास आकृति का अनुभव

16. सारमसारं गहरगभीरं गगन उचलिया नादम्।
मानिक पायां केरि लुकाया झूठा वादविवादम्॥ —गोरखवानी
17. कवीरः एक विवेचन (ले. डॉ. सरनाम सिंह शर्मा), p. 143.
18. तन्त्र सिद्धान्त और साधना (ले. देवदत्त शास्त्री), p. 108.
19. येन मार्गेण गन्तव्यं ब्रह्मस्थानं निरामयम्।
मुखेनाच्छाद्य तद्वारं प्रसुप्ता परमेश्वरी॥
उद्घाटयेत्कपाटं तु यथा कुञ्चिकया हठात्।
कुण्डलिन्या तथा योगी मोक्षद्वारं विभेदयेत्॥
विविधैरासनैः कुम्भैः विचित्रैः करणैरपि।
प्रबुद्धायां महाशक्तौ प्राणः शून्ये विलीयते। —हठप्रदीपिका III. 102–103, IV. 10.
20. महामुद्रा महाबन्धो महावेधश्च खेचरी। उड्डीयानं मूलबन्धस्ततो जालन्धराभिधः॥
करणी विपरीताख्या वज्रोली शक्तिचालनम्॥ —हठप्रदीपिका III. 6.

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लेने के लिए प्रथम शरीर को विशिष्ट आकृति में (आसन में) रखकर साथ ही प्राणका निरोध (कुम्भक) कर त्रिबन्धों[21] के साथ अभ्यास किया जाता है, जिससे कि शरीर के अन्तर्गत प्राण के उसी प्रकार की आकृति का अनुभव हो। पर्याप्त अभ्यास के बाद जब साधक इन मुद्राओं के शरीराकृति का अभ्यास प्राणनिरोध के साथ करने में समर्थ होता है, तब उसके अन्दर स्तम्भित प्राणवायु का संस्पर्श के उठने का अनुभव होना प्रारम्भ होता है। और तब इसे ही प्राणसंस्पर्श का उठना, अलौकिक संवेदना का अनुभव होना या कुण्डलिनी का जगना कहा जाता है। इस प्रकार इन दसों मुद्राओं के द्वारा कुण्डलिनी जागृत करना मुद्रा का मुख्य उद्देश्य होता है। घेरण्डसंहिता में भी इसी प्रकार का मिलता-जुलता मुद्रा का वर्णन मिलता है। किन्तु वहाँ पर मुद्रा की संख्या बढाकर पच्चीस कर दी गयी है[22]।

किन्तु मुद्रा का कार्य यहीं समाप्त नहीं हो जाता, अपि तु कुण्डलिनी जागृति के बाद उस अलौकिक आनन्द का सर्वतोभावेन अनुभव लेते रहना भी मुद्रा की स्थिति में ही होता है। अतः कहा जा सकता है कि मुद्रा हठयोग की वह स्थिति है, जिसमें हठयोगी का चित्, मन पूर्ण शान्त होकर मात्र आन्तरिक अनुभवों का ही आस्वाद लेता है। यही कारण है कि मुद्रा का हठयोग के अन्तिम अङ्ग नादानुसन्धान से ठीक पहले तीसरे अङ्ग के रूप में स्थान है[23]।

इसके बाद है लययोग। इस योग में हठयोग के मुद्राओं के पर्याप्त अभ्यास से प्राप्त कुण्डलिनीजागरण और उस जागरण से उत्पन्न नाद में ही मन को लय कर देने का अभ्यास किया जाता है। उस स्थिति में सभी विषयों की विस्मृति होकर वासनाओं का सर्वथा अभाव हो जाता है[24]। साथ ही सभी प्रकार की चेष्टाएँ भी समाप्त हो जाती है। तथा साधकों में एक प्रकार की अपूर्ण एवं अलौकिक लय की उत्पत्ति होती है, जिसे अनुभव तो किया जा सकता है किन्तु वर्णन नहीं किया जा सकता है[25]।

इसके बाद इस महायोग की अन्तिम कडी है राजयोग। यह राजयोग लय से उत्पन्न समाधि को ही कहा जाता है[26]। इस प्रकार हठ और लय की सभी प्रक्रियाएँ राजयोग की प्राप्ति के लिए ही होती है। राजयोग प्राप्त कर लेने वाला योगी मृत्यु को जीत लेता है[27]।

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21. उड्डीयान, मूलबन्ध, जालन्धरबन्ध,
22. महामुद्रा नभोमुद्रा उड्डीयानं जलन्धरम्। मूलबन्धो महाबन्धो महावेधश्च खेचरी॥
    विपरीतकरी योनिर्वज्रोली शक्तिचालिनी। ताडागी माण्डुकी मुद्रा शाम्भवी पञ्चधारणा॥
    अश्विनी पाशिनी काकी मातङ्गी च भुजङ्गिनी।
    पञ्चविंशतिमुद्राश्च सिद्धिदा इह योगिनाम्॥ —घेरण्डसंहिता III. 1-3.
23. आसनं कुम्भकं चित्रं मुद्राख्यं करणं तथा।
    अथ नादानुसन्धानमभ्यासानुक्रमो हठे॥ —हठप्रदीपिका I. 56.
24. लयो लय इति प्राहुः कीदृशं लय लक्षणम्।
    अपुनर्वासनोत्थानाल्लयो विषयविस्मृतिः॥ —हठप्रदीपिका IV. 38.
25. उच्छिन्नसर्वसङ्कल्पो निःशेषाशेषचेष्टितः।
    स्वावगम्यो लयः कोऽपि जायते वागगोचरः॥ —हठप्रदीपिका IV. 32.
26. लयोद्भवमिदं सौख्यं राजयोगादवाप्यते॥ हठप्रदीपिका IV. 78.
27. सर्वे हठलयोपाया राजयोगस्य सिद्धये।
    राजयोगसमारूढः पुरुषः कालवञ्चकः॥ —हठप्रदीपिका IV. 103.

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शास्त्रानुसार चित्तनदी उभयतोवाहिनी है। वह संसार की ओर प्रकट रूप में निरन्तर बहिर्मुख अथवा अधोमुख होकर बह रही है। एवं वही पुनः कल्याण की ओर गुप्त रूप से अन्तर्मुख अथवा ऊर्ध्वमुख होकर बह रही है। यह जो ऊर्ध्वमुखी या अन्तर्मुखी धारा है, यह मानवशरीर के मेरुदण्ड के बीच में स्थित सुषुम्ना नाडी का अवलम्बन कर प्रवाहित होती है। और बहिर्मुखी या अधोमुखी धारा इडा और पिङ्गला एवं उनकी असंख्य शाखा-प्रशाखाओं का अवलम्बन कर प्रवाहित होती है।

बौद्धसाधना में श्वास-प्रश्वास पर ध्यान करने की जो प्रक्रिया प्रचलित है, उसे 'आनापान स्मृति' कहा जाता है। इस ध्यान के अभ्यास में न तो क्रियायोग है और न प्राणों का निरोध है। केवल प्राणों की गति पर मन को स्थिर किया जाता है। वस्तुतः आनापानस्मृति ध्यान एक प्रकार का मानसिक ध्यान या हठयौगिक मुद्रा है। इस मानसिक क्रिया के अभ्यास से सूक्ष्मता की वृद्धि होती है। इस ध्यान का अभ्यास करने के लिए स्मृति और प्रज्ञा का निर्मल होना आवश्यक बताया गया है। स्मृति की निर्मलता के अनुसार ही निरीक्षण की स्पष्टता बढती है। स्मृति जितनी दृढ होगी निरीक्षणता उतनी ही स्थायी बनती है। इस ध्यान या मुद्रा में अस्पष्टता या चञ्चलता बाधा मानी गई है। आनापानस्मृति ध्यान या मुद्रा के लिए एकान्त स्थान और पद्मासन या सिद्धासन को उपयोगी बताया गया है। किन्तु प्राथमिक अभ्यासकाल में शवासन को भी प्रधानता दी गयी है। रात में चित्त लेटकर निश्चेष्ट होकर इसका अभ्यास प्रारम्भ में किया जाता है। प्रारम्भ में श्वासों पर ध्यान जमाया जाता है। श्वास-प्रश्वास अपनी स्वाभाविक गति से चलते रहते है। साधक केवल उनका निरीक्षण करता है। श्वास कहाँ से उठा, किस प्रकार धीरे-धीरे बाहर निकला, फिर किस प्रकार लौठकर प्रवेश किया, इन सब बातों का निरीक्षण करता हुआ साधक अपने मन में अन्य और कोई वासना या भावना नहीं लाता है। इस प्रकार का अभ्यास बढते-बढते जब यही निरीक्षण कार्य मात्र आन्तरिक संवेदनात्मक प्रवाह के लिए होता है, तब वह मुद्रा कहा जाता है।

गोरक्षनाथविरचित ग्रन्थ 'अमरौघशासनम्' में मुद्रा को इन्होंने 'सारणा' कहते हुए इस प्रकार वर्णन किया है कि– शरीर के आन्तरिक शक्तियों में से ऊपरी शक्ति अर्थात् प्राण को नीचे की ओर लाना, नीचे की शक्ति अर्थात् अपान को मूलबन्ध के द्वारा ऊपर की ओर लाना तथा मध्यशक्ति अर्थात् सुषुम्ना को जगाने से परमाह्लादक आनन्द का अनुभव होता है[28]। सरण होना अर्थात् धीरे-धीरे प्राण का प्रसार होना या सरकना" इसी अर्थ को ध्यान में रखते हुए गोरक्षनाथ ने मुद्रा को सारणा कहा है। निम्नलिखित दो श्लोकों में भी मुद्रा के द्वारा यही कुण्डलिनीजागरण की प्रक्रिया का वर्णन विस्तार से किया गया है[29]।

28. ऊर्ध्वशक्तिनिपाताच्च तथाधःशक्तिकुञ्चनात्।
मध्यशक्तिप्रबोधेन जायते परमं सुखम्॥ —अमरौघशासनम्, p. 1.

29. यच्चन्द्रप्रभवं वराम्बरगतं यल्लिङ्गसंज्ञं जलम्।
स प्राणस्तदधः स्थिरं च कमलं धत्ते मुखोर्ध्वं हृदि।
बद्ध्वा कुम्भकमात्मगाढरचितं तद्ब्रह्मनाडीगतम्
ध्यानेतुं वदने षडध्वगकला सैवंविधा धारणा॥

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शाम्भवीमुद्रा के वर्णनप्रसङ्ग में श्रीस्वात्माराम ने भी कहा है– लक्ष्य अन्दर की ओर और निर्निमेष दृष्टि बाहर की ओर रखना वेदशास्त्रों में गुप्त रूप से वर्णित शाम्भवी मुद्रा है[30]। खेचरीमुद्रा के वर्णनप्रसङ्ग में भी उन्होंने कहा है– शक्ति के बीच मन को तथा मन के बीच शक्ति को कर के मन से ही मन को देखते रहना खेचरीमुद्रा है[31]।

गोरक्षनाथ ने भी अपने अमरौघशासनम् में यही कहा है। वे कहते है— केचिद्वदन्ति शुभाशुभकर्मविच्छेदं मोक्षः। केचिद्वदन्ति वेदपाठाश्रितो मोक्षः। केचिद्वदन्ति निरालम्बनलक्षणो मोक्षः। केचिद्वदन्ति ध्यानकलाकरणसम्बद्धप्रयोगसम्भवेन रूपबिन्दुचैतन्यपिण्डाकाशलक्षणो मोक्षः। केचिद्वदन्ति पूजापूजकममद्यमांसादिसुरतप्रसङ्गमानन्दलक्षणो मोक्षः। केचिद्वदन्ति मूलकन्दोल्लासित कुण्डलिनीसञ्चारलक्षणो मोक्षः। केचिद्वदन्ति सुसमदृष्टिनिपातलक्षणो मोक्षः। इत्येवं विधभावनाश्रितलक्षणो मोक्षो न भवति। अथ मोक्षपदं कथ्यते– यत्र सहजसमाधिक्रमेण मनसा मनः समालोक्यते स एव मोक्षः[32]।

जैसे ही हम शरीर के भीतर होनेवाली क्रियाओं का अनुभव करने लगते है तथा मनन और चिन्तन की प्रवृत्तियों पर ध्यान देते हैं वैसे ही स्थूल से हटकर सूक्ष्म में प्रवेश कर जाते हैं। तब बाह्य स्थूलरूपता के अतिरिक्त कुछ अन्तः सूक्ष्म जगत् भी है ऐसा भासित होने लगता है। इसी के साथ ऐसा भी प्रतीत होने लगता है कि सूक्ष्म जगत् पर जो विचार कर रहा है, वह इस सूक्ष्म एवं स्थूल जगत् से भी भिन्न है। एक दृश्य है तो दूसरा द्रष्टा है। एक विचार्य है तो दूसरा विचारक है। एक अनुभवनीय है तो दूसरा अनुभवकर्ता है।

इस प्रकार प्राचीनकाल से लेकर आजतक मुद्रा में हुए परिवर्तन और तत्प्रयुक्त लाभालाभों को देखने के बाद यह स्पष्ट हो जाता है कि हठयोग के तीसरे अङ्ग के रूप में आज जो मुद्रा का समावेश है वह वास्तव में आसन-प्राणायाम और बन्धों के साथ किए गए अभ्यास के समय उठनेवाले आन्तरिक एवं अलौकिक संवेदनात्मक संस्पर्श का अनुभव प्राप्त करनेवाली सम्पूर्णतः बाह्यरूप से निष्क्रिय एवं आन्तरिक रूप से पूर्णतः एकाग्रवृत्ति ही है। और मुद्रा का यही अर्थ यहाँ भी स्पष्ट करने का प्रयास किया गया है।

(Continued from the last page)

आधाराम्बुजकोशकन्दभुजगी सम्भूयनाडीत्रयात्
चन्द्रार्कोन्द्ववनाडिकोर्ध्वयुगलं चाद्वैतपथ्यागतम्।
तत्रैवाङ्गुलिभिर्निपीड्य क्रमशः शान्ति मनोभासतम्
चन्द्रो याति रविं ततश्च भुवने तुल्ये महासारणा॥ —अमरौघशासनम्, pp. 1–2.

30. अन्तर्लक्ष्यं बहिर्दृष्टिः निमेषोन्मेषवर्जिता।
एषा सा शाम्भवी मुद्रा वेदशास्त्रेषु गोपिता॥

31. शक्तिमध्ये मनः कृत्वा शक्तिं मानसमध्यगाम्।
मनसा मन आलोक्य धारयेत्परमं पदम्॥ —हठप्रदीपिका IV. 36, 54.

32. अमरौघशासनम्, p. 9.

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LING T'AI-HOU – HER CONTRIBUTION TOWARDS BUDDHISM

By

LATIKA LAHIRI

The greatest attaraction of a woman is considered to be her beauty, grace, dignity, skilfulness and talent. Since the dawn of civilisation, history has witnessed rise and fall of many kingdoms, thrones had been tottered, wars were waged for the glorious beauty and statesmanship of women.

Although there is voluminous literature on Chinese bibliography yet few books entirely deal with the achievements or the history of notable women of ancient China. The material for the present work is gathered from all the primary Chinese works supplemented by historical facts from Wei-shu Shih lao Chih, Lo yang Chia-lan Chih as well as from valuable material obtained from Japaneses sources Yun-kang caves and the Study of Lung-men caves by Mizune Seuchi and Nagahiro Teshio.

The tále of Dowager Empress Ling T'ai-heu throws many interesting sidelights upon the elegance and magnificence of monasteries and other Buddhist shrines in North China during the 5th century when Northern-Wei Dynasty was at the height of its popularity. Apart from historical, religious and intensively human interest, it will furnish ample materials for the growth and development of Buddhism in the Northern-Wei Dynasty A. D. 386–534. Among all the famous women of ancient China she holds a very important position so far as her power and control of the State and propagation of Buddhism are concerned. For the propagation of Buddhism she is an important historical character; ambitious, power-loving, exquisitively beautiful, she had undisputed power over the empire. Entering into the palace, she not only acquired personal power over the Emperor but also accumulated enormous wealth. Lo yang which remained an Imperial capital for centuries still exhibits numerous reminiscences of ancient Buddhist monuments particularly works of art and sculpture during the ruling period of Ling T'ai-hou.

A tribal state emerged in the last part of the 4th century under the name of Northern-Wei, their state was founded by Hsien-pei nationality of To ba tribe of Meng-Ch'iang district who had simple personal life mostly depending on hunting for their livelihood. The Northern-Wei, a semi sinicised state, gradually grew in power extending their territory, conqured Kan-su a Strategic centre

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through which exchange of Western culture took place. Kan-su had very close relation with the Buddhist countries. From the time of the Han Dynasty B. C. 206–220 A. D. the political principle was guided by the Confucian ethics. So the political system of the ruling family of the Northern-Wei Dynasty was also greatly influenced by the accepted Confucian theory. But they had unstinted and unfaltering faith in the great grandeur and magnificience of the Buddhist religion and became great patron of that religion.

In 493 A. D. during the regime of the Emperor Hsuan Wu the capital was transferred from Ta-tung to Lovang when great erudite scholar monk Kumarajiva's teaching was highly admired and respected by the Imperial family. His important translations of the popular Sūtras like Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, Vimalakīrtinirdeśa had profound influence on the Buddhist art and sculptures of the time of Ling T'ai-hou. The promotion of Buddhism in all its aspects whether in the field of art, sculpture, literature, etc. unceasing endeavours were made not only by the Emperors, Empresses, imperial families, wives of nobles, monks and nuns irrespectively but also by common people. During this period contribution by women is of significant value. Among many women whose name shines like a bright star during this obscure but significant epoch is the name of Dowager Empress Ling T'ai-hou.

Ling T'ai-hou, the regent mother originally belonged to the Hu-shin family who was great flowers of Buddhism. Both her own family and husband's family by being devotees of Buddha she inherited this faith and became an ardent follower of Buddhism herself. During the reign of Hsuan Wu-ti one Bhiksuni frequently visited the palace where she gave discourse on Buddhism. Ling T'ai-hou being very intelligent and prudent attentively listened to her discourses and discussions. This had profound impression on her young mind. She could realise the Truth of the Faith. She was a constant compaion of the Fmperor and attended the religious gatherings with her husband, Husan Wu-ti.

In the first month of the Yen-Ch'ang[1] period, Hsuan Wu-ti suddenly died at the age of thirty-three leaving his six year old son, heir apparent to the throne. The widow Empress Kao-shih left the palace and lived in the Yao-kuang nunnery built by the Emperor, as a nun. Ling T'ai-hou became the regent mother of the Crown Prince Suan-Tsung and commanded supreme power of the State. As a regent, she offered most exalthed post of Shih-chung (Secretary General) to her father Hu Koa-chen who had free access to the palace and could discuss the urgent and important matters of the State. The brothers and sisters of the regent mother also got high posts who then possessed enormous wealth. During her

1. The last of the four important eras of the Emperor Hsuan Wu, 512 A.D.

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rule the high officials and the richest all belonged to her father's family who were keen followers of Euddhism. Her father Hu Kno-chen was very liberal and progressive in views, he never believed in witch-craft, ghosts and superstition. He had faith only in Buddhism.

Every year on the 7th or 8th April the citizens of the capital city used to celebrate the Birth anniversary of Buddha by circumambulation of the image of Buddha. This was the biggest festival in Lo-yang. In the first year of Shen-kuei period A.D. 617, the eighty year old father died probably of exhaustion while circumambulating to celebrare the Buddha's birth anniversary. The Dowager Empress issued an order rhat during the 49 days of mourning period, every seventh day one thousand monks were to be invited for food and seven men were to be ordained as monks. On the 100th day ten thousand people were to be invited for a feast and fourteen best men were to be chosen for ordination.

The most outstanding Buddhist activity carried out by Ling T'ai-hou was the construction of many Buddhist temples and monasteries in Lo-yang. The work of construction was started when the country was enjoying unparalleled prosperity and stability. It was recorded that "the treasure preseated by the surrounding countries to the Northern Wei court were so bountiful that during the period of 518–524 A. D. the Imperial Store house was stocked full of them, so full in fact that the Empress Dowager in a grand jesture of generosity opened the doors and permitted her courtiers to take away whatever they could carry".[2]

During her time high officials were highly paid off. The traders, merchants and artisans maintained a high standarad of life. Among them there, were constant competition to show off their wealth and riches. The merchants, traders and artisans used to live in palatial buildings, wear expensive and good clothes, eat rich food; their slave girls also used embroidered beautiful satins against the Imperial order but they paid least attention to the order.[3] The economic prosperity of the State, individual officers, nobles, traders and merchants artisans was due to the flourishing foreign trade. There was constant flow of trade with Western region. As a result of this trade precious and valuable things entered China, along with these commodities also came Buddhist monks from distant countries creating a great upsurge in the world of Buddhism in China. Among them Buddhiruci and Ratnamati were the most renowned for the propagation of Buddhism specially for the cause of translation of many Mahāyāna Sūtras which greatly influenced Ling T'ai-hou's Buddhist activities.

2. Kenneth K. S. Ch'en– *Buddhism in China*, p. 161, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1964.

3. Yang Hsuan-chi– *Lo-yang Chia-lan chi* (Record of the Monasteries in Lo-yang).

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With enormous wealth she constructed two Buddhist temples Ch'in-t'ai-kung hsi and Tung-Ssu (Temple for Western ancestor of Chin Shensi, Purvarama respectively) for her departed father and aunt, the third temple Ch'in-t'ai shang chun (Mother who is in heaven) for her mother, the fourth one for her paternal aunt known as Hu-tung whlch was a nunnery. Among all these temples the temple which was for her mother was splendid and magnificient one. In these temples there were regular discourses of Buddhist Sūtras by the Śramaṇas of highest virtues lived there. The Hu-tung nunnery was elegant with five-storied stupa where Ling T'ai's aunt lived. It was built as a nunnery where girls of the royal family and nobilities took refuge if they liked to join the Sangha. The nuns of great virtue and knowledge frequently visited the palace to give discourse on Buddhist Sūtras. But the most remarkable temple which she built was Yung-ning (Perpetual Peace) temple that excelled all the other Buddhist temples and shrines in the capital. Nothing was spared by the regent mother to build this imposing, gorgeous temple. Within the compound of the sacred temple a nine-storied stupa rising ninety chang (one chang is equal to ten feet) above the ground, and on the top of the stupa there was another 10 chang high mast which could be seen from a distance of 100 li (3 li makes one mile) from the capital. In Lo-yang Chia-lan chi, Yang Hsuan chih has left a vivid and glorious description of the temple for the posterity.

The growth and development of Buddhism under the royal patronage of Ling T'ai-hou is manifested in this inspiring temple; all around the temple there were golden bells. There was a Buddha hall to the north of the temple which was decorated with numerous Buddha images made in gold inlaid with pearls. The beams of the hall were wonderfully decorated which was beyond description. The temple had hundreds of cells for the virtuous monks. Duting the travel of Bodhidharma,[1] the founder of the Ch'an School in China admitted that he had never witnessed anything like the beauty of this temple. One of the main objects of the Northern-Wei Dynasty was to attract the foreigners coming to the capital with fine and advanced culture of the To-ba people. One monk from Western region standing at the Stupa of the Yung-ning temple remarked "It is beyond the power of human creation, it seems it is the creation of God. Even in Jambudvīpa there is no such beautiful temple – it is unparallel in human history." "No spot is without monastery now. Either side by side they fill the interior of the city or close upon one another they spread over the meat and wine markets. Three or five young monks may join one monastery; Sanskrit chants and cries of butchers unite their echoes under contiguous caves. The statues and stupas wrapped in odours of meat, men's nature and spiritual powers are submerged in

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lust and desire."[4] The author of Loyang-chia lan-chi said that there were about 109,000 households with members of 500,000 or 600,000 and he counted about 1,367 temples in the capital city of Lo-yang only during the time of the Northern Wei Dynasty.

The construction of the Yung-ning temple exhausted the royal treasury. To build the temple enormous amount of building materials, best woods, the best quality of tiles, best sculptors, architects, artisans were needed and employed. The peasants during the lean period were employed to contribute their labour. Besides collectieg materials by spending extravagatly she donated money, distributed food and clothing etc. for the maintenance of the monks. As a result of this royal treasury was exhausted, the common people were tired of collecting materials for the buildings. The first sign of economic crisis was the rise in gold prices due to the unbalanced economy. The price rate of everything gradually increased. Due to this sudden economic crisis at the height of prosperity Ling T'ai-hou had to abandon the previous plan to build a Royal University and a Royal Auditorium. The common people being tired of this economic crisis requested the Emperor to put a stop to lavish expenditure for the cause of Buddhism but the Royal Court paid a deaf ear to their request. In the 1st year of Chang-kuang period in 520 A. D. Yuan Tzu-kung also supported the previous plan of Ling T'ai-hou to build the Royal University and an audience hall. He was of opinion that enough money and national wealth had been spent on Buddhist temples using very expensive materials. The construction of temples should be completely stopped. Expenses for the promotion of Buddhism was cut down. In the beginning of her regency she was greatly assisted by her favourite eunuch Liu-T'eng to carry out her extensive plan of promoting Buddhism. Even the eunuch who exercised a great power over the regent mother and the State built three important nunneries in the capital city. Later on, the same eunuch hatched conspiracy against her, captured the power of the State and put her into prison.

One of her outstanding work for the promotion of Buddhism was to send two Chinese monks to India in 518 A. D. They were known in history as Hui-sheng and Sungh-yun who travelled to India in 516–523 A. D. In India they undoubtedly witnessed the scenes from the Jātaka Sudana which were illustrated in Sanchi, Amaravati and Gandhara. This story of Jātaka is beautifully portrayed at the cave of Pin Yang of Lung-men during the time of Ling T'ai-hou. They went back to China carrying 170 volumes of Mahāyāna Sūtras[5] stil

4. Lo-yang Chia-lan Chi quoted by Kenneth K. S. Ch'en : *Buddhism in China*, p. 163.

5. Lo-yang Chia-lan Chi Chap. 5, Wei-shu Shih-lae Chih 1st Chapter.

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unknown in China. The Chinese scholars malignantly insinuated that the Dowager Empress sent the pilgrim ambassadors Sung-Yun and Hui-Sheng with the expectation of fine Indian muslin which the Empress hankered to possess for more than devotion to the Sūtras. However, they procured for the future generations an account of the voyage which is still existing and which is considered as most important documents of ancient Indo-Chinese geography.

The great Buddhist scholars from India Ratnamati and Bodhiruci lived in the capital city during her time. They were renowned translators of Mahāyāna Sūtras. The most popular work in the north at this time was the Shih-ti Ching-lun Daśabhūmika Sūtra Śāstra, Treatise on the Sūtra concerning the ten stages of Vasubandhu, which was translated by Bodhiruci and Ratnamati in 508 A. D. This work is a commentary on Shih-chu Ching, Daśabhūmika Sūtra. Bodhiruci, initiator or Ti-lun tradition, was also teacher of Pure Land doctrine which had great impact on the Buddhist activities carried out by Ling T'ai-hou.

A more than a fervant Buddhist, she spent money recklessly on the erection of splendid Buddhist monuments in the capital city. Rebellions soon arose, the capital Lo-yang became the centre of disorder. In the second year of the Chang-kuang period in July two eunuchs who were constant companions and great favourites of the Empress put her into prison in 520 A. D. After the end of the Cheng-kuang period, both the eunuchs captured the power of the State. The cause of promoting Buddhism got a considerable set back during her absence. With all these disadvantages the To-ba people inspired by the Buddha's religion carved out of the rocks in Lung-men grottoes which they considered the permanent symbols of their faith in Tathāgata. The state never stopped the excavation of the 3rd cave temple of Lung-men. The excavation during the period of imprisonment of Ling T'ai-hou but it continued under the able guidance of Liu-Teng but during this period the Eunuch Liu died. One of the most important caves of Lung-men the cave Pin-yang-tung is the beautiful representative of master pieces of the Northern-Wei Dynasty. It was completed during the regency of Ling T'ai-hou. She completed many caves like Lien-hua-tung, Wei-tze tung, the 13th and 17th caves respectively of Lung-men.

Ling T'ai hou, when regained her power, gave all assistance and facilities to the Minister of works for the cause of Buddhism.

This period is marked by internal trouble. In 534 natural disaster struck the magnificient Yung ning temple. It was demolished by lightning, fire broke out engulfing the enture temple. The institution was so big that fire was said to have lasted for three months.

The official history paints her, for us, as an unscrupulous politician with very dissolute moral. " She seems to be as energetic in her amorous affairs for

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her lovers succeeded one another, each one powerful for the 'moment' ", though history says she was a devoted Buddhist. She was so powerful that she did not hesitate to murder her son the Crown Prince apprehending that he would be too independent. Still she was a pious devotee of Buddha. This is the tragedy of the Cract Faith. But worse fate was awaiting for her. Eventually the same remarkable woman was drowned in the Yellow river by rebellious General.

The same history with slight change here and there repeated about two hundred years after during the later part of the Great T'ang Dynasty. It reminds us of one of the most famous equally powerful and most artful women of ancient China. She is Yang fei who lived in the T'ang Dynasty A. D. 618–905 and for twenty years was the undisputed mistress in the Imperial Court. Her beauty was unsurpassed, her vivacity unrivalled and was excellent musician, dancer and poetess. The story of Yang Kuei fei is popular throughout China belonging to all walks of life, even illiterate masses of pre-liberation China remembered the history of the most powerful and tragic life of the Imperial concubine. Her misdeed is recorded in history. She met the same fate as Ling T'ai hou met two hundred years ago. The downfall of the greatest T'ang Empire not only in China but also in the whole world started for the wickedness, frivolity, shrewdness and political and personal immorality, though she professed to be a true believer of the Buddha. When her end came she also admitted to the Emperor the sins she committed in all her life. She said "to suffer death is no regret. But first allow me to pray to my God Buddha before meeting the fate in store for me ".

She slowly ascended the steps leading to the shrine of Buddha, prostrated herself before the beneficent God. Then by tragic irony of fate hang herself by the demand of thousands of rebellious armies.[6]

6. For detailed life of Yang Kuei-fei, Chung-kue lin shih, Biography of Li-po and a poem by Pai Chu-yi and Yang Kuei-fei by Shu-ching, Commercial Press Ltd., Sanghai, 1923.

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WEST - ASIAN STUDIES

MOSQUES OF ISTANBUL

By

N. Akmal Ayyubi

The capital of the Republic of Turkey is Ankara but Istanbul it bridges Europe and Asia and is the largest city. Situated at the entrance of Bosphorus and linking the Sea of Marmara to the Black Sea it is rich in historical and artistic resources. It is also one of the most important social and intellectual centres as well as a commercial and an industrial place. The city was first founded on one hill in ancient times but had spread to seven hills in the medieval period and is still spreading rapidly along the shores on the other hills dominating the sea of Marmara, the Bosphorus and the Golden Horn. Encircled almost on all sides by seas, it is nature's exqucsite masterpiece and offers a beautiful diversity of the East and the West as well as of the past and the present. For 1600 years it was in turn the capital of the Roman, Byzantine and the Ottoman Turkish empires and is almost entirely covered by historical monuments. Proportionally to the rise of the Ottoman Turkish Empire, Istanbul grew and prospered and became the greatest centre of art, culture and commerce in the Islamic world. It is graced with numerous masterpieces of Turkish architecture and an elegant display of minarets and domes, dominates and creates impressively beautiful sky-line of the city.

Istanbul is a city of mosques. It has more than 500 mosques. Only Aya Sofya and Kariye were originally churches which were converted into mosques and minarets of Turkish style were added. Others, big or small, all were built during the Ottoman Turkish period. One of the oldest mosques of Istanbul built after the conquest of the city in 1453 is the Mosques of Mahmud Pasha. It was completed in 1462 for the vizir to the Sultan Mehmed Fatih (the conqueror) but the mosque constructed for Sultan Mehmed hisself is the Fatih mosque. First built in 1470, it was so badly destroyed in an earthquake of 1765 that it had to be razed to its foundation and the edifice took its present enlarged form in 1771, during the reign of Sultan Mustafa III (1757–1774).

An inscription on the magnificent marble entrance gate of the Fatih Mosque is in beautifully ordered *thuluth*. It is the work of 'Alī bin Yaḥyā Sūfī' one of the best known calligraphers of the period of Mehmed Fatih and gives the date

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of the construction of the original mosque as 1463–1470. The assertion that the former mosque was built by Byzantine architects, who were supposed to have taken Aya Sofya as a model, is not based on sound foundations since, toward the end of the Byzantine period, architects of Byzantium were no longer able to construct big domes, whereas the Turks had already proven their ability in this, field in the mosques they had built in the cities of Konya, Bursa, Edirne and in other places long before the conquest of Istanbul. It is, therefore, out of the question that the Fatih mosque was built by Byzantine architects and that the Ottoman Turks took Aya Sofya as their model.. Several solutions to the problem of roofing a covered space were founded by the Turks. At the end of the 11th century an experiement of constructing a unified central dome was done by the Turks in the Mosque of Talkhatan Baba built near Merv. This mosque is rectangular in shape and has a central dome extended on each side by cross vaults. Various other developments in mosque building had also taken place before the establishment of the Ottoman Empire in West Asia in 1281. A balancing of the open and closed parts, a harmony between the interior and exterior, the addition of a courtyard to the main mosque with a portico and the addition of a narthex[1] to the mosque were already innovated during the period of the Principalities (*Beyliks*) in Anatolia. In the Ulu Mosque of Bursa (late 14th century) the Ottoman Turks had solved the problem of space by covering the flat ceiling with twenty small domes, placing five domes along each of the four aisless. The Uch Sherefli Mosque of Edirne (1437–1447) is also one of the best examples in which two domes are merged in a large single dome of 24 metres in diameter which is set on hexagonal piers and six arches and then extended at the sides by four small domes. These served as prototypes for later developments. Therefore, it is fallacious to suppose that the Turks had taken Aya Sofya as their model. However, the desire to construct buildings rivaling Aya Sofya had created great impetus to innovate new style. The most important of these domes in a large-scale building like the Fatih Mosque which had presented great difficulties and necessitated great architectural skill. A half-dome of the Fatih Mosque was in the side of *qible* and was attached to a larger central dome of 26 metres in diameter which was extended by three small domes on each side. This took its origin from the attempt to enlarge the dome of the Uch Sherefli Mosque and to achieve unprecedented interior volume. The dome of the Fatih Mosque was collapsed in the earthquake of 1765 and the present-day mosque with its four half-domes was constructed between 1767 and 1771 by the architect named Tahir Agha[2] who was assisted by Kor Yani. Its inner decoration consists

1. Narthex in an enclosed passage.

2. Tahir Agha (1764–1764) was Royal architect. He was the first Turk to adopt the Baroque and Rocoeo styles to Turkish architecture.

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of coloured stone in-lays and tile panels with white lettering of the quranic verses on a blue ground. There are two pencil-liked minarets each having only one balcony. On the southern face of the base of the minaret there is a covered sun-dial attributed to 'Alī Kushju who was a great Turkish mathematician of the 15th century. The original mosque was built by the architect named Atik Sinan al-Din Yūsūf[3] and formed the centre of the Fatih complex (*Kulliye*) composed of the hundreds of domes of the 16 medrasas making up the university of that time, a guest house (*tabhane*), a hospital (*timarhane* or *shifahane*), a caravansari (*han*), baths (*hammam*), tombs and a public soup-kitchen (*imaret*). Mausoleum (*turbe*) of Sultan Mehmed Fatih and his wife Gulbahar Khatum is also there behind the mosque. Its courtyard survived the earthquake and is preserved unchanged. It is surrounded by arcades supported on columns and a conical roofed fountain (*shadirvan*) for ritual ablution in the centre.

The Mosque of Fatih had opened a new era with its great dome and with the addition of a half-dome connected to it. This had made it natural and even imperative to add another half dome on the other side of the mosque for symmetry and for much wider space. It was this idea that gave rise to the two half-domes of the Bayezid Mosque which is also one of the most beautiful and earliest of the large Ottoman mosques.

Situated on one of the seven hills of tee old Istanbul Bayezid Mosque stands on the square of the same name. It was built by order of Sultan Bayezid II (1481–1512) and Hayreddin[4] is said to have been its architect. According to the magnificent inscription on the main gate transcribed by a famous Turkish calligrapher named Shaykh Hamdullah (1430–1520) the mosque was built between 1501 and 1506. It is on a rectangular plan consisting of two squares of equal size, one square being for the courtyard and the other main portion for the prayer (*namāz*) which is covered by a central full dome and two half domes. The central dome which is 18 metres wide in diameter rests on four large pillars forming a square with flat pendentives and pointed arches. Half-domes and supports meet the outward pressure. On both sides of these domes there are side naves each with four domes. The arches supporting these domes and the pillars carrying the large dome rest on large columns of porphyry. The interior of the mosque is lit by means of round arched windows on the half-domes, and by the two rows of windows on the walls.

3. Atik Sinan al-Din Yūsūf was the Royal architect of period of Mehmed Fatih and is buried in the courtyard of the Kumruua Masjid which he himself built in 1471.

4. Architect of the Mosque of Bayezid was Heyreddin but Yakub Shah was the Royal Architect of Bayezid II.

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The Mosque of Bayezid has also been linked to that of Aya Sofya but the two buildings have no resemblance to each other either in plan or in architecture. They are, in the words of Oktay Aslanapa,[5] as different as two separate worlds. The Mosque of Bayezid is a natural development of the early architecture of the Turks. It is a fact, however, that the Aya Sofya had aroused a great admiration of Ottoman architects but the ideas and inspirations they received from it were found in their own style of architecture.

The courtyard of the Mosque of Bayezid is surrounded by porticos with twenty-four domes which are an exquisite work of art especially for its proportionate dimensions as well as its rich decoration. It has an ablution-fountain in the middle and three gate-ways opening to the outside as well as an entrance leading to the main part where *namāz* is offered. Differing slightly these gates are impressive in their simplicity of design. The courtyard, in the words of Behchet Unsal,[6] has the effect of detaching a men's mind from the material world and preparing it for the spiritual atmosphere of the mosque' Stones of different kinds are used in differents parts of the Bayezid Mosque, but the portals, the royal gallery (*maqsure*[7]), the gallery of the *mueumine*, the ablution fountain, the capitals and the cornices are of marbles. Two pencil-like minarets each with a gallery are very skilfully built at the corners at an interval of 87 metres. Its two half-domes are also an improvement on the Fatih Mosque which had only one in the early. Later on this style of adding half-domes to the central dome was further experimented and was developed. The most remarkable example or this experiment is the Mihrimah Mosque built by master architect Sinan[8] in 1548 for Rustem Pasha[9] in memory of the wife. It has three half-domes and this style had reached its final stage in the Shehzade Mosque of Istanbul which has four half-domes. The Shehzade Mosque is one of the important works of Sinan who was a great master of Turkish architecture. This mosque was built for the Prince (Shehzade) Mehmed at the order of hir father Sultan Suleyman, the

5. *Turkish Art and Architecture*, London, 1971, p. 213.

6. *Turkish Islamic Architecture*, London, 1959, p. 103–4.

7. It is a place set apart in the mosque for the Caliph or his represeutative during prayer, serving as a way of protecting him against assassination. It is called in Turkish Maksure.

8. Sinan was a great architect of the reign of Sultan Suleyman and was a genius of world stature. Only due to this fact he is known as Sinan, the great. He was born in 1490 at Agnirnas in Kayseri and died in 1538 at Istanbul. His grandfather named Doghan Yusuf Agha was also abuilder. He had constructed about 364 monuments throughout the Ottoman Empire. His Shehzade Mosque and Suleymaniye Mosque of Istanbul and Selimieye of Edirae show main stages in development of his architectural genius. Sinan himself had said that his Shehzade Mosque was a work of his apprenticeship Su'eymaniye as the work of his maturity and Selimeye mosque of Edirne as his masterpiece.

9. Rustem Pasha was son-in-law and grand Vizier of Sultan Suleyman,

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Magnificent[10] to honour the memory of his son who was untimely put to death. Its construction work was started in 1544 and was completed in four years in 1548. The large central dome of the Shehzade Mosque is 37 metres high and 19 metres in diameter. This dome is added by four half-domes each of which is enlarged by two exedras on each side which give a stereometric effect. Few domes are placed on the blank spaces on the corners also. Its two pencil-like minarets each of 41. 5 metres in height and with two galleries are multi-sided which are decorated with motifs in high relief. The other buildings attached to this mosque are the tomb (*turbe*) of the prince Mehmed, a madrase, a guest house (*tabhane*) and a soup-kitchen or restaurant (*imaret*). All in all, the special feature of the Shehzade Mosque, to the best of my knowledge, is a new style aimed at opening the entire edifice into one congregational hall so that every worshipper could see the prayer-niche (*miḥrāb*) as weil as the wooden *mimbar* (pulpit). The occasional inorganic elements scattered here and there in the facade of this mosque may be attributed to the architect's feeling for the memory of this unhappy youth.

The Mosque of Suleymaniye is also towering like a diadem over the third of the seven hills on which old Istanbul is situated. Overlooking the Golden Horn and the Bosphorus, it is one of the symbols of the Ottoman Turkish Empire at the climax of its glory and gives a feeling of power combined with elegance. Its construction was started in 1550 and was completed in seven years in 1557 by Sinan, the Great for Sultan Suleyman, the Law-giver and the Magnificent. The Mosque of Suleymaniye is a tiger, colossal and sated, conscious of his strength but who designs not to use it. The superiority of this mosque resides in Sinan's success in introducing the beauty of symmetry on the exterior as well as in the interior. Its great central dome stands at the height of 53 metres with a diameter of 26. 50 metres and is supported by four massive square pillars between which rise huge porphyry columns four metres in circumference and twenty metres high. The half domes which had a flattened appearance in the Bayezid Mosque has now acquired a more spherical character by the heightening of the central dome in the Suleymaniye Mosque. Its buttresses are also hidden by external porches. Two half-domes of this mosque are enlarged by two exedras and the sides of the building are covered by five domes larger than those between the corners of the centre. In Bayezid Mosque, thick columns placed in the middle of the space between the two pillars on both sides separate the side naves. In Suleymaniye Mosque, two thinner columns placed further back, join the side naves with the central nave, and thus ensure a larger and more unified spatial effect. There is also no echo, and voices are heared clear and strong.

10. He is known in Turkey as the Law-giver (*Kanuni*) i. e., (*Qānunī*).

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The inner courtyard of the Suleymaniye is marble-paved, and is surrounded with a portico covered with twenty eight domes. The altar *mimber* and the gallery of the *muzzins* are also of marble. On the south east corner is the royal gallery built on porphyry columns. Smoke of the candles is to go through small holes and is to accumulate in a small room called smoke room (*duman odasi*). A graceful fountain is also in the middle and four pencil-like minarets rise from the four corners of the courtyard. It is to be noted that the two minarets on the north side have two galleries each, while those two on the south, which are higher (63. 80 metres) have three each. These galleries are ten in number as a record that Sultan Śuleyman was the tenth of the house of Othman (Osman). The internal acoustics are exceptionally good and its inscriptions are the work of Hasan Chalebi.

The Suleymaniye is a monument created through the cooperation of town planning, architecture and engineering. Every part of the mosque reveals mathematical precision and care and every piece is used in the right place and in the right proportion. It is also considered one of the five noblest religious edifices in the world. No impression of vaingloriousness is given. The dimensions and the effect created by this monument are no less magnifirent than the Sultan Suleyman who caused it to be built but the Mosque of Sullan Ahmed is also one of the most prominents. It is situated near the Byzantine Hippodrome which is not far from the Aya Sofya. Being a masterpiece of Turkish architecture it is also one of the most beautiful mosque of Istanbul and is better known under the name of *mavi jami* which means 'blue mosque'. It is interesting to note that the adjective "blue" comes from the priceless blue coloured tilework that adorn the interior and give an atmosphere of peace and quiet. This mosque was built between 1609 and 1619 in the reign of Sultan Ahmed I (1603–1617) by the architeet Sedefkar Mehmet Agha[11] who had his training under Sinan, the Great.

The Mosque of Sultan Ahmed is also unique because it is the only one in the world with six minarets. It resembles the Shehzade Mosque in adopting the four half-dome plan scheme but the large, spacious, brilliantly illuminated interior has a most expressive effect. The brilliantly lit interior resembles a palace in the richness of its ornaments. Tiles of over fifty different designs cover the walls of the upper galleries and the royal gallery is richly decorated with tiles of Quranic inscriptions which are the works of a famous Turkish calligrapher named Ahmed Gubari. Every part of this mosque is covered by painted decoration. The main portion of the mosque is surrounded on three sides by a large outer

11. He was also appointed royal architect in 1606. He was well versed in music also.

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courtyards and one of them has a fountain in the centre for ritual ablution. This mosque is also the largest complex in Istanbul which was consisted of tomb of Sultan Ahmad, a madrase, a soup-kitchen (*imaret*), a hospital, a market (*bedasten*) with a row of tradesmen's shop.

One of the most harmoniously proportioned structures of Istanbul is the Valide mosque better known as Yeni Jami which means New Mosque. Being most remarkable and the finest specimen of Turkish decorative art its construction began in 1597 by the master-architect, Davut Agva[12] and after his death was continued by his successors Dalgich Ahmed Chavush[13] and Mustafa Agva, who finished it in 1663 at the orders of the Queen Mother Turhan Sultan. The interior of this mosque including the quarters reserved for Sultans is adorned with magnificent tiles. The central dome of the mosque which is more pointed than others is also 17. 5 metres in radius and 36 metres in height. This dome is higher than the half-domes, therefore, it is more dominating in appearance. There are only two pencil-like minarets each with three balconies, The courtyard which is surrounded with 25 domes on 20 columns consists of a fountain (*shadīrvan*) with a dome set on arches. The interior of the mosque is well decorated with tiles and the dome and arches are painted beautifully. The Yeni Jami also comprised a complex which was surrounded by walls and included the tomb of Turhan Sultan, a school of Qurān, a primary school, 86 shops along with the Egyptian market, a fountain and a bath-house.

The Mosque of Nur-u Osmaniye is built on raised ground reached by eleven steps. Its construction was started in 1748 during the reign of Sultan Mahmud I (1730–1754) and was completed in 1756 during the reign of Sultan Osman III (1754–1757). It is said that the architect of this mosque was Mustafa Chelebi[14] who was assisted by his apprentice Simon Kalfa. The main portion of the mosque is built on a square plan which is covered with a large dome of 25 metres in diameter resting on four semicircular arches supported by the corners of the walls. The altar is projected outside in the form of a polygon which is covered with a half-dome. As in the other mosques of the period, well decorated royal gallery is reached by a staircase from outside. There are 174 windows closely arranged in five rows, and 32 windows on the drum of the dome, four of which are blind. The arches of these windows are segmented and semi-circular but the oval medallious on the windows of the lowest rows and the dome are decorated with Quranic inscriptions transcribed by the most famous calli-graphists of the period. The motifs of the drum and the decorations of the dome

12. He succeeded Sinan as royal-architect in 1587 and died in 1599.
13. He was chief architect from 1599 to 1604 and died in 1607.
14. He was also chief architect in 1755.

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are characteristic of the decorative style of the period but the plaster decorations of the windows above the altar are different from those of the classical style. The courtyard of this mosque has three entrances. It is on a polygonal plan and is surrounded with a portico having nine small domes and a narthex with five domes. There is no ablution-tank or fountain in the courtyard but the profiles of the doors are very richly adorned. It has two minarets of Turkish style with only two galleries. The mosque is completely faced with marble and its decorative elements have a dominant place. All in all, the special features of this mosque, to the best of my knowledge, is that the curves have replaced straight lines and the round arches take the place of pointed arches. The other buildings comprising the complex are an oval library, the tomb beside it, a medrase by the *qibla* wall, a soup-kitchen or restaurant and 192 shops.

Turks have distinguished themselves in every branch of knowledge and their contribution to fine arts especially the architecture is really remarkable. It is a fact that the Turks have an adaptive spirit but it helped them to imbibe the products of the others and to utilise them for their own purposes. Coming from Turkistan through Persia, Iraq and Syria the Turks carried their own as well as the Arabo-Persian ideals in Anatolia and Rumelia where local traditions further enriched their holdings. It is right that the development of the arts of the Turks had been influenced by a number of different arts deriving from various countries but they had not accumulated them blindly. Turks had created a new, typically Turkish architecture which has united as well as developed the beauty and elegance of the arts of others along with their ancient Turkish elements. Nearby all monuments of the Turks struck a characteristic style which clearly distinguished them from any other artistic productions.

The first architectural monuments of the Ottoman Turks are to be found in Iznik and Bursa which are in the Seljukian Turkish style. This elaborates the carving and the ornamentation of the doorways. The cold climate of Anatolia and Rumelia did not allow open courtyards to be used as praying-places, therefore, Turkish mosque has become a closed-in hall, and consequently doors came into prominence. The Persian fashion of decorating the walls with coloured tiles of high perfection was also followed by the Turks. Their arches are either round or pointed but always wide. The capitals of columns are worked out into stalactites. The inner walls are covered with Arabic inscription and the names of the four Caliphs in very bold letters. The shape of the minarets varies in Arabic and Persian style but the Turks simplified it by creating pencil-like minarets with their one, two or three balconies but the greatest achievement

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of Ottoman architecture, in the words of Ernst J. Grube,[15] is the domed mosque plan. It is realistically to say that the Ottoman Turks had developed the monumental centralized mosque, covered by a dome and buttressed by semi-dome[16] and had brought to perfection the architectural form of the mosque.

15. *The world of Islam*, London, 1967, p. 137.

16. *Architecture of the Islamic World*, edited by George Michell, London, 1978, p. 18.

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RAJASTHANI STUDIES

राजस्थानी का भविष्यत्काल द्योतक प्रत्यय -ल्-

लेखक : डॉ. गोविन्द शंकर शर्मा

आधुनिक भारतीय आर्य भाषाओं के समुचित तुलनात्मक अध्ययन की दृष्टि से राजस्थानी में प्रयुक्त भविष्यत्कालिक परप्रत्यय-ल्- अत्यन्त महत्त्वपूर्ण स्थान रखता है। प्रस्तुत भविष्यत्कालिक परप्रत्यय ल्- राजस्थानी के क्रमिक विकास, अन्य भारतीय आर्यभाषाओं विशेषतः पहाड़ी भाषाओं से राजस्थानी के अन्तर्सम्बन्धों की सही पहचान करने तथा इस पर पडे मध्यदेशीय भाषा के प्रभाव का समुचित आकलन करने आदि विभिन्न प्रसंगो के संबंध में अत्यधिक सहायक सिद्ध हो सकता है। इन्हीं दृष्टिओं को ध्यान में रखकर प्रस्तुत शोध-पत्र में भविष्यत्कालिक परप्रत्यय-ल्- का विवेचन प्रस्तुत किया जा रहा है।

प्रस्तुत प्रसंग में सर्वप्रथम इस तथ्य का उल्लेख करना आवश्यक है कि राजस्थानी में प्रस्तुत परप्रत्यय का प्रयोग बहुत प्राचीन नहीं हैं। राजस्थानी की प्राचीन एवं प्रारंभिक रचनाओं में इस भविष्यत्कालिक प्रत्यय-ल्- के स्थान पर प्राचीन भारतीय आर्यभाषा में प्रयुक्त भविष्यत्कालिक परप्रत्यय–स्य– का प्रयोग प्राप्त होता है। प्रसिद्ध इतालवी विद्वान डा. एल. पी. तेस्सितोरी ने अपने कार्य *Notes on the Grammar of the Old Rajasthani with special reference to Apabhraṁśa and Gujarati and Marwari* के लेखन के लिए जिन राजस्थानी रचनाओं का उपयोग किया है, उन रचनाओं में डा. तेस्सितोरी को केवल दो स्थानों पर ही भविष्यत्कालिक परप्रत्यय-ल्- का प्रयोग प्राप्त हुआ हैं। उन्हें ये दो रूप पंचतंत्र के पद्यानुवाद 'पंचाख्यान' एवं सोमसुन्दरसूरि कृत 'उपदेशमालाबालावबोध' में मिले हैं। किन्तु यहाँ इस बात का ध्यान रखा जाना चाहिए कि ये दोनो रचनायें १६ वीं शताब्दी की कृतियाँ है। 'उपदेशमालाबालावबोध' का समय संवत् १५६९ है। जहाँ तक दुसरी कृति 'पंचाख्यान' का प्रश्न है इस पर कोई तिथि नहीं दी गई है किंतु स्वयं तेस्सितोरी ने इसको १५०० से १५५० ई. के मध्य की रचना माना है। इसी प्रकार राजस्थानी की प्रसिद्ध रचना 'अचलदास खींचो री वचनिका' में भी प्रस्तुत परप्रत्यय-ल्- से निर्मित भविष्यत्काल के रूप प्राप्त नहीं होते हैं। उपर्युक्त तथ्यों से स्पष्ट है कि भविष्यत्काल के निर्माण के लिए परप्रत्यय -ल्- का प्रयोग राजस्थानी की प्राचीन रचनाओं में प्राप्त नहीं होता हैं तथा हमें १६ वीं शताब्दी के आसपास ही इस परप्रत्यय का प्रयोग राजस्थानी की रचनाओं में प्राप्त होने लगता है।

इस प्रसंग में दूसरा ध्यान देने योग्य तथ्य यह है कि राजस्थानी की आधुनिक बोलियों में भी इस परप्रत्यय से निर्मित रूप मुख्यतः मारवाडी एवं ढूंढाडी (जयपुरी) में ही प्राप्त होते हैं। मारवाडी एवं ढूंढाडी के अतिरिक्त मेवाडी में भी प्रस्तुत परप्रत्यय प्रयुक्त होता है किन्तु यहाँ इसका प्रयोग दूसरे भविष्यत्कालिक परप्रत्यय -ग्- के साथ वैकल्पिक रूप से होता है। दूसरी समस्त राजस्थानी बोलियों–हाड़ौती, शेखावाटी, मालवी और मेवाडी–में भविष्यत्कालिक परप्रत्यय ल्- के स्थान पर भविष्यत्कालिक परप्रत्यय -ग्- प्रयुक्त होता हैं।

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राजस्थानी के उपर्युक्त बोलियों (मारवाडी, मेवाडी एवं ढूंढाडी) में विवेच्य पर-प्रत्यय ल्- की सहायता से भविष्यत्काल के निम्नांकित रूप प्राप्त होते हैं।

मारवाडी
(दोनो लिंगों में समान)

	एकवचन	बहुवचन
उत्तम पुरुष —	खेलूंला	खेलांला
मध्यम पुरुष —	खेलेला	खेलोला
अन्य पुरुष —	खेलेला	खेलैला

मेवाडी
(दोनो लिंगों में समान)

	एकवचन	बहुवचत
उत्तम पुरुष —	खेलूंला / खेलूंगा	खेलांला / खेलांगा
मध्यम पुरुष —	खेलेला / खेलेगा	खेलोला / खेलोगा
अन्य पुरुष —	खेलेला / खेलेगा	खेलैला / खेलैगा

ढूंढाडी (जयपुरी)
पुल्लिंग रूप

	एकवचन	बहुवचन
उत्तम पुरुष —	खेलूंलो / खेलूंला	खेलोला
मध्यम पुरुष —	खेलेलो	खेलोला
अन्य पुरुष —	खेलेलो	खेलौला

स्त्रीलिंग रूप

	एकवचन	बहुवचन
उत्तम पुरुष —	खेलूंली	खेलांला
मध्यम पुरुष —	खेलैली	खेलोली
अन्य पुरुष —	खेलैली	खेलैली.

उपर्युक्त रूप तालिकाओं के विश्लेषण से स्पष्ट है कि भविष्यत्कालिक परप्रत्यय -ल्- की सहायता से निर्मित मारवाडी एवं मेवाडी के रूपो में तो पुल्लिंग एवं स्त्रीलिंग की दृष्टि से कोई अन्तर प्राप्त नहीं होता है और इन बोलियों में दोनो लिंगो के लिए समान और एक ही रूप प्राप्त होते है। इसके विपरीत ढूंढाडी में पुल्लिंग एवं स्त्रीलिंग के लिए पृथक् पृथक् रूप प्रयुक्त होते हैं। एक ओर मारवाडी-मेवाडी एवं दूसरी ओर ढूंढाडी में प्राप्त होनेवाले इस अन्तर का कारण यह है कि मारवाडी-मेवाडी में भविष्यत्कालिक परप्रत्यय -ल्- के साथ लिंग-वचन निरपेक्ष विभक्तिप्रत्यय-आ संयुक्त होता है। किन्तु ढूंढाडी में इसके साथ लिंग वचन सूचक विविध विभक्तिप्रत्यय संयुक्त होते है। इस कारण ही मारवाडी-मेवाडी एवं ढूंढाडी में भविष्यत् निश्चयार्थ की संरचना का निम्नांकित क्रम प्राप्त होता है —

(क) मारवाडी-मेवाडी.

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क्रियाधातु + पुरुषवचनसूचक प्रत्यय + भविष्यत् काल-द्योतक प्रत्यय-ल्- + लिंग वचन निरपेक्ष विभक्तिप्रत्यय-आ.

(ख) ढूंढाडी.

क्रियाधातु + पुरुषवचनसूचक प्रत्यय + भविष्यत्कालद्योतक प्रत्यय-ल्- + लिंगवचन सूचक विभक्तिप्रत्यय.

विवेच्य तीनों बोलियों में भविष्यत् निश्चयार्थ की संरचना के लिए धातु एवं भविष्यत्कालिक प्रत्यय-ल्- के मध्य संयुक्त होनेवाले पुरुष-वचन सूचक विभक्ति प्रत्यय – निम्नांकित हैं —

	एकवचन	बहुवचन
उत्तम पुरुष —	-ऊं-	-आं-
मध्यम पुरुष —	-अे-	-ओ-
अन्य पुरुष —	-अे-	-अै-

जहाँ तक भविष्यत्कालिक परप्रत्यय के साथ संयुक्त होने वाले विभक्ति-प्रत्ययों का प्रश्न है मारवाडी-मेवाडी में प्रस्तुत प्रत्यय के साथ लिंग वचन निरपेक्ष विभक्ति प्रत्यय –आ संयुक्त होता है। लिंग एवं वचन से प्रभावित न होने के कारण दोनो लिंगों एवं वचनों के साथ प्रस्तुत विभक्ति प्रत्यय के निम्नांकित समान रूप प्राप्त होते है —

	एकवचन	बहुवचन
पुल्लिंग —	–आ	–आ
स्त्रीलिंग —	–आ	–आ

ढूंढाडी में उपर्युक्त स्थिति नहीं है। मारवाडी-मेवाडी के लिंग-वचन निरपेक्ष विभक्ति-प्रत्यय –आ के विपरीत ढूंढाडी में प्रस्तुत भविष्यत्कालिक परप्रत्यय के साथ सामान्यतः निम्नांकित लिंग-वचन सूचक विभक्ति प्रत्यय संयुक्त होते हैं —

	एकवचन	बहुवचन
पुल्लिंग —	–ओ	–आ
स्त्रीलिंग —	–ई	–ई

इसी कारण ढूंढाडी के भविष्यत् निश्चयार्थ के रूपों में सामान्यतः लिंग वचन से प्रभावित होने की स्पष्ट प्रवृत्ति प्राप्त होती है किन्तु उत्तमपुरुष एकवचन का पुल्लिंग रूप तथा उत्तमपुरुष बहुवचन का स्त्रीलिंग रूप इसके अपवाद हैं। राजस्थानी के विवेच्य प्रत्यय-ल् के मूलस्वरूप तक पहुँचने के लिए ढूंढाढी के इन रूपों पर विस्तारपूर्वक विचार करना आवश्यक है। ढूंढाडी में उत्तमपुरुष एकवचन के पुल्लिंग रूप खेलूंलो के साथ एक अन्य वैकल्पिक रूप खेलूंला भी प्राप्त होता है। उत्तमपुरुष बहुवचन का यही वैकल्पिक रूप खेलूंला उत्तमपुरुष बहुवचन में भी प्रयुक्त होता है। इस प्रकार यहाँ 'ला' परप्रत्यय एक वचन एवं बहुवचन दोनों ही वचनों को समान रूप से अभिव्यक्त कर रहा है। इसी प्रकार स्त्रीलिंग रूपों में उत्तमपुरुष बहुवचन में स्त्रीलिंग प्रत्यय ई से निर्मित खेलांली रूप प्राप्त न होकर पुल्लिंग बहुवचनवाचक प्रत्यय-आ से निर्मित खेलांला रूप मिलता हैं। यही खेलांला रूप उत्तमपुरुष बहुवचन के पुल्लिंग रूप में भी प्रयुक्त होता है। स्पष्टतः ढूंढाडी में उत्तमपुरुष के

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बहुवचनीय रूपों में लिंग कें आधार पर कोई परिवर्तन न होकर पुंल्लिग एवं स्त्रीलिंग दोनों के लिए एक सामान्य रूप खेलांला प्राप्त होता है ।

ऐतिहासिक भाषाशास्त्र की दृष्टि से ढूंढाडी के ये दोनों रूप अत्यधिक उपादेय एवं महत्त्वपूर्ण है । इन दोनो रूपों से ढूंढाडी के भविष्यत्काल के रूपों में प्राप्त लिंग वचन से निरपेक्ष अप्रभावित रहने वाली प्रवृत्ति की एक स्पष्ट झलक प्राप्त होती है । मारवाडी एवं मेवाडी के लिंग वचन से सर्वथा अप्रभावित रूपों एवं ढूंढाडी के पूर्व वर्णित लिंग वचन से अप्रभावित रूपों – खेलूंला एवं खेलांला–से स्पष्ट रूप से विदित होता है कि राजस्थानी का यह भविष्यत्कालिक परप्रत्यय अपने प्रारंभिक मूलस्वरूप में लिंग वचन से अप्रभावित ही रहता था ।

कालान्तर में मध्यदेशीय भाषा (जिसमें भविष्यत्कालिक प्रत्यय प्रारंभ से ही लिंग वचन के अनुरूप परिवर्तित होता रहा है) के प्रभाव के परिणामस्वरूप ढूंढाडी में भविष्यत्-काल के रूपों में लिंग वचन से प्रभावित होने की प्रवृत्ति विकसित होने लगी । भौगोलिक सामीप्य एवं अन्य सम्पर्कों के कारण मारवाडी मेवाडी की तुलना में ढूंढाडी मध्यदेशीय भाषा से अधिक संपर्कित रहा है । इस कारण मध्यदेशीय भाषा की लिंग-वचन से प्रभावित होने वाली प्रवृत्ति ने ढूंढाडी के भविष्यत्कालिकरूपों को तो प्रभावित कर दिया और ढूंढाडी में ये रूप लिंग वचन से प्रभावित होने लगे किन्तु मध्यदेशीय भाषा का यह प्रभाव मारवाडी-मेवाडी तक नही पहुँच सका । इस कारण पश्चिमी राजस्थानी की मारवाडी मेवाडी जैसी बोलियों में भविष्यत्कालिक परप्रत्यय-ल के लिंग वचन से अप्रभावित रूप अपने मूल स्वरूप को सुरक्षित रख सके । ढूंढाडी के पूर्ववर्णित लिंग वचन से अप्रभावित ये दोनों रूप भी इस तथ्य की ओर स्पष्ट संकत करते हैं कि प्रारंभ में ढूंढाडी में भी भविष्यत्कालिक परप्रत्यय -ल्- लिंग वचन से अप्रभावित था एवं मध्यदेशीय भाषा का प्रभाव के कारण ही बाद में इस बोली में भी भविष्यत्काल के लिंग वचन से प्रभावित रूप प्रयुक्त होने लगे हैं ।

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राजस्थानी साहित्य में प्रतिपादित जीवन-मूल्य

लेखक : डॉ. नरेन्द्र भानावत

औद्योगिक क्रान्ति, वैज्ञानिक प्रगति, द्रुतगामी तकनीकी विकास, पाश्चात्य सम्पर्क आदि के कारण जिस आधुनिकता का अविर्भाव हुआ उसने पारम्परिक साहित्य के सामाजिक, सांस्कृतिक एवं धार्मिक मूल्यों से भिन्न अपने नये मूल्य और मान-दण्ड ही निर्धारित नहीं किये वरन् साहित्य-सृजन की सम्पूर्ण प्रक्रिया और चेतना को भी झकझोर दिया है। अब इतिहास-लेखक व्यक्ति-काल सापेक्ष इतिवृत्तात्मक इतिहास न लिख कर व्यक्तिकाल निरपेक्ष सांस्कृतिक इतिहास लिखने में गौरव समझता है। साहित्यकारों ने भी वैयक्तिक आश्रयदाताओं का स्थान राष्ट्रनायकों को दिया। युद्ध में जूझने वाले वीर ही अब वीर न रहे वरन् किसान और मजदूर भी वीर के धनी बने। इस वस्तुगत परिवर्तन के कारण कुछ लोगों को पारम्परिक साहित्य आधुनिक सन्दर्भों से कटा हुआ लगता है और वे उसकी प्रासंगिकता को प्रश्नाकुल दृष्टि से देखते हैं। राजस्थानी साहित्य की समृद्ध परम्परा पर भी इस दृष्टि से प्रश्न चिन्ह लगाया जा सकता है।

यह ठीक है कि पारम्परिक राजस्थानी साहित्य में सामन्तवादी संस्कृति और अभिजात संस्कारों का बहुलता से आलेखन है। उसमें सामूहिक संगठन व सामूहिक चेतना की कमी है, पर केवल इसीलिए उसे नकारा नहीं जा सकता। सच तो यह है कि वह युगीन परिस्थितियों से उत्पन्न संघर्ष का साहित्य है, वह प्रेरणा और शक्ति का साहित्य है, त्याग, बलिदान और जीवनोत्सर्गमयी उदात्त भावनाओं का साहित्य है। वीरता और प्रेम हाथ से हाथ मिलाकर चले हैं राजस्थान की इस रत्नगर्भा मारी में। गाँव-गाँव में बने हुए स्तूप, चबूतरे, देवरे ओर विभिन्न स्मारक यहाँ के वीरों और प्रेमियों की अमरगाथा मूक कंठ से गा रहे हैं।

आधुनिक युग का साहित्य परस्पर अविश्वास, आपाधापी, कुंठा, संत्रास, घुटन और व्यक्तित्व के टूटन का साहित्य है। उसमें मृत्यु की विभीषिका, स्वामी-सेवक की संघर्षशीलता अतृप्त भोग-वादी मनोवृत्ति और मूल्यहीनता का बहुलता से चित्रण है। इसे पढकर जीवन के प्रति आस्था नहीं जगती। मानवता के विराट स्वरूप से साक्षात्कार नहीं होता। अतः इस संकटापन्न स्थिति में राजस्थानी साहित्य की मूल्यवत्ता अधिक प्रासंगिक हो उठी है।

राजस्थानी वीर काव्य मातृ-भूमी-प्रेम, स्वतन्त्रता, स्वाभिमान, स्वामिभक्ति, स्वधर्म-निष्ठा, शरणागतवत्सलता और नारी के शील व सतीत्व के रक्षण लिए समर्पित है। यहाँ वीरता उन्माद नहीं है, उदात्त आदर्श है। उसके पीछे विलास नहीं, आत्मविसर्जन है। इसीलिए मृत्यु यहाँ दंशकारी नहीं, मांगलिक है। नारी के लिए जौहर करना आग में जलना नहीं, अनुराग में पलना है। धरती, धर्म और नारी के शील की रक्षा के लिए बडा से बडा संकट लेने की शक्ति पूंजीभूत है यहाँ के साधारण कहे जाने वाले मानवीय चरित्र में भी। यहाँ का वीर केवल युद्धवीर ही नहीं है, यह धर्मवीर, दयावीर ओर दानवीर भी है।

यहाँ का कवि केवल वाणी का धनी नहीं, वह तलवार का भी धनी है। वह निरा प्रशंसक नहीं, सचेतक है। कर्तव्य भ्रष्ट होने पर चरितनायक की निर्भत्सना करने में भी वह पीछे नहीं रहता। 'विरुहर काव्य' इसका प्रतीक है।

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राजस्थानी प्रेम काव्य शक्ति और शील से अनुप्रणित है। यहाँ का प्रेम वासनाजनित नहीं, वह वीरता और बलिदान से अनुगमित है। यहाँ के प्रेम पात्र सती ओर सूरमा है। यहाँ के दोला-मारू, जलाल, बूवना, जसमादे - ओढण, जेठवा ऊजली, सयणी बीजाणंद, वीझां सोरठ, मूमल-महेन्दर, आभलदे, खींवजी, नागजी-नागमती, काछबियाराणा आदि लौकिक प्रेमाख्यान दाम्पत्यधर्म की पवित्रता ओर सतीत्व की रक्षा के लिए बलिदान के प्रतीक हैं। यहाँ का वातावरण रहस्यमय, अलौकिक और आध्यात्मिक गरिमा से मण्डित न होकर पारिवारिक और विशुद्ध मानवीय है। जाति-पाति और वर्ण-भेद का विरोध कर मानव-मन के रंध्रों को यहाँ विशुद्ध प्रेम के निर्मल प्रकाश से आलोकिता-पूरित किया है।

राजस्थानी भक्ति काव्य शक्ति का उत्प्रेरक और मानवीय चेतना के उन्नयन का काव्य है। यहाँ भक्ति के पीछे दीनता और विवशता का स्तर न होकर शक्ति, शील और सौंदर्य की समन्वित उपासना का बल है। यहाँ राम मुख्यतया अन्याय व अत्याचार के प्रतीक रावण के भंजक और राम-राज्य के संस्थापक के रूप में वर्णित हैं। यहाँ कृष्ण मुरलीमनोहर और नटवर नागर की अपेक्षा चक्रसुदर्शनधारक और शरणागतवत्सल हैं। उनका वासुदेवत्व रूप यहाँ सुरक्षित रखा गया है। यहाँ परकीया नायिका राधा की अपेक्षा स्वकीया नायिका रुक्मिणी अधिक चर्चित वर्णित है। अपने शील स्वभाव कें कारण शिव और शक्ति की महिमा का भी यहाँ आख्यान किया गया है। शक्तिरूपा करणी माता, अम्बामाता आदि देवियों की स्तुति की गयी है। पौराणिक सन्दर्भों से अलग हटकर अपने ही बीच वचन-पालन और धर्म रक्षा के लिए सर्वस्व न्यौछावर कर देवत्व धारण करने वाले पाबूजी, गोगाजी, रामदेवजी, तेजाजी जैसे लोक देवताओं के प्रति भी अपनी श्रद्धा-भक्ति समर्पित की गयी है। 'पर दुख ओदया बण्या देवता' यह सूक्ति आज हमारे लिए कितनी प्रेरक और प्रासंगिक है, यह कहने की आवश्यकता नहीं।

राजस्थानी सन्तकाव्य विशुद्ध मानवीय चेतना और मानवतावादी जीवन-मूल्यों का काव्य है। राजस्थान को इस बात का गौरव है कि यहाँ विश्नोई, जसनाथी, निरंजनी, दादू पंथी, लालदासी, रामस्नेही, चरणदासी, तेरापंथी, जैसे संत सम्प्रदाय आविर्भूत हुए, जिनसे सम्बद्ध साहित्य ने जात-पात, बाह्य आडम्बर व क्रियाकाण्ड का विरोध कर स्वतन्त्रता, समानता, विश्वबंधुत्व, धार्मिक-सहिष्णुता जैसे उदात्त सांस्कृतिक मूल्यों को प्रतिष्ठित किया और साधना के केन्द्र में देवी-देवताओं को न रखकर मानव की आत्म-चेतना को मुख्य रूप से स्थापित किया।

राजस्थानी लोकसाहित्य विशाल और विविध रूप में सुरक्षित है। इसे अतीत की वस्तु और आदिम मानत की अभिव्यक्ति के रूप में देखना उचित नहीं। सच तो यह हैं कि लोक साहित्य युगानुरूप परिस्थितियों से साँसे ग्रहण करता है और सम-सामयिकता का रंग उसे तारोताजा बनाता है। लोकसाहित्य के जितने भी रूप हैं, क्या लोकगीत, क्या लोककथा, क्या लोकगाथा, क्या लोकनाटय, कहावतें, मुहावरे और पहेलियां, ये सब हमारे आर्थिक, सामाजिक, राजनैतिक संघर्ष - क्रम को पहचानने के विश्वस्त माध्यम है। जब पेशेवर साहित्यकार सामाजिक संघर्ष से भाग-खडा होता है तब भी लोक साहित्यकार जन साधारण की आशा-आकांक्षाओं को ख्यायित करता चलता हैं। यही कारण है कि डगजी जवारजी लोक गीतों में राष्ट्रवीर क्रान्तिकारी रूप में चित्रित किये गये है न कि डाकू रूप में। विभिन्न क्षेत्रों के लोक देवी-देवता केवल धार्मिक भावना के ही प्रतिफल नहीं है, उनके पीछे वचन-पालन, सत्य-रक्षण, संकटमोचन, रोग-मुक्ति जैसे लोकोपकारी कार्य जुडे हुए हैं। वे सेवा-

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मूल्य के प्रतीक हैं। आज के सन्दर्भ में जब आर्थिक दबाव और मानसिक तनाव के कारण व्यक्ति अन्दर से टूटने लगा है, तब लोक साहित्य उसे मानसिक सन्तुष्टि और आन्तरिक दृढता प्रदान करने में सहायक बनता है। तेजी से बदलते हुए मूल्यपरिवर्तन की प्रक्रिया में जीवन मूल्यों को स्थिर रखने में भी लोक साहित्य सांस्कृतिक आधार के रूप में अपनी प्रभावकारी भूमिका अदा करता है।

राजस्थानी का जो नया साहित्य लिखा जा रहा है, उसमें मानव-मन के संघर्ष के साथ-साथ उसके प्रेम भाव को भी व्यंजित किया गया है। यह प्रेमभाव अतीत की उज्ज्वल परम्पराओं से रस ग्रहण कर राष्ट्रीयता की जडों को सींचता है तो चिन्तन की ऊर्ध्व-मुखी दिशाओं में फैलकर आत्म चैतन्य को भी जागृत करता है।

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PANDITA PARISHAD

व्याकरणविहित ईश्वरविमर्शः

लेखक : हृषीकेश भट्टाचार्यः

भगवता पतञ्जलिना स्वकृते महाभाष्ये उक्तं "लोकोऽर्थमर्थमादाय शब्दं प्रयुङ्क्ते" इति। अर्थात् लोक आदौ प्रयोजनानुरूपमर्थमादत्ते. ततो व्यवहारसिद्धये तस्य अर्थस्य वाचकत्वेन तदर्थगतयावद्रूपगुणग्राहिणं शब्दं प्रयुङ्क्ते इति। प्रयोजनानुरूपस्य अर्थस्य उद्भावनमेव आदानम्। तत्रभवता इत्यपि उक्तं यच् "शास्त्रेण धर्मनियम" इति। अर्थात् लोकेन येन प्रकारेण शब्दा अर्थानुद्दिश्य प्रयुक्ता भवेयुस्तान् धर्मनियमान् व्याकरणं नाम शास्त्रं विदधाति। अत एव व्याकरणं धर्मनियमप्रणयनाय धातुरिति शब्दानां सूक्ष्मतमानंशान् अनन्तान्नादावुद्धृत्य तेषु तिङ्विभक्तीः प्रयुज्य यथाक्रियापदानि निर्माति तथैव तेषु एव धातुषु प्रयोजनानुरूपं पृथक् पृथगर्थ-वाच्य-कारकविहितान् कृत्प्रत्ययान् प्रयुज्य शब्दान् निर्माति। आवश्यकतावशात् ततोऽपि अर्थान्तरमाधातुं तेषु तेषु शब्देषु तद्धितप्रत्ययाः प्रयुज्यन्ते। एतेनापि वाक्यान्तःपदतप्रपंक्तौ अनर्हास्ते शब्दाः सामाजिकानां भोजनपंक्तौ अनर्हा जनाः प्रायश्चित्तादिभिरिव सुब्विभक्त्या संस्कृत्य पदत्वे उपनीयन्ते किन्तु प्रायश्चित्तेन कृतसंस्कारा अपि वर्णान्तरजना अन्यवर्णीयगोष्ठ्यामिव एवम्भूतानि पदानि पंक्तौ कृतासनानि अपि एकवाक्यांशत्वं नैव अर्हन्ति। यतस्तत्रापि वाक्यविदो निर्दिशन्ति यद् "वाक्यं स्याद् योग्यताकांक्षासत्तियुक्तः पदोच्चय" इति॥ अर्थात् तस्याः पदसंहतेर्वाक्यत्वाय तदन्तर्गतेषु पदेषु आसत्त्याकांक्षाभ्यां सह योग्यतेतिनाम्ना गुणेनापि अवश्यमेव भाव्यम्। तत्र आसत्तिर्नाम "परस्य संनिधानम्" तथा आकांक्षा नाम प्रतीतिपर्यवसानविरहः "एतौ खलु पद-गुणौ वक्तुर्विवक्षातो वचनप्रयत्नतश्च पदेषु उत्पद्येते। किन्तु योग्यतेति अपरो गुणः कुत उत्पद्यते शब्दे प्रयुक्तया सुब्विभक्त्या किमुत्पद्यते। न। तथा सति वह्निशब्दे करणविभक्तेर्योगमात्रेणैव तत्र सिञ्चनक्रियान्वयिनी योग्यता उत्पद्येत। वस्तुतस्तु शब्दान्तर्वर्तिनीं योग्यतामपेक्ष्यैव शब्दे सुब्विभक्तिः प्रयुज्यते। अतो विज्ञेयं किंलक्षणा नाम सा योग्यतेति। तत्तु तर्ककौमुद्यामुक्तम् – एक-पदार्थस्य अपरपदार्थसंसर्गो योग्यतेति। अत्र लक्षणे सा पदार्थगता योग्यता निर्णीतस्वरूपा अवगम्यते न तु कुत उत्पन्नेति। अपि च वाक्यविद्भिः सा पुनः पदे अपेक्षिता। तर्हि पदेषु च सा कुत आयातेति प्रश्नद्वयं समाधातुं भगवतो भाष्यकारस्य पूर्वोद्धृता उक्तिरेवास्माकं शरणम्। "लोकोऽर्थमर्थमादाय शब्दं प्रयुङ्क्ते" अर्थात् लोकः लौहकारः छेदनप्रयोजनासिद्धये लौहपिण्डे यामाकृतिं निर्माति, पुनस्तत्र छेदनक्रियायां करणसम्पादिनीं यां योग्यतामादधाति सा छेदनसाधने शक्तिरूपा तथा छेदनव्यापारे शक्यतारूपेण उभयोः पदार्थयोः संसर्गरूपा भवति। ततो लौहकार-श्छेदनसाधनं तं पदार्थमुद्दिश्य रूपगुणात्मकसर्वांशसहितस्य तस्य ग्राहिणं कुठार इति शब्दं प्रयुङ्क्ते अर्थात् लौहकारनिर्मितछेदनसाधनगता रूपगुणादयस्तत्तद्वाचकशक्तिरूपेण कुठारे शब्दे तेन आधीयन्ते। अत एव लोको यथा अर्थे प्रयोजनानुरूपां योग्यतामुत्पादयति तथैव तामेव योग्यतां स्ववाचकत्वेन शब्दे संचारयति। एतावता अर्थगता योग्यतैव शब्दे अभिव्यक्ता भवतीति प्राप्तम्। अर्थे या वाच्या शब्दे सैव वाचिका। अर्थे या वस्तुशक्तिः शब्दे सैव शब्दशक्तिः। अथ छिद्यमानं वृक्षं दृष्ट्वा कश्चित पृच्छति "किंनामेदं करणं येन वृक्षश्छिद्यते इति। छेत्ता उत्तरति कुठार इति। तदा श्रोता निश्चिनोति कुठारे छेदन साधिनी योग्यता अस्ति। यदि सा न स्यात्तर्हि कुठारः

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छेदने करणं न स्यादिति। अत एव अस्याः शब्दगताया योग्यताया अभिव्यंजनं विना यतः क्रियया सह अन्वयद्वारेण शब्दस्य कारकत्वसम्पादनं सुब्विभक्त्या न सम्भवति तेन सुब्विभक्त्या न केवलं शब्दगतं कारकत्वमपि तु शब्दगतयोग्यतापि अभिव्यक्ता भवतीति प्रतिपन्नम्।

अथ चिन्त्यम्—सुब्विभक्तेरभिव्यंजनसामर्थ्यं शब्दगतां योग्यतामभिव्यज्यैव विरमति उत तेन तत्त्वान्तरपि अभिव्यज्यते। प्रत्यक्षसिद्धमेतद् यत् न केवलं शब्दगतामपि तु तच्छब्दवाच्यद्रव्यगतामपि अन्वेति। क्रियाया उत्पत्तौ द्रव गता सा अन्विता न भवेत् केवलं शब्दगतामेव अन्वीय सुब्विभक्तिः विरमेत् तर्हि "कुठारेण वृक्षं छिनद्मी"ति कथनमात्रेणैव वनस्थो वनस्पतिर्भूपतितो भवेत्। तथा न भवति। अपि तु कुठाररूपस्य वस्तुनो धारारूपाया योग्यतायाः कारणत्वघटितो व्यापारोऽपेक्ष्यते। ततो वृक्षः पतति। अत एतत् प्रतिपद्यते यत् सुब्विभक्त्या विहितेन कारकत्वेन अन्विता शब्दगता योग्यता वाच्यवाचकता-सम्बन्धद्वारेण वस्तुगतायां योग्यतायां कारकत्वं संचार्य तां शब्दे प्रयुक्तायाः सुब्विभक्तेरभिव्यंजनविषयीकरोति।

अथापि चिन्त्यं — सुब्विभक्तेरभिव्यञ्जनी शक्तिरत्रैव विरमति अथवा अग्रेसृत्य अपरमपि तत्त्वमाभिव्यञ्जयतीति। एतत्तु स्पष्टमेव यत् कुठारेण वृक्षं छिनत्तीत्यत्र कुठारनिर्माता लौहकारश्छेत्ता देवदत्त इव यद्यपि सुप्तिङ्विभक्तिभ्यामन्वितो न भवति तथापि छेदनव्यापारोत्पत्तेः कारणकूटगणनायां स देवदत्त इव कारणेषु अन्यतमो भवति। तत् खलु कारणत्वं पशुशिरश्छेदनेन यज्ञजन्यफलोत्पत्तौ शमितुरिव द्रव्यगताया योग्यताया जनकत्वेन तयासह लौहकारस्य जन्यजनकतासम्बन्धनिमित्तं प्रत्यक्षसिद्धमेव। तद्धि शब्दे प्रयुक्तां तृतीयाविभक्तिं द्वारीकृत्यैव जनकं लौहकारमभिव्यञ्जयति। एतेन प्रतिपद्यते यत् — शब्दगतायोग्यता — तत्सम्बद्धा अर्थगता योग्यता — तज्जनकश्च एते त्रयः पदार्थाः शब्दे प्रयुक्तया सुब्विभक्त्या अभिव्यक्ता भवन्ति।

अत्र प्रबन्धे व्याकरणविधिप्रयुक्त-सुब्विभक्तितश्चतुर्थभूतो लौकिकः पुरुषो लौहकारो दृष्टान्तः। निखिलविश्वसंघस्य निर्मातृ तत्त्वं दार्ष्टान्तिकम्। विश्वनिर्माणे उपादानभूतानां क्षित्यप्तेजोमरुद्व्योम्नां लौकिकव्यवहारसिद्धये तद्वाचकशब्देषु प्रयुक्तया सुब्विभक्त्या कुठारशब्दे प्रयुक्तया सुब्विभक्त्या लौहकार इव तत् पञ्चभूतनिर्मातृतत्त्वं सम्बद्धमभिव्यक्तं च भवतीत्येवात्र प्रबन्धे विवक्षितम्।

अपि च किंचित् प्रसंगान्तरमाश्रित्य उच्यन्ते यद् यो हि पदार्थः पदे पदार्थे च अस्माभिराश्रयभेदेन रूपभेदेन च भिन्नतया योग्यतेति नाम्ना आलोचित कस्य स भेदः शब्दशास्त्रमपेक्ष्यैव। शाक्तदर्शने स पदार्थः कालभेदे आधारभेदे रूपभेदे च अद्वितीया अखण्डा अभिन्ना महाशक्तिरेव। यत्तु देवीमाहात्म्ये उक्तम् —

यच्च किंचित् क्वचिद् वस्तु सदसद्वाखिलात्मिके।
तस्य सर्वास्य या शक्तिः सा त्वं किं स्तूयसे तदेति॥

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अर्थापत्तिः स्वतंत्रं प्रमाणं न वा

लेखक : वेंकटरमण दीक्षित

अर्थापत्तिः स्वतंत्रं प्रमाणं भवति वा न वेति इत्यत्र विपुलं विवदन्ते प्रमाणपटवो नैयायिका वाक्यार्थविचारविचक्षणाः मीमांसकाश्च । अत्र अर्थापत्तिः स्वतंत्रं प्रमाणं न भवतीति प्रतिपाद्यते ।

"प्रत्यक्षानुमानोपमानशब्दाः प्रमाणानि" इति सूत्रयन गौतम पृथक नामग्रहणनिर्देशं यथा — "चत्वारि प्रमणानि" इति सुस्पष्टं प्रत्ययपादयत् । नैव तथा भगवान् जैमिनिः स्वसूत्रेषु अभिमतानि प्रमाणानि निस्संदिग्धं निरदिशत् । "सत्संप्रयोगे पुरुवस्य इन्द्रियाणां बुद्धिजन्म तत्प्रत्यक्षं अनिमित्तं विद्यमानोपलम्भनत्वात्" इति सूत्रेण प्रत्यक्षप्रमाणं यद्यपि जैमिनिः प्रतिपादयति । तथापि नात्र प्रत्यक्षप्रमाणप्रतिपादनं तस्य परमुद्दिष्टम् । "चोदनालक्षणोऽर्थो धर्मः" इति सूत्रेण धर्मलक्षणं सूत्रयतः तस्य चोदनातिरिक्तप्रमाणस्य धर्माख्यप्रमेयप्रतिपादने पाटव प्रतिक्षेप एव ।

अयं अंशः अनिमित्तं विद्यमानोपलंभनत्वात् इति प्रत्यक्षसूत्रैकदेशेन अवगन्तुं शक्यते । एवं सूत्रकारेण कण्ठतः अनुक्तान्यपि तत्प्रमाणलक्षणानि भाष्यकाराः श्रीशबरस्वामिनः सूत्राणां सूचकत्वं अवलंव्य तदधिरूढानीव पर्यस्कुर्वन् । तान्येव च श्रीकुमारिलभट्टाः उक्ताऽनुक्तेत्यादि वार्त्तिकपरिपाट्या वार्त्तिकग्रन्थे प्रातन्वन् । एतेन स्वस्वमतप्रवर्तकेत्षु परमऋषिपु परमं आदरं समावहन्ति यद्यपि गौतमीयाः जैमिनीयाश्च तथापि तेपु नैयायिकाः स्वाचार्येण कण्ठोक्तमर्थं समर्थयन्ति मीमांसकाश्च स्वाचार्येण कण्ठानुक्तमपि सूचितं अर्थं साधयन्तीति स्फुटतरं अनयोः भेदः संलक्ष्यते ।

अस्तु नाम मानान्तराणां कथा । प्रकृतं अर्थापत्ति-प्रमाणमेव पर्यालोचयामः । श्रीशबरस्वामी "अर्थापत्तिरपि द्रष्टः श्रुतो वा अर्थः अन्यथा नोपपद्यते इति अर्थकल्पना यथा जीवति देवदत्ते गृहाभावदर्शनेन बहिर्भावस्य अदृष्टस्य कल्पना" इत्याह । अत्र दृष्टो अर्थो नाम न केवलं प्रत्यक्षप्रमाणप्रमितः किन्तु प्रमाणादिपंचकप्रमित इत्यर्थः । श्रुतो नाम शब्दप्रमाणप्रमितः इत्यर्थः । अत्र दृष्टः श्रुतो वा इत्यनुक्त्वा प्रमित इति कथनमेव सामंजस्यं आवहति । तथापि श्रुत इति पृथक् उपादानं श्रुतार्थापत्तिप्रमाणैकदेशस्यापि विषयीकरोतीति वैलक्षण्यबोधनायेति टीकाकृतो विवृण्वते ।

अत्र प्रत्यक्षपूर्विकाः पंच अर्थापत्तयः दाहादिषु कांचित दाहानुकूलशक्तिं अभ्युपगम्य साधिताः मीमांसकैः । सा च शक्तिः अतीन्द्रिया । तत्र प्रत्यक्षप्रमाणस्य अप्रवर्तमानत्वात् तन्मूलानां इतरेषां प्रमाणानामपि अप्रवृत्तिरिति तदवगतये अर्थापत्तिः स्वीकरणीया इति मीमांसाकानां आशयः । नैयायिकाः परं शक्तिं अतिरिक्तां अनंगीकुर्वाणाः दाहादिस्थलीयानुपपत्तिं नियतकार्यकारणादिभावमुखेनैव निरस्यन्ति । निरस्तायां शक्तौ निर्विषयाः अर्थापत्तयः इति प्रतिपादयन्ति

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शक्तेः स्वीकारे निराकरणे च मीमांसकनैयायिकाभ्यां तुमुलं पराक्रान्तमिति विस्तरभयात् तद्विचारं विहाय भाष्यकारोदाहृतां अभावपूर्विकां अर्थापत्तिमेव केवलं विमृशामः ।

अत्र मीमांसकानां अयं आशयः-अस्मिन् भाष्योदाहरणे मानान्तरेण देवदत्तस्य जीवनं निश्चितम् । अनुपलब्धिप्रमाणेन च तस्य गृहे असत्त्वं अवधारितम् । जीवतः गृहे अनवस्थितस्य च तस्य जीवनं बहिः सत्त्वमन्तरा अनुपपन्नं भवति अतः अनुपपन्नं जीवनमेव अनुपपत्ति-परिहारार्थं बहिर्भावं कल्पयति सैव अर्थापत्तिः । येन विना यदनुपपन्नं तदुपपाद्यं इति नियमात् अत्र उपपाद्यं जीवनं तदेव च करणं । यस्य अभावे यस्य अनुपपत्तिः स उपपादकः इति नियमात् उपपादकः बहिर्भावः । स एव फलम् । अत्र एकेन प्रमाणेन देवदत्तः जीवति इति अवगतं तदर्थञ्च गृहे वा अवस्थितः बहिर्वा अवस्थित इति । अनुपलब्धिप्रमाणेन तु देवदत्तः गृहे नास्तीति अवधारितम् । अनयोः साधारणप्रमाणं तच्च जीवनग्राहकं अपरं च असाधारणप्रमाणं गृहाभाव-ग्राहकं । साधारणप्रमाणानां असाधारणप्रमाणैः सह यदा विरोधः भवति तदा तादृशप्रमाण-सिद्धयोः अर्थयोः परस्परं प्रतिघातः संपद्यते । तदानीं अर्थान्तकल्पनया स च प्रतिघातः परिहर्तव्यो भवति । जीवनग्राहकेण साधारणप्रमाणेन गृहसत्त्वबहिःसत्त्वयोः अवगतौ सत्यां अनुपलब्ध्या च असाधारणप्रमाणेन नास्तित्वावगमे च जीवनघटकगृहसत्त्वांशे तयोः विरोधं प्रतीयमानं बहिर्भाव-कल्पनया परिहर्तुं अर्थापत्तिरेव पटीयसी । प्रमाणान्तरमिति अथापत्तिः अवश्यं अंगीकरणीया ।

देवदत्तः बहिः सत्त्ववान् जीवित्वे सति गृहे असत्त्वात् इति नैयायिकोक्तानुमानरूप-प्रमाणं देवदत्तस्य बहिर्भावसाधने अलंकर्मीणं भवति । यतः नात्र केवलं गृहाभावो हेतुः अपक्ष-धर्मत्वात् मृते व्यभिचारसंभवाच्च । नापि च जीवित्वमात्रं हेतुः गृहसत्त्वेन व्यभिचारस्य जागरूक-त्वात् । अतः जीवनविशिष्टगृहाभाव एव लिंगं भवतीति अंगीकरणीयम् । तत्र विशेषणीभूतं गृहभावबहिर्भावात्मकं जीवनं बहिर्भावं अन्तर्भाव्यैव निर्वचनीयं भवति । तथा सति जीवनविशिष्ट-गृहाभावरूपलिंगज्ञानवेलायामेव बहिर्भावस्यापि अवगमसंभवात् अनुमानप्रमेयमेव नावशिष्यते । अत एव प्रमेयानुप्रवेशरूपदोषो विपदमादत्ते । यदि बहिर्भावं अनन्तर्भाव्य जीवनं निरुच्यते । गृहाभावदर्शनेन जीवनं संदिग्धं भवति । नहि संदिग्धो हेतुः साध्यसाधनाय समर्थः । अतः देव-दत्तस्य बहिर्भावबोधे प्रमाणान्तरं अवर्णनीयम् । सैव अर्थापत्तिः । अन्यच्च अर्थापत्तौ अनुपपद्यमानस्य गम्यत्वम् उपपादकस्य गमकत्वम् । अनुमितौ तु उपपादकस्यैव गम्यत्वं अनुपपन्नस्यैव गमकत्व-मिति वैपरीत्येन तयोःमहद्वैलक्ष्यण्यमिति अर्थापत्तिः प्रमाणान्तरमेव ।

नैयायिकाः पुनः एवं समर्थयन्ति–पृथिवी इतरेभ्यो भिद्यते गन्धात् (पृथिवीत्वात्) इत्यत्र गन्धेन हेतुना पृथिव्याः इतरभेदसाधने व्यतिरेकव्याप्तिं अवश्यं अभ्युपगन्तव्या । अन्यथा इतरभेदा-नुमित्यपलापप्रसंगात् । एवं व्यतिरेकव्याप्तेः अभ्युपगमस्य आवश्यकत्वे तत्कालादेव प्रकृते बहिर-स्तीति साधयितुम् शक्यते अतएव गंगेशोपाध्यायः आह "व्यतिरेक्यनुमानसिद्धौ अर्थापत्तिः न मानान्तरं तेनैव तदर्थसिद्धेरिति"। अत्र अयं क्रमः प्रथमतः जीवित्वरूपहेतुना गृहसत्त्वबहिःसत्त्वा-न्यतरत्वं व्यतिरेकव्याप्तिकालात् साध्यते । यत्र यत्र गृहसत्त्वबहिःसत्त्वान्यतराभावः तत्र तत्र जीवित्वाभावः यथा घटत्वं । तादृशाभावप्रतियोगिजीवित्ववान् देवदत्त इति प्रत्यक्षप्रमाणसहकृत-गृहासत्त्वरूपबाधज्ञानसहकृतपरामर्शान् देवदत्तः बहिः सत्त्ववान् इति अनुमानं उत्पद्यते । अतः नात्र अनुमानापेक्षा न प्रमाणान्तरापेक्षा । तथा च उक्ताभावप्रतियोगिजीवित्वरूपहेतोः देवदत्ते सत्त्वात् न पक्षधर्मताज्ञानस्यापि वैकल्यम् ।

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अथवा देवदत्तः बहिर्देशसंबद्धः जीवित्वे सति गृहेऽभागत् इत्यनुमानेनैव बहिर्भावः साधयितुं शक्यते यदत्र जीवनग्रहणवेलायामेव प्रमेयग्रहणं इत्यभिहितम्। अत्र विचारणीयम्। किमत्र प्रमेयं सत्त्वं वा बहिर्देशविशिष्टसत्त्वं वा इति। यदि केवलं सत्त्वं तदपि जीवनग्रहणेनैव गृहीतम्। यदि बहिर्देशसंबद्धं सत्त्वं प्रमेयं तदा अस्य अनुप्रवेशः कथम्। गृहाभावबोधकं प्रमाणं गृहे नास्तित्वं बोधायति। यदि जीवनं बहिःसत्त्वमेव स्यात्। स्यान्नाम तदा प्रमेयानुप्रवेशः। जीवनं अन्यत् अन्यच्च बहिस्सत्त्वं। यदाऽधिकं प्रमेयं इह नेष्यते तदा किम् अर्थापत्तिरपि साधयेत्। स्वस्वप्रमाणाभ्यां जीवनमप्यवधारितम्। गृहाभावोऽपि अवधारितः। तस्मात् प्रमेयानुप्रवेशप्रसाक्तिरपि नास्ति। अतः जीवनविशिष्टगृहाभावहेतुना जायामाना अनुमितिः बहिर्भावमेव विषयीकरोति तदर्थं नार्थापत्तेरपेक्षा इति सर्वं चतुरस्रम्।

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ब्रह्मसूत्रशाङ्करभाष्ये ब्रह्मविदाप्नोति परम् इति श्रुतिसमीक्षा

लेखक : पा. सीताराम हेब्बार

श्रुतिरियं तैत्तिरीयोपनिषदि ब्रह्मानन्दावल्ल्यां प्रथमे अनुवाके पठिता अस्ति। अत्र ब्रह्मविदाप्नोति परम् इति श्रुतेरस्याः भावः श्रीमता शंकराचार्येणेत्थं प्रतिपादितः — अशेषोपद्रवबीजस्याज्ञानस्य निवृत्त्यर्थं विधूतसर्वोपाधिविशेषात्मदर्शनार्थमिदमारभ्यते ब्रह्मविदाप्नोति परमित्यादि। श्रुतेरस्याः आलोडितविचारस्य प्रयोजनं चास्ति ब्रह्मविद्यायाः अस्याः स्वात्मानुभूतिः यदा तदा अविद्यानिवृत्तिः, ततश्च आत्यन्तिकसंसाराभावः इति। तथा हि —

श्रवणादिपूर्वकं हि विद्याफलम् – श्रोतव्यो मन्तव्यो निदिध्यासितव्यः इत्यादि – श्रुत्यन्तरेभ्यः। ब्रह्मविद् ब्रह्मेति वक्ष्यमाणलक्षणं, बृहत्तमत्वाद् ब्रह्म, तद्वेत्ति विजानातीति ब्रह्मविद् आप्नोति परं निरतिशयं, तदेव ब्रह्म परम्। नहि अन्यस्य विज्ञानाद् अन्यस्य प्राप्तिः। स्पष्टं च श्रुत्यन्तरं ब्रह्मप्राप्तिमेव ब्रह्मविदो दर्शयति – स यो ह वै तत्परमं ब्रह्म वेद ब्रह्मैव भवति इत्यादि।

ननु सर्वगतं सर्वस्य चात्मभूतं ब्रह्म वक्ष्यति। अतो नाप्यम्, आप्तिश्च अन्यस्य अन्येन परिच्छिन्नस्य च परिच्छिन्नेन दृष्टा। अपरिच्छिन्नं सर्वात्मकं च यद् ब्रह्म इत्यतः परिच्छिन्नवद् अनात्मवच्च तस्याप्तिरनुमपन्ना। नायं दोषः। कथम्? दर्शना-दर्शनापेक्षत्वाद् ब्रह्मणः आप्त्यनाप्त्योः। परमार्थतः ब्रह्मरूपस्यापि सतः अस्य जीवस्य भूतमात्राकृतवद् अपरिच्छिन्नान्नमयाद्यात्मदर्शिनः तदासक्तचेतसः प्रकृतसंख्यापूरणस्य आत्मनः अव्यवहितस्यापि बाह्यसंख्येयविषयासक्तचित्ततया स्वरूपाभावदर्शनवत् परमार्थब्रह्मस्वरूपाभावदर्शनलक्षणया अविद्यया अन्नमयादीन् बाह्यान् अनात्मनः आत्मत्वेन प्रतिपन्नत्वाद् अन्नमयाद्यनात्मभ्यः नान्यः अहमस्मीत्यभिमन्यते। एवमविद्यया आत्मभूतमपि ब्रह्म अनाप्तं स्यात्। एवमविद्यया अनाप्तब्रह्मस्वरूपस्य तस्य प्रकृतसंख्यापूरणस्य आत्मनः अविद्यया अनाप्तस्य सतः केनचित् स्मारितस्य पुनस्तस्यैव विद्यया आप्तिर्यथा, तथा श्रुत्युपदिष्टस्य सर्वात्मब्रह्मणः आत्मत्वदर्शनेन विद्यया तदाप्तिरुपपद्यत एवेति उपनिषदि श्रुत्यर्थविचारः।

इयमेव ब्रह्मविदाप्नोति परम् (तै॰ उ॰ २-१) इति श्रुतिः ब्रह्मसूत्रशांकरभाष्ये बहुषु स्थलेषु आम्नाता अस्ति। अनया श्रुत्या सूत्रभाष्यस्य विभिन्नेषु स्थलेषु विभिन्नाः सिद्धान्ताः उररीकृताः। तत्स्थलमिदानीं विचारयिष्यामः। तथा हि —

सूत्रभाष्यस प्रथमाध्यायस्य प्रथमे पादे जिज्ञासाधिकरणे प्रथमतया श्रुतिरियमुदाहृता। अधिकरणेऽस्मिन् प्रतिपादितेन अथातो ब्रह्मजिज्ञासा इत्यनेन सूत्रेण एतद्विचारितं यत् अथशब्देनानन्तर्योक्तिद्वारा पूर्वनिवृत्ते ब्रह्मजिज्ञासापुष्कलहेतुचतुष्टये विवक्षितेऽपि तदपवादे शङ्किते तन्निरासेन तद्धेतुत्वमतः शब्दोक्तहेतुवाचिना व्यवस्थाप्यते। तथा हि — कृतकत्वादेः ध्वंसादौ व्यभिचारात् अक्षय्यम् इत्यादिश्रुत्या च विरोधात् अनित्यत्वासाधकत्वात्, अकृतकत्वस्य प्रागभावे व्यभिचारात् नित्यत्वाहेतुकत्वाच्च भावत्वाविशेषणे चाण्वादौ भावात् आत्ममात्रनित्यत्वासिद्धेः। अपरिच्छिन्नत्वस्य प्रतिदेहं भिन्नेषु आत्मस्वभावात्, विभुत्वविवक्षतायामाकाशादिषु भावात्

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उक्तदोषात् नित्यानित्यविवेकायोगात् वैराग्यादेरपि तदभावेऽभावात् विशिष्टाधिकार्यभावात्, अनारम्भः शास्त्रस्य इत्याशंक्य तन्निरासेन नित्यानित्यादिहेतुचतुष्टयमुपपाद्य तद्धेतुत्वमतः शब्दः इति साधयति। न हि ध्वंसादो नित्यत्वम्, प्रागभावादो अकृतकत्वम्, आत्मनो वा परिच्छिन्नत्वम्। यावद्विकारं तु विभागः इति न्यायात्। यथा वेदः कर्मफलस्य अनित्यत्वं दर्शयति — तद्यथेह कर्मचितो लोकः क्षीयते, एवमेवामुत्र पुण्यचितो लोकः क्षीयते (छा. उ. ८-१-६) इत्यादिश्रुत्या, तथा ब्रह्मज्ञानात् प्रशान्तशोकानलमपारं स्वयंज्योतिरानन्दं प्रतिपादयति – ब्रह्मविदाप्नोति परम् इत्यादिभ्यः श्रुतिभ्यः। जीवत्वादेरध्यासोक्त्या ब्रह्मत्वसम्भवः उक्तः एवेति भाव। परमपुरुषार्थः निरस्तसमस्तदुःखोपरमः आत्मज्ञानसाक्षात्कारः इत्युच्यते। हेतुचतुष्टयस्य ब्रह्मजिज्ञासासामग्रीत्वे स्थिते परिपूर्णो हेतुः कार्यमवश्यमुत्पादयति। एवमथातःशब्दाभ्यां पुष्कलकारणवतः अधिकारिणः समर्थनात् ब्रह्मजिज्ञासाशास्त्रमारम्भणीयमिति सूत्रेणानेन अनया च श्रुत्या विचारितं भवति।

(२) इयमेव श्रुतिः तृतीयाध्यायस्य द्वितीयपादे प्रकृतैतावत्त्वाधिकरणे (ब्र. सू. शा. भा. ३-२-५-२२) इत्यत्र प्रतिपादिता अस्ति। अधिकरणेऽस्मिन् - द्वे वाव ब्रह्मणो रूपे मूर्तं चामूर्तं (बृ. उ. २-३-१) इतीयं श्रुतिः विषयवाक्यत्वेन स्वीक्रियते। अत्र विचारः अयं प्रस्तूयते- निषेधश्रुतिभिः निर्विशेषे ब्रह्मणि अर्थावधारिते सति तासां ब्रह्मनिषेधत्वामाशंकितम्। ब्रह्म सन्मात्रम्, तच्च सामान्यत्वात् विशेषापेक्षम् तेन तेषु निषिद्धेषु नास्ति ब्रह्मेति शङ्कायामेतदधिकरणं प्रवृत्तम्। पृथिव्यप्तेजोभूतत्रयं मूर्तम् वाय्वाकाशद्वयममूर्तमिति राशिद्वयमुक्त्वा भूतद्वयस्यामूर्तस्य सारः कारणात्मा हिरण्यगर्भो यः एषः एतस्मिन् सूर्यमण्डले पुरुषः इत्युक्तः।

केचित् प्रतिपादितामिमां श्रुतिमुपलक्षणत्वेन सम्भाव्य सूक्ष्ममहाभूतानि अमूर्तानि, पंचीकृतानि भूतानि मूर्तानि, ततश्चामूर्तरसत्वोक्त्या करणानां पांचभौतिकत्वसिद्धिरिति व्याचक्षते। तदेवं ब्रह्मणः औपाधिकयोः मूर्तामूर्तयोः आध्यात्मिकाधिदैविकयोः कार्यकारणभावेन सत्-त्यत्-शब्दवाच्ययोः विभागो व्याख्यातः। अथेदानीं कारणात्मनः तस्य पुरुषस्य लिंगस्य रूपं वक्तव्यम्। मूर्तामूर्तवासनाविज्ञानमयं विचित्रं मायामहेन्द्रजालोपमं तद्विचित्रैः दृष्टान्तैः दर्शयति – तद्यथा माहारजनं वासो यथा पाण्ड्वादिकं यथेन्द्रगोपः इत्यादिना। अत्रोक्ताभिः उपमाभिः तस्य पुरुषस्य वासनामयानि स्वप्नरूपाणि विचित्राणि उक्तानि। तत्र महारजनं हरिद्रा, तया लिप्तं वस्त्रं माहारजनम् पाण्ड्वादिकमपि धवलं कम्बलादि। एतदुक्तं भवति – मूर्तामूर्तवासना विज्ञानमयस्य तस्य विचित्रं रूपमस्ति। तदेवं निरवशेषं सवासनं सत्यरूपमुक्त्वा यत्तत् सत्यस्य सत्यमुक्तं ब्रह्म तत्स्वरूपावधारणं क्रियते। यतः सत्यस्य रूपं निःशेषमुक्तम्, अतोऽवशिष्टं सत्यस्य यत्सत्यं तस्यानन्तरं तदुक्तिहेतुकं स्वरूपं वक्तव्यमिति भाष्ये उपरितनो ग्रन्थसन्दर्भः अनुवर्तते।

अत्रेदं विचार्यते – किं रूपद्वयं सवासनं ब्रह्म च सर्वमेव च प्रतिषिध्यते, उत ब्रह्मैवाथ सवासनं रूपद्वयं ब्रह्म तु परिशिष्यते इति। यद्यपि तेषु तेषु वेदान्तप्रदेशेषु ब्रह्मस्वरूपं प्रतिपादितं तद असदभावज्ञानं च निन्दितम्। अस्तीत्येवोपलब्धव्यः (कठो. ६-१७) इति चास्य सत्त्वमवधारितं तथापि सद्बोधरूपं तद् ब्रह्म सवासनमूर्तामूर्तरूपसाधारणतया च सामान्यं तस्य चैते विशेषाः मूर्तामूर्तादयः। तत्तद्विशेषनिषेधे न सामान्यमवस्थातुमर्हति, निर्विशेषस्य सामान्यस्यायोगात्। यथाहुः – निर्विशेषं न सामान्यं भवेच्छशविषाणवत् – इति। तस्मात् तद्विशेषनिषेधेऽपि तत्सामान्यस्य ब्रह्मणोऽवस्थानात्। सर्वस्यैवायं निषेधः। अत एव नह्येतस्मादिति – नेत्यन्यत्परमस्तीति निषेधात् परं नास्तीति सर्वनिषेधमेव तत्त्वम् इत्याह इयं श्रुतिः – ब्रह्मविदाप्नोति परम् इति। अत्र पूर्वपक्षे तत्पदार्थाभावात् वाक्यार्थभेदसिद्धिः, सिद्धान्ते तत्सिद्धिरिति फलम्। सिधान्ती आह – न तावदुभयप्रतिषेधः उपपद्यते, शून्यवापप्रसंगात् इति।

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अयमभिसन्धिः – उपाधयो ह्यमी पृथिव्यादयः अविद्याकल्पिताः, न तु शोणकर्काय इव विशेषाः अश्वत्वस्य। न चोपाधिविगमे उपाहितस्य अभावो अप्रतीतिर्वा। नह्युपाधीनां दर्पणमणिकृपाणादीनामपगमे मुखस्याभावः अप्रतीतिर्वा। तस्मात् उपाधिनिषेधेऽपि नोपाहितस्य शशविषाणायमानता अप्रत्ययो वा। एतीति सन्निधानविशेषात् सर्वस्य प्रतिषेधत्वमपि न च युक्तम्। नहि भावमनुपाश्रित्य प्रतिषेधः उपपद्यते। तथा च उभयप्रतिषेधः न सिध्यति। उभयोः मध्ये एकस्य तस्यैव परमार्थत्वापत्तेः प्रतिषेधानुपपत्तिः। ब्रह्म ते ब्रवाणि (बृ. उ. २-१-१) इत्यादिश्रुतीनामुपक्रमविरोधात् ब्रह्मणः प्रतिषेधोऽपि नोपपद्यते। एवं ब्रह्मणः अस्तित्वं प्रतिपादयन्ति श्रुतयः इति भाष्यकारोऽप्याह —

> न हि महता परिकरबन्धेन ब्रह्मविदाप्नोति परम्,
> सत्यं ज्ञानमनन्तं ब्रह्म इत्येवमादिना वेदान्तेषु ब्रह्म
> प्रतिपाद्य तस्यैव पुनरभावोऽभिलप्यते। (ब्र. सू. शा. भा. ३-२-२२)

इति। अत्र प्रतिपादितायाः तैत्तिरीयश्रुतेः अर्थः भाष्यानुसारं स्पष्टो भवति।

(३) इयमेव श्रुतिः चतुर्थाध्यायस्य तृतीये पादे पंचमाधिकरणे – नच कार्ये प्रतिपत्त्यभिसन्धिः (ब्र. सू. ४-३-१४) इति सूत्रव्याख्यानावसरे प्रतिपादिता। अस्मिन् कार्याधिकरणे अयं विचारः प्रस्तूयते – किंकायमपरं ब्रह्म गमयत्याहोस्वित् परमेवाविकृतं मुख्यं ब्रह्म इति विचारस्य संशयः। संशयस्तु ब्रह्मशब्दप्रयोगात् गतिश्रुतेश्च सम्भवत्येव। अधिकरणेऽस्मिन् द्वयोः बादरिजैमिन्याचार्ययोः सिद्धान्तः श्रीमता शंकरेण फलाध्यायेऽस्मिन् प्रतिपादितः दृश्यते। तत्र प्रथमतः आचार्यबादरिमतं विविच्यते।

तत्त्वमसिवाक्यार्थसाक्षात्कारात् प्राक् जीवात्मा अविद्याकर्मवासनाद्युपाध्यवच्छेदात् वस्तुतः अनवच्छिन्नः अविच्छिन्न इवाभिन्नोऽपि लोकेभ्यः भिन्नमिवात्मानमभिमन्यमानः स्वरूपादन्यान् अप्राप्तान् अर्चिरादीन् लोकान् गत्वा आप्नोतीति युज्यते। अद्वैते ब्रह्मतत्त्वसाक्षात्कारवतस्तु निगलितनिखिलप्रपंचावभासविभ्रमस्य न गन्तव्यं न गतिर्न गमयितार इति किं केन संगतम्? तस्मादनिदर्शनं न्यग्रोधसंयोगविभागादयः न्यग्रोधवानरतद्गतिततसंयोगविभागानां मिथो भेदात्। न च तत्रापि प्राप्ताप्राप्तिः कर्मजेन हि विभागेन निरुद्धायां पूर्वप्राप्तौ अप्राप्तस्यैवोत्तरप्राप्तेरुत्पत्तेः। एतदपि वस्तुतः विचारासहतया सर्वमनिर्वचनीयं विजृम्भितमविद्यायाः समुत्पन्नाद्वैततत्त्वासाक्षात्कारो न विद्वानभिमन्यते। विदुषोऽपि देहपातात् पूर्वं स्थितप्रज्ञस्य यथाभासमात्रेण सांसारिकधर्मानुवृत्तिरभ्युपेयेत, एवमालिङ्गशरीरपातात् विदुषः तद्धर्मानुवृत्तिः। तथा चाप्राप्तप्राप्तेः गत्युपपत्तिः, तद्देशप्राप्तौ च लिङ्गदेहनिवृत्तेः मुक्तिः श्रुतिप्रामाण्यादिति चेत् – न। परविद्यावतः उत्क्रान्तिप्रतिषेधात्। तथा च श्रुतिः —

> ब्रह्मैव सन् ब्रह्माप्येति, न तस्माद् प्राणाः उत्क्रामन्ति अत्रैव समवनीयन्ते इति।
> (बृ. उ. ४-४-६)

यतः विद्याब्रह्मप्राप्त्योः समानकालता श्रूयते —

> आनन्दं ब्रह्मणो विद्वान् न बिभेति कुतश्चन (तै. उ. २-६)
> तत्र को मोहः कः शोकः एकत्वमनुपश्यतः (ईशा. ७)

इत्यादिश्रुतिषु पौर्वापर्याश्रवणात् परविद्यावतो मुक्तिं प्रति उपायान्तरापेक्षा नेति लक्ष्यते अभिसन्धिश्रुतेः। एतदुपपन्नं च। परिभावनायुक्तस्य जीवात्मनः ब्रह्मभावसाक्षात्कारेणोन्मुलिताया मवयवरहितेनाविद्यायाभस्ति गन्तव्यगन्तृविभागो विदुषः, तदभावे कथमयं जीवः अर्चिरादिमार्ग

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प्रवर्तेत। नच छायामात्रेणापि सांसारिकधर्मानुवृत्तिः, तत्र प्रवृत्त्यङ्गं यादृच्छिकप्रवृत्तेः। श्रद्धाविहीनस्य दृष्टार्थानि कर्माणि फलन्ति न फलन्ति। अदृष्टार्थानां तु फले का कथा। नच अर्चिरादिमार्गभावनायाः परब्रह्मप्राप्त्यर्थमविदुषः प्रत्युपदेशः, तथा च कर्मान्तरेष्विव नित्यादिषु तत्रापि स्यात्तत्र प्रवृत्तिरिति साम्प्रतम्। विकल्पासहत्वात्। किमियं परविद्यानपेक्षा परब्रह्मप्राप्तिसाधनं तदपेक्षा वा। न तावदनपेक्षा, यतः —

तमेव विदित्वाऽतिमृत्युमेति नान्यः पन्था विद्यतेऽयनाय। (श्वे॰ उ. ३-५)

इति परब्रह्मविज्ञानात् अन्यस्याध्वनः साक्षात्प्रतिषेधात्।

परविद्यापेक्षात्वे तु मार्गभावनायाः किमियं विद्याकार्ये मार्गभावना साहायकमाचरति उत विद्योत्पादे। न तावद्विद्याकार्ये, तया सह तस्याः द्वैताद्वैतगोचरतया मिथो विरोधेन एकत्रासम्भवात्। नापि यज्ञादिवत् विद्योत्पादे साक्षाद्ब्रह्मप्राप्त्युपायत्वश्रवणात् ब्रह्म गमयतीति। यज्ञादेस्तु विविदिषासंयोगेन श्रवणाद् विद्योत्पादाङ्गत्वम्। तस्मात् उपन्यस्तबहुश्रुत्यनुरोधात् उपपत्तेश्च ब्रह्मशब्दोऽसम्भवन्मुख्यवृत्तिः ब्रह्मसामीप्यतदपरब्रह्मणि लक्षणया नेतव्यः। तथा च लोकेष्विति बहुवचनोपपत्तेः कार्यब्रह्मलोकस्य। परस्य तु अनवयवतया तद्द्वारेणाप्यनुपपत्तेः। लोकत्वं तु चेलावृत्तादिवत् सन्निवेशविशेषवति भोगभूमौ निरूढं न कथंचिद्योगेन प्रकाशे व्याख्यातं भवति। भवति चैवं बादरेर्मतम्।

विषयेऽस्मिन् आचार्यो जैमिनिः इत्थमभिप्रेति। तथा हि–स एतान् ब्रह्म गमयति इत्यत्र विचिकित्स्यते यत् किं परं ब्रह्म गमयति आहोस्वित् अपरं कार्यं ब्रह्म? इति। मुख्यत्वादमृतत्वप्राप्तेः परप्रकरणादपि गन्तव्यं परमेवार्चिरादिना इति। ब्रह्म गमयतीत्यत्र हि नपुंसकं ब्रह्म पदं परस्मिन्नेव ब्रह्मणि निरूढत्वात् अनपेक्षया मुख्यतया सति सम्भवे न कार्ये ब्रह्मणि गुणकल्पनया व्याख्यातुमुचितम्। अपि च अमृतत्वफलावाप्तिः कार्यब्रह्मप्राप्तौ न युज्यते। तस्य कार्यत्वेन मरणधर्मवत्त्वात्। किंच तत्र तत्र परमेव ब्रह्म प्रकृत्य प्रजापतिसद्मप्रतिपत्त्यादाय उच्यमाना अपरब्रह्मविषया न भवितुमर्हति, प्रकरणविरोधात्। नच परस्मिन् सर्वंगते गतिः नोपपद्यते प्राप्तत्वादिति युक्तम्। प्राप्तेऽपि हि प्राप्तिफला गतिर्दृश्यते। यथैकस्मिन् न्यग्रोधपादपे मूलादग्रमग्राच्च मूलं गच्छतः शाखामृगस्यैकेनैव न्यग्रोधपादपेन निरन्तरं संयोगविभागाः भवन्ति। न चैते तदवयवविषयाः न तु न्यग्रोधविषयाः इति साम्प्रतम्। तथा सति न शाखामृगो न्यग्रोधेन युज्यते, न्यग्रोधावयवस्य तदवयवयोगात्। एवं दृश्यमानानामपि तदवयवानां न योगः, तदवयवयोगोत्तदन्तेन क्रमेण तदवयवेषु परमाणुषु व्यवतिष्ठते। ते चातीन्द्रियाः इति कस्मिन्नुनामायम् अनुभवपद्धतिमध्यास्तां संयोगतपस्वी।

तस्मादकामेनापि अनुभवानुरोधेन प्राप्त एव प्राप्तिफलत्वावगतिः एषितव्या। तद् ब्रह्म प्राप्तमपि प्राप्तिफलायावगतेः गोचरो भविष्यति। ब्रह्मलोकेष्विति च बहुवचनमेकस्मिन्नपि प्रयोगसाधुतामात्रेण गमयितव्यम्। लोकशब्दश्चालोकने प्रकाशे वर्तयितव्ये न तु सन्निवेशादिति देशविशेषे। तस्मात् परब्रह्मप्राप्त्यर्थं गत्युपदेशसामर्थ्याद् अयमर्थो भवति। यथा विद्याकर्मवशाद् अर्चिरादिना गतस्य सत्यलोकमतिक्रम्य परं जगत्कारणं ब्रह्म लोकमालोकं स्वयं प्रकाशकमिति यावत्। प्राप्तस्य तत्रैव लिङ्गं प्रतीयते न तु एवम्भूतां गतिं विना लिङ्गप्रविलय इति। अत एव पुरुषायणाः पुरुषं प्राप्यास्तं गच्छन्ति इति श्रुतिरुपपद्यते। तदनेनाभिसन्धिना परं ब्रह्म गमयत्यमानवः इति आचार्यो जैमिनिः मेने।

एवं गमयितृत्वेन परं ब्रह्मास्ति उत कार्यं ब्रह्म इति अधिकरणेऽस्मिन् मतद्वयमुपपाद्य – न तस्य प्राणाः उत्क्रामन्ति (बृ॰ उ. ४-४-६) इत्यादिश्रुत्या गतिप्रतिषेधः श्रावितत्वात् न

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क्वचिदपि परब्रह्मविषया गतिः श्राव्यते इति सिद्धान्तितम्। एवं सिद्धान्तितविषयदार्ढ्याय आचार्यः श्रीशङ्करः एवमाह —

> ब्रह्मविदाप्नोति परम् इत्यादिषु तु सत्यप्याप्नोतेः गत्यर्थत्वे वर्णितेन न्यायेन देशान्तरप्राप्त्यसम्भवात् स्वरूपप्रतिपत्तिरेवेयम-विद्याध्यारोपितनामरूपप्रविलयापेक्षया अभिधीयते — ब्रह्मैव सन् ब्रह्माप्येति (बृ. उ. ४-४-६) इत्यादि-वदिति द्रष्टव्यम्। (ब्र. सू. शा. भा. ४-३-१४)

इति। अत्र तैत्तिरीयश्रुतौ प्रतिपादितेन आप्नोतीति पदेन गत्यर्थेन अन्यदेशस्यासत्त्वात् आप्नोति-रिव इति मन्तव्यम्। अधिकरणेऽस्मिन् प्रतिपादितयोः द्वयोः पक्षयोः साधुदर्शी भगवान् सः बादरिः, असाधुदर्शी आचार्यो जैमिनिरिति विविच्य ज्ञातव्यम्। अयं निर्णयः श्रुतिप्रतिपादित-सिद्धान्तेन सह कृतया तुलनया स्फुटीकृतः अस्ति। एवं ब्रह्मसूत्रशाङ्करभाष्ये श्रीशङ्कराचार्यैः कृतः स्वसिद्धान्तितश्च ब्रह्मविदाप्नोति परम् इति श्रुत्यर्थविचारः इति शम्॥

समीक्षायामस्यां स्वीकृताः ग्रन्थाः —

(१) ईशा. ... ईशावास्योपनिषत्

(२) कठो. ... कठोपनिषत्

(३) छा. उ. ... छान्दोग्योपनिषत्

(४) तै. उ. ... तैत्तिरीयोपनिषत्

(५) बृ. उ. ... बृहदारण्यकोपनिषत्

(६) ब्र. सू. ... ब्रह्मसूत्रम्

(७) ब्र. सू. शा. भा. ... ब्रह्मसूत्रशाङ्करभाष्यम्

(८) श्वे. उ. ... श्वेताश्वतरोपनिषत्

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व्याकरणशास्त्रे स्फोटवादस्य वैज्ञानिकशास्त्रीयसमीक्षा

लेखक : पण्डित आद्याचरण झा

को न जानाति विपश्चिदपश्चिमो मनीषी प्रेक्षावान् यत् व्याकरणशास्त्रे "स्फोटवाद" एव तस्य मूलं स्रोतः सर्वस्वं च। स्फोटोऽयं न केवलं न्यायशास्त्रस्य परमाणुवन्महत्त्वपूर्णोऽपि तु वैज्ञानिकयुगस्य "परमाणु विस्फोट"वदखण्डशक्तिशाली प्रभावकारी च।

स्फुटत्यर्थोऽस्मादित्यर्थक "स्फोट" शब्द एव शब्दब्रह्मात्मकः शाश्वतः सृष्टिविस्तारकश्च। यतो हि "अनादिनिधनं ब्रह्म शब्दतत्त्वं यदक्षरम्, विवर्ततेऽर्थभावेन प्रक्रिया जगतो यतः", "न सोऽस्ति प्रत्ययो लोके यः शब्दानुगमादृते, अनुविद्धमिवज्ञानं सर्वं शब्देन भासते", "शब्दब्रह्मणि निष्णातः परब्रह्माभिधीयते" इत्यादिभिराचार्यैः प्रतिपादितम्।

वाग्विषये "परावाङ् मूलचक्रस्था पश्यन्ती नाभिसंस्थिता, हृदिस्था मध्यमा ज्ञेया वैखरी कण्ठदेशगा, वैखर्या हि कृतो नादः परश्रवणगोचरः, मध्यमया कृतोनादः स्फोटव्यञ्जक उच्यते" इत्यादिना वाचां विस्तृतं गभीर रहस्यं प्रोक्तं यस्यानुसन्धानं शास्त्रीयदृष्ट्या वैज्ञानिकदृष्ट्या च विधेयम्। इत्थं हि वाच एव सृष्टिनियन्त्रणक्षमाः, सम्पूर्णे भूमफले "वाचां द्वारैवाध्यात्मिकाधिदैविकाधिभौतिकात्मकत्रिशक्तेः संवर्धनं संरक्षणादिकं त्रितापानां च संशये जायते।

इयमेव वाक् साक्षात् संभाषणरूपेण, पत्रादिपुस्तकादिलेखनरूपेण, आकाशवाणीप्रसारण रूपेण, टेपरेकार्ड, रेकार्डरूपेण, दूरभाषरूपेण, तडितपत्ररूपेण, वायरलेसरूपेण, पारेसमुद्रं-केबुल-रूपेण, च व्याप्ता विद्यते। यथैवेयं सम्पूर्णे भूमफले एवं रूपेण सर्वव्यापिका तथैवेयमाकाशेऽन्तरिक्षे च राकेट – उपग्रह प्रभृत्याधुनिकवैज्ञानिकसफलप्रयोगादिके परमाणुविस्फोटे (एटमबमवर्षणे) च प्रत्यनुपलं सूक्ष्मतमक्षणे ध्वन्यात्मकशब्दनियन्त्रणेनैव साफल्यमादधते वैज्ञानिकाः इत्यपि सुस्पष्टम्। क्षणात्मककाम्यस्य शतांशकालेऽपि केनापि कारणेन शब्दनियन्त्रणाभावे सर्वं प्रतिकूलं स्यात्, सर्वनाशस्यापि संभावना स्यादित्याधुनिकवैज्ञानिकाः कथयन्ति।

एवं च सर्वथा शक्तिसम्पन्नोऽयं शब्दः कथमुत्पद्यते, कथंकारं तस्य व्यवहारः, भेदोपभेदाश्चेत्यादयोऽवश्यमनुसन्धेयाः एतद्विषये शब्दशास्त्रधुरीणाः प्रायः सर्वेऽपि चिन्तकाः विद्वांसो विभिन्नरूपेण परीक्षितवन्तः सिद्धान्तितवन्तश्च विभिन्नमतमतान्तरेषु तर्क-वितर्कानन्तरं शब्दानां नित्यता प्रतिपादिता बुधैर्वैयाकरणैः, नैयायिकं विहायान्यैः सर्वैर्दार्शनिकैः शास्त्रकारैश्च।

शब्दनित्यत्ववादिता नैयायिकेनापि शब्दस्यसकलसामर्थ्यं स्वीक्रियते। नैयायिकान् विहाय सर्वे प्राच्य पाश्चात्यदार्शनिकाः बौद्धादयोऽपि शब्दनित्यतां स्वीकुर्वन्त्येव। एतस्मित् क्रमे "स्फोट-वादः" समायाति। स च 'स्फोटो' न व्रणवत् पीडादायकः कोऽपि स्फोटोऽपितु "ब्रह्मज्ञानवत् सुख शान्तिदायकः सुमधुरश्च"। अत्रेदं द्रष्टव्यम्— व्याकरणशास्त्रे वर्णव्यक्तिस्फोट-वर्णजातिस्फोट, पदव्यक्तिस्फोट-पदजातिस्फोट, वाक्यव्यक्तिस्फोट-वाक्यजातिस्फोट, अखण्डपदस्फोट-अखण्डवाक्य-स्फोटश्चेति रूपेणाष्टौ भेदाः सन्ति।

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ते च स्फोटात्मकशब्दाः ध्वन्यात्मको वर्णात्मकश्चेति द्विविधाः। एतयोर्मध्य एव समस्तं शब्दशास्त्रं साहित्यशास्त्रस्य ध्वन्यात्मकव्यञ्जनात्मकवक्रोक्तिरीत्यलङ्कारादिभेदात्मकसमस्तविचाराः ब्रह्मास्वादसहोदरात्मको साभिव्यक्तिसैद्धान्तिकालौकिकचमत्काराः मीमांसाशास्त्रस्य निखिलं कर्मकाण्डं च विद्योतन्ते। न्यायशास्त्रस्यापि वाग्जातलानि शब्देष्वेव लीनानानि सन्ति।

समीक्षाक्रमे मुख्यरूपेण, पातञ्जलमहाभाष्यं, यास्ककस्य निरुक्तं, भर्तृहरेर्वाक्यपदीयं भरतस्यनाट्यशास्त्रं वैयाकरणभूषणसारो लघुमञ्जूषा काव्यप्रकाशो ध्वन्यालोकः साङ्ख्यकारिका मीमांसापरिभाषा पदवाक्यरत्नाकराख्यो मूर्धन्यसैद्धान्तिकग्रन्थाः समक्षमायान्ति।

तत्र व्याकरणस्य शब्दशास्त्रत्वेन व्याकरणशास्त्रसिद्धान्तसन्दर्भे एव सर्वमतमनुसन्धेयं प्रथमतः। तत्र वागुद्भवप्रसंगे परा-पश्यन्ती-मध्यमा-वैखरीतिवाचश्चतुर्षु भेदेषु "परावाङ् मूलचक्रस्था पश्यन्ती नाभिसंस्थिता हृदिस्था मध्यमा ज्ञेया वैखरी कण्ठदेशगोति क्रमे मूलाधारस्था स्पन्दशून्या परावाक्, तेन वायुनाऽभिव्यक्ता नाभिपर्यन्तमागच्छतो मनोगोचरीभूता पश्यन्ती वागित्युभे वाचौ ब्रह्मज्ञानिनां निर्विकल्पकसविल्पकसमाधिज्ञानविषयौ। केवलमाध्यात्मिकज्ञानेच्छुभिस्तत्र यतनीयम्।

तदनन्तरं तेन वायुनाऽभिव्यक्ता हृदयपर्यन्तमागच्छती श्रोत्रग्रहणयोग्या जपादौ सूक्ष्मबुद्धिनिर्ग्राह्या मध्यमावाक् सैव स्फोट-रूपा। यतो हि तत्र एव सर्वसाधारणानां वाचोऽर्थाः सुज्ञेयाः जायन्ते। अत एव "मध्यमया कृतो नादः स्फोटव्यञ्जक उच्यते" इति सिद्धान्तः।

अनन्तरं मुखपर्यन्तमागत्य वायुनोर्ध्वमाक्रमता (मस्तकपर्यन्तमागत्य) मूर्धानमाहत्य (संस्पृष्टः सन्) ततः परावृत्य तत्तत्स्थानेषु विभिन्नोच्चारण स्थानेष्वभिव्यक्ता परश्रोत्रेणापि ग्राह्या 'वैखरी' वागुच्यते। यां वाचमधिकृत्यैव वयं व्यावहारिक जीवनयापने सर्वाणि कार्याणि कथोपकथनद्वारा कुर्मः। किन्त्वयं वैखरीनादस्तु केवलं सकलप्राणि-श्रोत्रमात्रग्राह्यः। मध्यमानादव्यङ्ग्यः शब्द एव स्फोटात्मकोयतश्चार्थ स्फुटीकरणं जायते, स एव शब्दः नित्यः स्फोट रूपः।

समस्तं संसारचक्रमनेनैव स्फोटात्मकशब्देन परिभ्रमति, यथा — "अनादिनिधनं ब्रह्म शब्दतत्त्वं यदक्षरम्, विवर्ततेऽर्थभावेन प्रक्रिया जगतो यतः"। अत्रेदं ज्ञेयं यदष्टविधस्फोटात्मकशब्देषु केवलमखण्डवाक्यस्फोट एव चरमरूपेणार्थप्रत्यायकः। शेषमन्ये सप्तविधा स्फोटाः केवलं चरमार्थज्ञाने साधकाः यतो हि ते च मणिकृपाणदर्पणादिव्यञ्जकोपाधिवशाद्दैर्घ्यवर्तुलकत्वादि भानं भ्रमात्मकं मुखं त्वेकमेव तत्। तथैव वर्णाः पदं, पदानि तदवयवादीनि च साध्यसिद्धौ साधनान्येव। अत एव वाक्यपदीये— "पदे न वर्णा विद्यन्ते वाक्येष्ववयवा न च, वाक्यात् पदानामानन्त्यं प्रविवेको न कश्चन" इति।

यथैकस्यैवाकाशस्य घटाकाशो, गृहाकाशो, महाकाश इत्यादिरूपेणौपाधिक भेदास्तथैव वर्णस्फोट-पदस्फोट-पदजाति स्फोटादयोऽप्योपाधिक भेदा एव। फलतो वैकृतध्वनेः स्फोटात्मकशब्दोऽभिन्न एव। अतः श्रोत्रोपलब्धिबुद्धिनिर्ग्राह्यः प्रयोगेणाभिज्वलितः आकाशदेशः शब्द इति ज्ञेयम्। तथा च भगवता पतञ्जलिनोक्तं "तस्मात् प्रतीतिपदार्थको ध्वनिः शब्दः" — स च शब्दः स्फोटात्मक एव। मूक-बधिरादीनामप्यर्थज्ञानं स्फोटात्मकशब्देनैवेति स्पष्टम्।

आगम शास्त्रानुसारेण "ॐकारनादबिन्दुरूपे शब्दे" समस्तं ब्रह्माण्डमेवानुस्यूतम्। ॐकार एव त्रिगुणात्मकः त्रिशक्त्यात्मकश्चेति चरमसिद्धान्तः। सर्वस्यामुपासनायां सर्वस्मिन् पाठे,

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पारायणे, हवने, जपे यज्ञे, तर्पणे च शब्द एवैकं साधनं तस्यैव विविधाश्चमत्काराः दृश्यादृश्यज्ञाताज्ञात-फलादयश्च। न तत्र विस्मर्तव्यं यत् स्फोट एव तेषां मूलसूत्रम्। त्यक्तेऽस्मिन् सूत्रे सर्वं विच्छिन्नं भवेत्।

एकमेव न्यायशास्त्रं शब्दस्यानित्यतां प्रतिपादितवत्। यच्च शास्त्रं शब्दानित्यत्वविषयेऽधुना सर्वथा वाग्विलासरूपे स्थितं यद्यपि तर्कवितर्कस्य— बुद्धिविलासस्य निवेश-प्रवेशस्य च सूक्ष्मतमं साधनमिदं न्यायशास्त्रं नात्र किञ्चिद्वैमत्यम्।

वैज्ञानिकेऽस्मिन् युगे सत्सु टेपरेकार्ड-रेकार्ड-वायरलेस-दूरभाष-भूमिगत-सागरान्तर्गत-केबलप्रभृतिषु महत्सु भूयःसु शब्द-नित्यताप्रत्यक्षसाधकेषु साधनेषु च कः प्रेक्षावान् शब्दस्यानित्यत्वविषये न्यायशास्त्रं वाग्विलासमन्तरा किं कथितुं शक्ष्यति?

काव्यसाहित्यशास्त्राणां सर्वे गुणदोषालङ्काराः, अभिधा लक्षणा व्यञ्जनाश्च सर्वाः, तेषां तासां च सहस्रशो भेदोपभेदाश्च शब्दाधीना एव, ते च शब्दाः स्फोटात्मका एवेति सुस्पष्टम्।

नात्राधिका विस्तारापेक्षा संक्षिप्तेऽस्मिन् निबन्धे। यतो हि नात्र व्यञ्जनाव्यापारस्य रसाभिव्यक्तेरलौकिकत्वस्य च प्रतिपादनमीप्सिततमम्।

पदवाक्यप्रमाणपारावारीणो म. म. गोकुलनाथोपाध्यायः स्वकीय "पदवाक्यरत्नाकर" नामके गहनचिन्तात्मके ग्रन्थे स्फोटवादं पूर्वपक्षीकृत्य खण्डितवान्। यतो हि महत्त्वपूर्णोऽयं ग्रन्थो न्यायशास्त्रपथा निर्मितोऽस्तीति सुतरां प्रतीयते। अन्यथा आगम-निगम-निष्णाताः रसालङ्कारमर्मज्ञाः वैयाकरणशिखामणयो गोकुलनाथ सदृशाः विद्वांसः कथंकारं स्फोटवादं निरस्येयुः।

स्फोटात्मकशब्दनित्यता तु वेदैरेव प्रतिपादिता तदनुयायिभिः स्मृतिकारैः पौराणिकैश्च यथा —

ऋग्वेदे— चत्वारि वाक्परिमिता परामि तानि विदुर्ब्राह्मणाः ये मनीषिणः गुहा त्रीणि निहिता नेङ्गयन्ति तुरीयं वाचो मनुष्या वदन्ति, अत्र तुरीया वाक् वैखरी मध्यमा तु स्फोटात्मकानित्या।

मनुसंहितायाः प्रथमसर्गे २१ पद्ये प्रतिपादितं यत् —

> अनादिनिधना नित्या वागुत्सृष्टा स्वयंभुवा।
> आदौ वेदमयी नित्या यतः सर्वाः प्रवृत्तयः॥

महाभारते— 'प्राणापानान्तरे दैवी वाग्वैनित्यं स्म तिष्ठति', इयमेव मध्यमावाक् स्फोटरूपेति। महाभाष्ये भगवता पतञ्जलिना च "सिद्धे शब्दार्थसम्बन्धे" इत्यस्य व्याख्यायां नित्यपर्यायवाचिन एव सिद्धशब्दाः इति सिद्धा द्यौः, सिद्धा पृथिवी सिद्धमाकाशमित्यादि क्रमेण सिद्धान्तितम्।

महावैयाकरण 'व्याडि'कृत व्याकरणशास्त्रस्य लक्षश्लोकात्मके 'संग्रह' नामक ग्रन्थे शब्दस्य नित्यता प्रतिपादितेति महाभाष्यटीकायां वैयाकरणशिरोमणिः कैयटः। शब्दनित्यतयैव ऋषिमहर्षीणां महापुरुषाणां चाशीर्वादाभिशापानां फलानि जायन्ते नात्र कश्चन मतभेदो नापि कश्चित् संशयलवः। शब्दानित्यत्वे कथं तत्फलं स्यात्।

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इदं सर्वमभिप्रेत्यैव वाक्यपदीये भर्तृहरिणा कथितं यत् "तद्द्वारमपवर्गस्य वाङ्मलानां चिकित्सितं, पवित्रं सर्वविद्यानामधिविद्यं प्रकाशते इदमाद्यं पदस्थानं सिद्धिसोपानवर्णनम्, इयं सा मोक्षमाणानामजिह्मा राजपद्धतिः," इत्यादि । अस्यैव शब्दब्रह्मणोऽभिनिवेशेत पुरुषार्थ-चतुष्टयसिद्धिर्जायते, चतुष्टये चान्ते मोक्षावाप्तिश्चेति चरमतत्त्वम् ।

परिणामतः संक्षेपेणेदमेव वक्तुं शक्यते यत् – अखण्डाशेषशक्तिसम्पन्नाः शब्दा नित्या एव ते च शब्दाः विविधभेदोपभेदपन्थानमनुसरन्तो 'मध्यमा' नादव्यङ्ग्यरूपाः 'स्फोटा' एवेति सुस्पष्टं शास्त्रीयदृष्ट्या आधुनिकवैज्ञानिक-स्पुतनिकोपग्रहयुगे सूक्ष्म विश्लेषणपथाऽपि इति शम् ।

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अथ समवायनिरूपणम्

लेखक : कुमुदनाथ मिश्र

अथ समवायो नाम न्यायनये षष्ठः पदार्थोऽभ्युपेयते । स च जात्यभावान्न द्रव्यादित्रिषु अन्तर्भवितुमर्हति । न वा सम्बन्धाभावात् सामान्यविशेषाभावेषु अन्तर्भाव्यः, तस्मादतिरिक्त एव षष्ठः पदार्थ इति निर्णीयते ॥

घटाद्यवयविनां कपालाद्यवयवेषु यः सम्बन्धः स समवायः । अत्र आदिपदेन पटादि पृथिव्याः तन्त्वाद्यवयवेषु, जलतेजोवायूनामवयविनां स्वस्वावयवेषु, पृथिव्यादिनवद्रव्येषु स्वस्वगुणानां स्वस्वकर्मणां च, द्रव्यगुणकर्मसु सत्तायाः, स्वस्वद्रव्यत्वादिजातीनाञ्च, नित्यद्रव्येषु पृथिवीजलतेजोवायूनां परमाणुषु आकाशकालदिगात्ममनःसु च विशेषाणां यः सम्बन्धः स समवाय इति कथ्यते। अत्र "घटाद्यवयविनां कपालाद्यवयवेषु" इति पदद्वये षष्ठ्यर्थः प्रतियोगित्वम्, सप्तम्यर्थश्चानुयोगित्वम् भवति, तथा च अवयविघटादिप्रतियोगिकः अवयवकपालाद्यनुयोगिको यः सम्बन्धः स समवाय इति फलितोऽर्थः ।

समवायत्वमेकव्यक्तिमात्रवृत्तित्वान्न जातिर्भवितुमर्हति ।

किन्नाम तावत्समवायत्वमित्याकाङ्क्षायाम् नित्यसम्बन्धत्वं समवायत्वमित्येव तल्लक्षणतयाङ्गीकृतम् । नित्यत्वविशेषणेन संयोगेऽतिव्याप्तिवारणम्, सम्बन्धत्वकथनेन च नित्याकाशादावतिव्याप्तिवारणम् ।

सम्बन्धत्वं च विशिष्टप्रतीतिनियामकत्वम्, घटभूतलयोः संयोगे यथा— "घटवद् भूतल" मिति प्रतीतिनियामकत्वम्, तथैव "घटवान् कपालः", "रूपवान् घटः", "क्रियावद्द्रव्यम्" "विशेषवान् परमाणुः", "द्रव्यत्ववद्द्रव्यम्", "सत्तावान् गुणः" इत्यादि प्रतीतिनियामकत्वं समवायस्य भवति ।

घटादौ (आधेये) प्रकारे प्रकारताख्या विषयता, कपालादौ विशेष्ये विशेष्यताख्या विषयता, संसर्गे समवाये च संसर्गताख्या विषयता वर्तते। एवं च विशिष्टबुद्धिनिरूपितप्रकारत्वाख्यविशेष्यत्वाख्यविषयताभिन्नविषयतावत्त्वमेव विशिष्टप्रतीतिनियामकत्वं समवायसंबन्धे समायाति ।

ननु "घटघटत्वे" इति निर्विकल्पकज्ञानीय-चतुर्थी-विषयताया नित्ये घटत्वे वर्तमानत्वाद् घटत्वेऽतिव्याप्तिः, एवम् – "घटाभावो घटाभाववान्" इत्यत्र विशिष्टबुद्धिनिरूपितप्रकारताविशेष्यताभिन्नविषयतावत्त्वस्य घटाभावस्वरूपात्मकस्यरूपसम्बन्धे सत्त्वात् नित्ये घटात्यन्ताभावे चातिव्याप्तिरिति चेन्न। प्रकारतात्व विशेष्यतात्ववत् संसर्गतात्वस्यापि भिन्नतया इष्यमाणत्वात्, नित्यत्वे सति विशिष्टबुद्धिनिरूपितप्रकारत्वविशेष्यत्वान्यतरवद्भिन्नवृत्तिसंसर्गताश्रयत्वस्यैव लक्षणार्थत्वात् । तथा च "घटाभावो घटाभाववान्" इति ज्ञानीयप्रकारत्वविशेष्यत्वान्यतरवति एव घटात्यन्ताभावात्मकस्वरूपसम्बन्धनिष्ठसंसर्गता वर्तते इति तादृशान्यतरवद्भिन्नवृत्ति संसर्गताश्रयत्वाभावात्, "घटघटत्वे" इति निर्विकल्पकज्ञानीयचतुर्थीविषयताया अपि संसर्गानाश्रितत्वात् नोक्तदोष इति सर्वं समञ्जसम् ।

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यद्यपि समवायः प्रत्यक्षसिद्ध एव, तस्य "नीलो घटः" इत्यदि विशिष्टबुद्धौ संसर्गतया प्रतिभासमानत्वात्, तथापि प्रथमतः प्रतिवादिनम्प्रति स्वरूपसम्बन्धाद्यातिरिक्तो "नीलो घट" इत्यादि प्रतीतिविषयः कश्चित्समवायनामकः सम्बन्धोऽस्तीति प्रतिपादयितुं न शक्यते, अतः अनुमानप्रमाणेन तावत् समवायसिद्धिः प्रदर्श्यते - यथा — "गुणवान् घटः" "क्रियावान् घटः" "जातिमान् घटः" इत्यादि विशिष्टबुद्धिः, विशेषणविशेष्यसम्बन्धविषया, विशिष्ट-बुद्धित्वात्, "दण्डी पुरुष" इति विशिष्टबुद्धिवात्, इत्यनुमानप्रकारः ।

या काचिदपि विशिष्टबुद्धिर्भवति सा नियमेन विशेषणं विशेष्यं संसर्गञ्च विषयकरोत्येव इति व्याप्तौ सत्यां "गुणवान् घटः" इत्यादि गुणक्रियादिविशिष्टबुद्धीनामपि गुणादिः विशेषणतया घटादिर्विशेषतया संसर्गश्च यः कश्चिद् भवनयोग्यः सम्बन्धतया विषयो भवत्येव, तेषु विशेषणं विशेष्यं च निश्चितमेव सर्वसिद्धो गुणादिर्घटादिश्च, संसर्गतया तत्र संयोगो न संभवति, द्रव्ययो-रेव संयोगस्येष्टत्वात् स्वरूपस्य च तत्तत्स्वरूपाणामानन्त्यात् नेष्टमेतेषां तत्र संसर्गत्वकल्पन-मिति यो वृत्तितानियामको गुणक्रियादीनां तत्र सम्बन्धः स एव समवायस्तादृशविशिष्टबुद्धि-निरूपितसंसर्गतावान् इति सिद्धः समवायसंवन्धः ॥

तत्तद्गुणक्रियाजात्यादिप्रकारकविशिष्टबुद्धित्वं पक्षतावच्छेदकं सम्पद्यते, तत्र गुणक्रिया-दिभेदेन नानापक्षतावच्छेदकमपेक्ष्य गुणक्रियाजात्याद्यन्यतमप्रकारकविशिष्टबुद्धित्वमेव पक्षता-वच्छेदकतयाऽभ्युपगमनीयं लाघवात्, एवं सर्वपक्षतावच्छेदकसंग्रहो भवति ।

एवं सति विशेषणविशेष्यसम्बन्धविषयत्वरूपसाध्यकोटौ विशेषणविषयत्वं, विशेष्य-विषयत्वं सम्बन्धविषयत्वमिति प्रत्येकं त्रयोऽपि प्रवेष्टुमर्हन्ति, ममाभीष्टसिद्धिस्तु - गुणक्रिया-जात्याद्यन्यतमविशिष्टबुद्धिः सम्बन्धविषया, विशिष्टबुद्धित्वात्, "दण्डी पुरुष" इति विशिष्ट-बुद्धिवत् इत्येतावतैव भविष्यतीति साध्यकोटौ विशेषणविशेष्यपदयोर प्रवेश एव ज्यायान्, इति ।

समवायनानात्ववादिनां मते स्वरूपसम्बन्धस्यैव अनन्तसमवायापेक्षया लघुत्वात् नानेनानुमानेन समवायासिद्धि- कर्तुं शक्येति तदर्थमनुमानान्तरं यथा — "तादात्म्यसम्बन्धा-वच्छिन्नतन्तुनिष्ठकारणतानिरूपितपटत्वावच्छिन्नकार्यता, किञ्चित्सम्बन्धावच्छिन्ना, कार्यतात्वात्" इतिरीत्यानुमानेन कार्यतावच्छेदकसम्बन्धविधया समवायसिद्धिः कार्या ।

अन्यश्चायं समवायसिद्धिसाधकानुमानप्रकारो यथा — प्रतियोगितासम्बन्धेन आश्रयना-शाजन्यरूपनाशं प्रति स्वानुयोगिसमवेतत्वसम्बन्धेन विलक्षणतेजःसंयोगस्य हेतुता भवति ।

तत्र समवायास्वीकारे स्वानुयोगिसम्बन्धत्वसम्बन्धेनैव विलक्षणतेजःसंयोगस्य हेतुत्वं वक्तव्यं स्यात् । संघटनप्रकारश्चेत्थम् - अत्र-स्वम् आश्रयनाशाजन्यरूपनाशप्रतियोगि रूपम्, तस्यानुयोगी घटादिः, तत्र सम्बद्धत्वं विलक्षणतेजःसंयोगस्य भवति, समवायास्वीकारे - घटे अनुयोगिनि रूपस्य न स्वरूपम्, न कालिको वा सम्बन्धो भवितुमर्हति, रूपस्य नाशात्, संयोगस्य बाधितत्वात्, अगत्या समवाय एव संबन्धः स्यात् इति तादृशसंयोगनिष्ठकारण-तावच्छेदकसंवन्धघटकतया समवायस्य सिद्धिरपरिहार्यैवेति दिक् ।

अत्र मीमांसकः प्रत्यवतिष्ठने — ननु गुणक्रियादिविशिष्टबुद्धिः, विशेषणविशेष्यसंबन्ध-विषया, विशिष्टबुद्धित्वादित्यनुमानस्य मां प्रति प्रयोक्तुमनर्हत्वात्, यतो हि "गुणवान् घटः" "क्रियावान् घटः" इत्यादौ गुणक्रियाघटरूपप्रतियोग्यनुयोगिनां स्वरूप एव प्रत्यक्षसिद्धः संवन्धोऽस्माकमिति तदर्थमनुमानं सिद्धसाधनदोषग्रस्तम् । समवायसाधनार्थं प्रति प्रवृत्तस्य च

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तव नैयायिकस्य स्वरूपसंबन्धसाधनमर्थान्तरसाधनदोषग्रस्तमिदमनुमानं स्यादिति चेन्न। तत्र तत्र "गुणवान् घटः" "क्रियावान् घट" इत्याद्यनन्तप्रतीतिषु तत्तत्प्रतीतिनिरूपितसंसर्गतावन्तः संसर्गा अनन्तगुणादिव्यक्तिभेदेन अनन्ताः कल्पनीयाःस्युरिति गौरवभिया तत्तद्गुणादिस्वरूप-संबन्धो नैव इष्यते, एकस्य समवायस्यैव लाघवादिष्टत्वात्।

न च रूपस्पर्शसमवायस्यैकत्वे वायौ स्पर्शसमवायसत्त्वेन रूपसमवायस्यापि सत्त्वात् "वायू रूपवान्" इति प्रतीतिः प्रमा स्यादिति वाच्यम्, वायौ रूपसमवायसत्त्वेऽपि रूपस्य समवायसंबन्धेन अभावादेव "वायूं रूपवा" निति प्रतीतेरप्रामाण्यात्।

ननु तर्हि "घटाभाववद् भूतल" मिति विशिष्टबुद्धिः, विशेषणविशेष्यसंबन्धविषया, विशिष्टबुद्धित्वा'दित्यनुमानबलसिद्धं वैशिष्ट्यं नाम अभावानामतिरिक्त एव संबन्धोऽस्त्विति चेन्न।

तस्य वैशिष्ट्यस्य नित्यत्वे अत्यन्ताभावस्य च नित्यतया भूतले घटानयनानन्तरमपि "घटाभाववदेतद् भूतल" मिति प्रतीतेः प्रामाण्यापत्तेः, अनित्यत्वे च अवश्यक्लृप्ततत्तत्स्वरूपा-तिरिक्तानन्तवैशिष्ट्यकल्पने महद् गौरव मिति नाभावानां स्वरूपातिरिक्तं वैशिष्ट्यं संबन्धतया सेद्धुमर्हतीति दिक्॥

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PRIZE ARTICLES

गोम्मटेश्वर मूर्ति की स्थापना के सन्दर्भ में कल्कि संवत् की समस्या

लेखक : जगवीर कौशिक

किसी भी विषय का निरूपण करने से पूर्व उसके काल की सीमा का निर्धारण आवश्यक हो जाता है। प्राचीन संस्कृति के ज्ञान के लिए उससे संबद्ध विषयों का इतिहास जानना अपेक्षित है। भारतीय इतिहास में जहाँ घटनाओं की प्रचुरता है वहीं उनके कालक्रम निरूपण तथा घटना से संबन्धित अनेकों जटिल समस्याएँ है, क्योंकि या तो वे घटनाएँ तिथिविहीन हैं या तिथि बतलाने के लिए ऐसे संवतों का प्रयोग किया गया जोकि प्रायः अप्रचलित रहे हैं। अतः इन अप्रचलित संवतों के ज्ञान के लिए किसको आधार मानें, जिससे यह समस्या हल हो सके। संवत् का प्रारंभ प्रायः राजा अपने राज्यभिषेक या किसी महान् विजय के अवसर पर ही किया करता था। इस परिप्रेक्ष्य में यदि हम कल्कि संवत् के संबन्ध में विचार करे तो यह देखते हैं कि जैन और अजैन पुराणों तथा जैन साहित्य में कल्कि का जो वर्णन प्राप्त होता है, उसमें कल्कि एक अत्याचारी राजा के रूप में ही वर्णित हुआ है। कल्कि ने अपने राज्य के चालिस या बयालीस वर्षों में कोई महान् विजय प्राप्त की हो, ऐसा उल्लेख हमें कहीं भी प्राप्त नहीं होता। अतः इस संवत् का प्रारंभ कल्कि के राजपद प्राप्त करने के अवसर पर मानना ही तर्कसंगत है। यह कल्कि राजा कौन था? तथा यह कब राजा बना? इस विषय पर साहित्यिक और आधुनिक विद्वानों में पर्याप्त मतभेद है। इस विषय पर आगे विचार किया जाएगा।

जैन साहित्य में कल्कि — जैन साहित्य में कल्कि राजा का वर्णन प्राप्त होता है। इसका दूसरा नाम 'चतुर्मुख' था। उत्तर पुराण के अनुसार – शास्त्रोक्त लक्षण वाले राजाओं का अभाव होने से लोग वर्णसंकर हो जायेंगे। उस दुःषमा काल के १००० वर्ष बीत जाने पर धर्म की हानि होने से पाटलिपुत्र नामक नगर में राजा शिवपाल की रानी पृथिवीसुंदरी के चतुर्मुख नाम का एक ऐसा पापी पुत्र होगा, जोकि दुर्जनों में प्रथम संख्या का होगा, पृथ्वी को कंपायमान करेगा और कल्कि राजा के नाम से प्रसिद्ध होगा। यह कल्कि माघ नामक संवत्सर में होगा।[1] हरिवंश पुराण के वर्णनानुसार 'चालिस वर्ष तक पुरूढ राजाओं का अखण्ड भूमण्डल होगा। तदनन्तर तीस वर्ष तक पुष्यमित्र का, साठ वर्ष तक वसु और अग्निमित्र का, सौ वर्ष तक रासभ राजाओं का, फिर चालिस वर्ष तक नरवाहन का, फिर दो सौ बयालिस वर्ष तक बाणभट्ट का, तदनन्तर दो सौ इक्कीस वर्ष तक गुप्तों का और उसके बाद बयालीस वर्ष तक कल्कि राजा का राज्य होगा। उसके बाद अजित जय नाम का राजा होगा, जिसकी राजधानी इन्द्रपुर नगर होगी।'[2] अतः हरिवंश पुराण के अनुसार सात सौ तैंतीस वर्ष के पश्चात् कल्कि राजा बनेगा तथा वह बयालीस वर्ष तक राज्य करेगा।

1. उत्तरपुराण, संपा. पन्नालाल, भारतीय ज्ञानपीठ, 1954, 76 (397–399)
2. हरिवंशपुराण संपा. पन्नालाल, भारतीय ज्ञानपीठ, 1962, 60/489–492।

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त्रिलोकसार में वर्णन आता है कि 'श्रीवीर प्रभु के मोक्ष जाने छह सौ पांच वर्ष और पांच माह बीत जाने पर शक राजा उत्पन्न हुआ था, और इसके तीन सौ चौरानवें वर्ष तथा सात माह बीत जाने पर कल्कि की उत्पत्ति हुई थी। वह कल्कि उन्मार्गाभिमुख होता है। उसका नाम चतुर्मुख और परमायु सत्तर वर्ष की होती है। उसके राज्य की अवधि चालिस वर्ष प्रमाण होती है।'[3] तिलोयपण्णत्ति के अनुसार 'वीर जिनेन्द्र के मुक्ति प्राप्त होने के पश्चात् चार सौ इकसठ वर्ष प्रमाण काल के व्यतीत होने पर यहां शक राजा उत्पन्न हुआ। अथवा वीर भगवान् के निर्वाण के पश्चात् छह सौ पांच वर्ष और पांच माह के चले जाने पर शक नृप उत्पन्न हुआ। वीर भगवान् के निर्वाण के पश्चात् चार सौ इकसठ वर्ष बीतने पर शक नरेन्द्र उत्पन्न हुआ। इस वंश के राज्यकाल का प्रमाण दो सौ बयालीस वर्ष है। गुप्तों के राज्यकाल का प्रमाण दो सौ पचपन वर्ष और चतुर्मुख के राज्यकाल का प्रमाण बयालीस वर्ष है। उस सबको मिलाने पर एक सहस्र वर्ष होते हैं। जिस काल में वीर भगवान् ने निःश्रेयस संपदा को प्राप्त किया था, उसी समय पालक नामक अवन्तिसुत का राज्याभिषेक हुआ। साठ वर्ष पालक का, एक सौ पचपन वर्ष विजयवंशियों का, चालीस वर्ष मुरुंडवंशियों का और तीस वर्ष पुष्यमित्र का राज्य रहा। इसके पश्चात् साठ वर्ष वसुमित्र-अग्निमित्र, सौ वर्ष गन्धर्व और नहवान चालीस वर्ष तक राज्य करते रहे। इसके पश्चात् भृत्य आन्ध्र उत्पन्न हुआ। इन भृत्य आन्ध्रों का काल दो सौ बयालीस वर्ष, इसके पश्चात् गुप्तवंशी हुए, जिनके राज्यकाल का प्रमाण दो सौ इकतीस वर्ष रहा है। फिर इसके पश्चात् इन्द्र का सुत कल्कि उत्पन्न हुआ। इसका नाम चतुर्मुख था तथा आयु सत्तर वर्ष और राज्यकाल द्विगुणित इक्कीस अर्थात् ब्यालीस वर्ष प्रमाण रहा।'[4]

तित्थोगाली पइण्णअ में कल्कि के विषय में वर्णन है कि 'शक से १३२३ वर्ष (वीर निर्वाण १९२८) जब व्यतीत होंगे तब कुसुमपुर (पाटलिपुत्र) में दुष्टबुद्धि कल्कि का जन्म होगा।' कालसप्ततिका प्रकरण के अनुसार 'वीर निर्वाण से १९१२ वर्ष और पांच मास बीतने पर पाटलिपुत्र नगर में चण्डाल के कुल में चैत्र की अष्टमी के दिन श्रवणों (साधुओं) का विरोधी जन्मेगा, जिसके तीन नाम होंगे – कल्कि, रुद्र और चतुर्मुख।' चतुर्मुख का कल्कि नाम जैन साहित्य में अन्यत्र भी उपलब्ध होता है। दीपालिकाकल्प में जिनसुन्दरसुरि लिखते हैं '... वीर निर्वाण के १९१४ वर्ष जब व्यतीत होंगे तब पाटलिपुत्र में म्लेच्छ कुल में यश की स्त्री यशोदा की कुक्षि से चैत्र शुक्ल ८ की रात में कल्कि का जन्म होगा।' उपाध्याय क्षमाकल्याण अपने दीपमालिका कथा में लिखते हैं ... ' मुझसे (वीर निर्वाण से) ४७५ वर्ष बीतने पर विक्रमादित्य नाम का राजा होगा। उसके बाद लगभग १२४ वर्ष के अन्दर (वी. नि. संवत् ५९९) पाटलिपुत्र नामक नगर में चतुर्मुख (कल्कि) का जन्म होगा।' इसके अतिरिक्त महानिशीथसूत्र में भी कल्कि का उल्लेख मिलता है।

कुछ विद्वानों ने कल्कि राजा को चतुर्मुख से अलग सिद्ध करने तथा अन्य वंशों के साथ उसका तादात्म्य स्थापित करने का प्रयत्न किया है। आगमकारों का कल्किवंश ही इतिहासकारों का हूणवंश है, क्योंकि यह एक बर्बर जंगली जाति थी, जिसके सभी राजा अत्यन्त अत्याचारी होने के कारण कल्कि कहलाते थे। आगम व इतिहास दोनों की अपेक्षा समय लगभग मिलता है। इस जाति ने गुप्त राजाओं पर स्कन्दगुप्त के समय (४३२ ई.) से ही आक्रमण करने प्रारंभ कर दिए थे। इधर आगमकारों ने भी वीर निर्वाण संवत् ६५८

3. त्रिलोकसार, नरतिर्यग्लोकाधिकार, गाथा 850-851।
4. तिलोयपण्णत्ति, 4/1496, 1499, 1503-1510।

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(४३२ ई.) में कल्कि राजा का उल्लेख किया है।[5] यद्यपि आगमों में हूण वंश का कोई वर्णन प्राप्त नहीं होता परन्तु तीन राजाओं (इन्द्र, शिशुपाल और चतुर्मुख) का सामंजस्य हूणवंश के साथ बैठाने के लिए यहाँ उसका भी कथन कर देना अपेक्षित है। हूणवंशी भी अत्यन्त अत्याचारी थे, कल्कि भी अत्यन्त अत्याचारी था, इसीलिए वही कल्किवंश कहलाये तो कोई आश्चर्य नहीं। इन्द्र राजा भी गुप्तवंश के पश्चात् हुआ है और हूणवंश भी। हूणवंश के प्रसिद्ध तोरमाण व मिहिरकुल का भी वही समय है जो शिशुपाल व चतुर्मुख का। मिहिरकुल भी तोरमाण का पुत्र था और चतुर्मुख भी शिशुपाल का पुत्र था। मिहिरकुल भी अत्यन्त अत्याचारी था और चतुर्मुख भी।

मुनि कल्याणविजय ने अपने निबन्ध 'वीर निर्वाण संवत् और जैन कालगणना' में कल्कि का तादात्म्य पुष्यमित्र के साथ बैठाने का प्रयत्न करते हुए कहा है 'जैन ग्रन्थोक्त कल्कि पुष्यमित्र ही हैं।[6] भगवान् महावीर के निर्वाणोपरान्त के प्रत्येक सहस्राब्द के अन्त में एक कल्कि होता रहेगा।[7]

इस प्रकार हम देखते हैं कि जैन साहित्य में निर्दिष्ट कल्कि के विषय में पर्याप्त मत-भेद है। यदि उत्तरपुराण उसके पिता का नाम शिवपाल और माता का नाम पृथिवीसुन्दरी बतलाता है तो तिलोयपण्णत्ति इत्यादि इसे इन्द्र का पुत्र स्वीकार करते हैं। दीपमाला कल्प में जिनसुन्दरसूरि कल्कि को म्लेच्छकुल में यश की पत्नी यशोदा की कोख से उत्पन्न माना है तो कालसप्ततिका में इसे चण्डालकुल में उत्पन्न बतलाया है।

इसी प्रकार इसके जन्म के समय पर भी मतभेद है, जिस पर आगे चर्चा की जाएगी।

क्या बाहुबलिप्रतिमा का प्रतिष्ठापक चामुण्डराज था? — अनेक समस्याओं से जूझता हुआ यह विषय इस इतिहासपरक समस्या का भी ग्रास बन गया है कि बाहुबलि की प्रतिमा का प्रतिष्ठापक कौन था? इस समस्या का समाधान करने के लिए जब हम जैन साहित्य और अन्य विद्वानों का सहारा लेते हैं तो पाते हैं कि प्रतिष्ठापकों के विषय में एक नहीं हजारों वर्षों का अन्तर दिखलाई पडता है। प्रायः विद्वानों ने इसी बात को परिपुष्ट करने का प्रयत्न किया है कि बाहुबलि प्रतिमा का प्रतिष्ठापक चामुण्डराज था। किन्तु यह चामुण्डराज कौन सा था इस विषय में भी मतभेद हैं। पहला चामुण्डराज बेलगांव के दो अभिलेखों[8] में उल्लिखित है। दूसरा चामुण्डराज बेलगांव के अन्य अभिलेखों[9] में नागवर्मा दनदन्यका का पिता तथा चामुण्डराय दनदन्यका एवं सर्वदेव दनदन्यका का पितामह कहा गया है। तीसरा चामुण्डराज गंगराजा रक्षाभंग का मन्त्री और सन्धिविग्रहिक था।[10] तथा चौथा चामुण्डराज गंगनरेश रायमल्ल का मन्त्री था।[11] वास्तव में इसी ने उक्त प्रतिमा की स्थापना करवाई थी। किन्तु रायमल्ल के मन्त्री चामुण्डराज को प्रतिमा प्रतिष्ठापक मान लेने पर इसके विरोध

5. जैनेन्द्र-सिद्धान्त-कोश, भाग एक, भारतीय ज्ञानपीठ प्रकाशन, 1970 ई. पृ. 329।

6. दिव्यध्वनि, वर्ष 3, अंक 7, नवम्बर 1968, पृ. 27, जैन ग्रन्थोक्त कल्कि — एक अन्वेषणीय समस्या, श्री अगरचन्द नाहटा।

7. मुनिश्री मिश्रीलालजी अभिनन्दन ग्रन्थ, तृतीय खण्ड, पृ. 69–76।

8. ए.क. 7, सिकारपुर 120 और 151, पृ. 163 और 193।

9. सिकारपुर 114 पृ. 152.

10. जे.बी.बी.आर.ए.एस., 1927, जिल्द 3, पृ. 160.

11. गोम्मटसार, कर्मकाण्ड, पद्य 965–72.

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में विद्वानों ने यह तर्क प्रस्तुत किया कि शक संवत् ९०० में समाप्त चामुण्डराजकृत चामुण्डरायपुराण मिलता है। उसमें चामुण्डराज द्वारा किए गए समस्त छोटे-बडे कार्यों का वर्णन है किन्तु बाहुबलि की प्रतिमा की स्थापना जैसे महान् कार्य का उसने कहीं भी वर्णन नहीं किया। अतः इसकी स्थापना चामुण्डराज द्वारा नहीं हो सकती। किन्तु हो सकता है पुराण की समाप्ति तिथि ९७८ ई. है और चामुण्डराज ने इस महान् कार्य का संपादन ९७८ ई. के पश्चात् किया हो। क्योंकि चामुण्डराज तो ९८४ ई. तक मन्त्री रहा। अतः चामुण्डराज ने अपने मन्त्रित्व काल के अन्तिम छह वर्षों का समय इस महान् कार्य को पूर्ण करने में व्यतीत किया हो।

प्रतिष्ठापक चामुण्डराज के विरोध में राजावलि कथा और मुनिवंशाभ्युदय नामक कन्नड काव्य में वर्णन आता है कि गोम्मटेश्वर और पार्श्वनाथ की मूर्तियों को राम और सीता लंका से लाते थे। और इनकी पूजा अर्चना किया करते थे। जाते समय इन मूर्तियों को इसी स्थान पर छोड गए। इस तथ्य के विरोध में मैं केवल इतना ही कहना चाहूँगा कि यदि राम और सीता इन मूर्तियों को लंका से लाये थे तो इसका रामायण या परवर्ती साहित्य में उल्लेख अवश्य होना चाहिए। और फिर इस ५७ फूट की प्रतिमा को वे किस प्रयोजन से लाये होंगे? और यदि लाये भी थे तो वे जाते समय इन मूर्तियों को अयोध्या क्यों नहीं ले गए। उपर्युक्त तथ्यों पर विचार करने से राजावलिकथा और मुनिवंशाभ्युदय की यह कथा इतिहास में मात्र विसंगति ही पैदा करती है।

वास्तव में इस मूर्ति की स्थापना चामुण्डराज द्वारा ही कराई गई। डॉ. आ. ने. उपाध्ये ने अपने लेख में सप्रमाण सिद्ध किया है कि बाहुबलि की मूर्ति का नाम गोम्मट जिन या गोम्मटेश्वर इसी कारण प्रसिद्ध हुआ है कि वह चामुण्डराजा द्वारा निर्मापित हुई थी और गोम्मट चामुण्डराज का घर का नाम था।[12] अजयकुमार जैन, राधेश्याम 'प्रगल्भ' और शिवनाथ मित्तल ने भी मूर्ति का प्रतिष्ठापक चामुण्डराज को ही सिद्ध करते हुए कहा है कि चामुण्डराज ने नेमिचन्द्राचार्य की देखरेख में यह महान् मूर्ति बनवाई। यह घटना सन् ९८३ ई. के लगभग की है।[13]

कुछ जैन साहित्यिक ग्रन्थों जैसे गोम्मटेश्वरचरित, भुजवलिशतक, और स्थलपुराण के अनुसार गोम्मटेश्वर मूर्ति की स्थापना गंगनरेश राचमल्ल के मन्त्री चामुण्डराज ने करवाई। लगभग श. सं. ९५० और ११०२ (ले. नं. ८५ और १०९)[14] के लेखों से भी इसी प्रकार के प्रमाण मिलते हैं।

उपर्युक्त विवरण से यह सहज ही अनुमान लगाया जा सकता है कि बाहुबलि की प्रतिमा की स्थापना गंगनरेश राचमल्ल के मन्त्री चामुण्डराज ने वि. सं. १०३१ में कराई। तथा राजावलि कथा और मुनिवंशाभ्युदय आदि ग्रन्थों का वर्णन कल्पनामात्र है।

बाहुबलि और उसका कल्कि से सम्बन्ध — बाहुबलि प्रथम तीर्थंकर ऋषभदेव के पुत्र थे। ये दो भाई थे ... भरत और बाहुबलि या भुजबलि। भरत बाहुबलि से बडे थे। जब

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12. अनेकान्त वर्ष 4, अंक 3–4.
13. जैन-तीर्थ दर्शन, अखिल भारतवर्षीय दिगम्बर जैन परिषद्, पब्लिशिंग हाउस, दिल्ली, 1981, पृ. 99.
14. जैन शिलालेखसंग्रह, भाग 1, संपा. हीरालाल जैन, माणिकचन्द दिगम्बर जैन ग्रन्थमाला, 1928,

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इनके पिता ऋषभदेव ने दीक्षा धारण की तो दोनों भाईयों में युद्ध हुआ। युद्ध में बाहुबलि नरसंहार न देख सके और अपने ज्येष्ठ भ्राता से जल, मल्ल आदि युद्ध के द्वारा निर्णय करने की इच्छा प्रकट की। युद्ध हुआ, जिसमें बाहुबलि की विजय हुई, किन्तु साथ ही साथ एक आश्चर्यजनक घटना यह घटी कि उन्होंने राज्य से मोह त्याग दिया। सारा राज्य भरत के हाथों में सौंप कर स्वयं वन में तपस्या करने चले गए। थोडे ही दिनों में घोर तपस्या के द्वारा बाहुबलि को केवल ज्ञान प्राप्त हो गया। इस सूचना को सुनकर भरत ने पौंदनपुर में ५२५ धनुष ऊंची बाहुबलि की प्रतिमा बनवाई। इसी प्रतिमा के कुक्कुट और सर्पों से व्याप्त होने के कारण बाहुबलि कुक्कुटेश्वर कहलाये।

(i) प्राचीन साहित्य में बाहुबलि — प्राचीन भारतीय साहित्य में बाहुबलि चरित्र-नायक के रूप में बहुत लोकप्रिय रहे हैं। संस्कृत, प्राकृत, अपभ्रंश, कन्नड, तमिल, तेलुगु और हिन्दी आदि भाषाओं की कृतियों में बाहुबलि का वर्णन मिलता है। प्राचीन साहित्य में सर्वप्रथम प्रथम शताब्दी इस्वी में लिखित आचार्य कुन्दकुन्द की शौरसेनी कृति 'भावपाहुड' में बाहुबलि को धीर-वीर के रूप में उल्लिखित किया गया है। कुन्दकुन्दाचार्य की यह रचना परवर्ती लेखकों के लिए उपजीव्य और प्रेरणास्रोत रही है। दूसरी-तीसरी शताब्दी इस्वी में आचार्य विमलसूरि कृत 'पउमचरियं' के चतुर्थ पर्व में भरत-बाहुबलि के युद्ध का वर्णन आता है। शौरसेनी आगम के प्रमुख ग्रन्थ 'तिलोयपण्णत्ति' में बाहुबलि को चोबीस कामदेवों में से एक कहा गया है। छठी शताब्दी में संघदासगणि ने अपनी कृति 'वसुदेवहिण्डी' में दृष्टि और मुष्टियुद्ध का वर्णन किया गया है तथा पराजय से दुःखी भरत द्वारा बाहुबलि पर चक्र संचालन का वर्णन किया गया है। धर्मदास गणि की पुस्तक 'उपदेशमाला' के 'बाहुबलिदृष्टान्त' प्रकरण में भरत और बाहुबलि का वर्णन प्राप्त होता है। संस्कृत साहित्य में आचार्य रविषेण कृत 'पद्मपुराण' के चतुर्थ पर्व में बाहुबलि का उल्लेख हुआ है। इसमें भरत और बाहुबलि के मध्य हुए दृष्टि, मुष्टि और जल, तीनों प्रकार के युद्धों का वर्णन मिलता है। आचार्य जिनसेन (श. सं. ७७०) कृत 'आदिपुराण' में भरत-बाहुबलि का वर्णन विस्तार से मिलता है। अपभ्रंश साहित्य में महाकवि पुष्पदन्त कृत 'महापुराण' के 'नाभेयचरिउ प्रकरण' में बाहुबलि का वर्णन अत्यन्त मार्मिक रूप में किया गया है। इसमें भरतदूत और बाहुबलि का संवाद, सैन्यसंगठन और सैन्यसंचालन तथा युद्धों का वर्णन मिलता है। जिनेश्वरसूरि कृत 'कथाकोषप्रकरण' में भरतकथानक में बाहुबलि का वर्णन मिलता है। आचार्य सोमप्रभ कृत 'कुमारपालप्रतिबोध' के 'राजपिण्डे भरतचक्रिकथा' नाम प्रकरण में लगभग २४ कथाओं में बाहुबलि का वर्णन मिलता है। इसमें चार प्रकार के 'दृष्टि, वाणी, बाहु और लट्ठी' युद्धों का वर्णन मिलता है। रासपरम्परा के 'भरतेश-बाहुबलि-रास' में उल्लेख मिलता है कि भरत और बाहुबलि में लगातार तेरह दिनों तक युद्ध चलता रहा। महाकवि अगरचंद्र कृत चौदहवीं शताब्दी के 'पद्मानन्द' महाकाव्य में भी बाहुबलि का चित्रण हुआ है। इस महाकाव्य में नौ सर्गों में बाहुबलि की कथा निबद्ध की गई है। धनेश्वर सूरि कृत 'शत्रु-जय-माहात्म्य' में भरत और बाहुबलि के युद्ध का वर्णन मिलता है। धनपाल कृत 'बाहुबलिदेव-चरिउ' या 'कामचरित' में बाहुबलि के सम्पूर्ण चरित्र का वर्णन मिलता है।

कन्नड साहित्य में रत्नाकरवर्णी की 'भरतेशवैभव' और उसकी सत्ताइसवीं सन्धि 'कामदेव आस्थान' में बाहुबलि के बल और पराक्रम का वर्णन मिलता हैं। कन्नड साहित्य में कवि चन्द्रम कृत 'कार्कलद-गोम्मटेश्वर चरिते' में बाहुबलि के जीवन चरित्र का और राजवीर पाण्डय द्वारा प्रतिष्ठापित बाहुबलि प्रतिमा का ऐतिहासिक दृष्टि से वर्णन किया गया है। पुण्यकुशल गणि कृत 'बाहुबलि महाकाव्यम्' में उल्लेख मिलता है कि भरत और बाहुबलि के

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मध्य अठारह वर्षों तक युद्ध होता रहा। पामो कृत 'भरत-भुजबलि-चरित्र' में भी बाहुबलि का वर्णन मिलता हैं।

(ii) अभिलेखों में बाहुबलि — अभिलेखों में, मुख्य रूप से जैन अभिलेखों में बाहुबलि का वर्णन मिलता है। ये बाहुबलि अन्तिम श्रुतकेवली हुए हैं। इनके शिष्य का नाम चन्द्रगुप्त था। कुछ विद्वानों ने इनके शिष्य का नाम प्रभाचन्द्र भी सिद्ध करने का प्रयत्न किया है। हो सकता है कि प्रभाचन्द्र चन्द्रगुप्त का दीक्षा नाम हो। बाहुबलि के अन्य नाम भुजबलि, भद्रबाहु और गोम्मटेश्वर भी मिलते हैं। बाहुबलि ने चन्द्रगिरि पर्वत पर समाधि-मरण किया था। उस समय उनके शिष्य चन्द्रगुप्त उनके साथ ही थे। भद्रबाहु से पहले प्रायः दक्षिण भारत में जैन धर्म का प्रचार नहीं था। जैन धर्म के इतिहास के अनुसार उत्तर भारत में द्वादशवर्षीय अकाल पडने के कारण बाहुबलि अपने संघ सहित दक्षिण भारत की ओर अग्रेसर हुए। श्रवणबेल्गोला में चन्द्रगिरि पर्वत के निकट भद्रबाहु का समाधि मरण हुआ और इसी स्थान पर उन्होंने अपने संघ को यह आज्ञा दी कि वे दक्षिण भारत के अन्य प्रदेशों में अपनी धर्मयात्रा ज़ारी रखें।

कल्किसंवत् का बाहुबलि से संबन्ध — कल्कि संवत् का प्रारम्भ कब हुआ और किसके द्वारा किया गया? इस विषय पर चर्चा आगे की जाएगी। यहाँ तो यही जानना अपेक्षित है कि कल्कि संवत् का बाहुबलि से क्या संबन्ध है 'बाहुबलि चरित्र' में वर्णन आता है कि 'कल्किसंवत् ६०० में चैत्र शुक्ल ५ कुंभ लग्न, मृगशिरा नक्षत्र में चामुण्डराज द्वारा बेल्गुल नगर में बाहुबलि प्रतिमा की प्रतिष्ठापना कराई गई। जैसाकि पहले वर्णन किया जा चुका है कि बाहुबलि के ज्येष्ठ भ्राता ने ५२५ धनुष की प्रतिमा बनवाई, उसके अदृश्य होने पर गंगनरेश राचमल्ल के मन्त्री चामुण्डराज ने ६०० कल्किसंवत् में उसी प्रकार की ५७ फुट ऊँची प्रतिमा की प्रतिष्ठापना करवाई। इसीलिए कल्किसंवत् का सम्बन्ध बाहुबलि से जुड गया।

कल्किसंवत् का प्रारम्भ और प्रतिमा की प्रतिष्ठापना — यह इतिहास की एक आम समस्या है कि घटना कब घटी? इसी प्रकार की समस्या कल्किसंवत् के सम्बन्ध में भी देखी जा सकती है। इस प्रयोजन की सिद्धि हेतु जब हम जैन पुराणों, जैन साहित्य और आधुनिक विद्वानों के मतों पर दृष्टिपात करते हैं तो हम इस समस्या को लेकर सैंकडों वर्षों के अन्तर में झुलते रहते हैं। इसी कारण यह समस्या ज्यों की त्यों बनी हुई है।

जब हम इस संवत् के प्रारम्भ की बात सोचते हैं तो इसके प्रतिष्ठापक का ज्ञात होना और प्रतिष्ठापक की तिथि ज्ञात होना आवश्यक है। प्रायः विद्वानो का मत यही है कि कल्किसंवत् किसी कल्कि नामक राजा द्वारा चलाया गया जिसका दूसरा नाम चतुर्मुख भी था। कल्कि पर हम पहले ही विचार कर चुके हैं। अब कल्कि का समय क्या था? इस पर विचार करेंगे। बाहुबलिचरित्र में वर्णन आता है कि 'कल्किसंवत् ६०० विभव संवत्सर में चैत्र शुक्ल ५ रविवार को कुंभ लग्न, सौभाग्य योग मस्त (मृगशिरा) नक्षत्र में चामुण्डराज ने बेल्गुल नगर में गोम्मटेश की प्रतिष्ठा कराई।'

इस प्रकार यदि कल्किसंवत् के प्रारंभ का बाहुबलि मूर्ति की प्रतिष्ठापना का समय निकालना कठिन नहीं है। हरिवंशपुराण के अनुसार वीर निर्वाण संवत् ७३३ (२०६ ई.) में कल्कि राजा हुआ। अतः बाहुबलि की प्रतिमा की स्थापना ८८६ ई. में होनी चाहिए। तिलोय-

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पण्णत्ति के अनुसार कल्कि ४७३ ई. में राजा बना।[15] त्रिलोकसार में भी कल्कि राजा की स्थिति ४७३ ई. में ही बतलाई गई है, किन्तु यह असंगत प्रतीत होता है क्योंकि इस समय के किसी राजा ने कल्कि राजा का उल्लेख नहीं किया।

तित्थोगाली प्रकरण में उल्लेख आता है कि 'शक से १३२३ (वी. वि. १९२८) वर्ष व्यतीत होंगे तब कुसुमपुर (पाटलिपुत्र) में दुष्टबुद्धि कल्कि का जन्म होगा।' इस प्रकार १४०१ ई. में कल्कि राजा हुआ तथा २००१ ई. में बाहुबलि प्रतिमा की प्रतिष्ठापना होगी, यह बात स्वयं अपने आप में गलत सिद्ध हो जाती है। कालसम्ततिका प्रकरण में कल्कि राजा की उत्पत्ति वीरनिर्वाण से १९१२ वर्ष और ५ मास बीतने पर चैत्र की अष्टमी के दिन कही गई है, यह तर्क भी स्वयं में असंगत है। जिनसुन्दरकृत दीपालिकाकल्प के अनुसार कल्कि की उत्पत्ति वीरगिर्वाण संवत् १९१४ में पाटलिपुत्र में होगी। उपाध्याय क्षमाकल्याण अपनी कृति दीपमालिकाकथा में कहते है कि वीरनिर्वाण संवत् ५९९ अर्थात् ७२ ई. में चतुर्मुख का जन्म होगा। ये सभी वर्णन समय निर्धारण के परिप्रक्ष्य में विसंगति फैलाने के अतिरिक्त कुछ नहीं करते। गोम्मटसार (कर्मकाण्ड) में चामुण्डराय द्वारा 'गोम्मट जिन' की प्रतिमा की स्थापना का वर्णन है,[16] अतः गोम्मटसार कर्मकाण्ड की रचना से पूर्व गोम्मटप्रतिमा की स्थापना हो चुकी थी।

कल्कि संवत् की प्रतिष्ठापना के विषय में विद्वानों में भी पर्याप्त मतभेद है। प्रो. शरत् चन्द्र घोषाल ने कहा है कि यह तिथि गंगनरेश राचमल्ल के समय में ही पडनी चाहिए। राचमल्ल का समय ९७४ से ९८४ ई. के मध्य का है। इस आचार पर उन्होंने उक्त तिथि को २ अप्रेल ९८० ई. माना है।[17] प्रो. घोषाल के अनुसार उक्त तिथि को रविवार चैत्र शुक्ल ५ तिथि थी और कुंभ लग्न भी पडा था। किन्तु स्वामी कन्नूपिलाई ने 'इंडियन एफेमेरिस' में २ अप्रेल ९८० ई. को दिन शुक्रवार और तिथि १४ बतलाई है। इस दृष्टि से यह तिथि गलत सिद्ध हो जाती है। डॉ. नेमिचन्द्र के अनुसार बाहुबलि चरित्रोक्त कल्कि संवत् १३ मार्च ९८१ ई. में पडा था।[18] प्रो. हीरालाल जैन के अनुसार बाहुबलि मूर्ति की स्थापना २३ मार्च १०२८ ई. में हुई।[19] डॉ. शाम शास्त्री ने भी यही तिथि स्वीकार की है।[20] एस. श्रीकण्ठ शास्त्री 'कल्क्यब्दे' के स्थान पर 'कल्यब्दे' पाठ ठीक मानकर उक्त तिथि को ९०७-९०८ ई. निर्धारित करते है।[21] पं कैलाशचन्द्र शास्त्री ९८१ ई. को मूर्ति प्रतिष्ठापना की तिथि सिद्ध करते हैं।[22] डॉ. ज्योतिप्रसाद जैन ने भी पं. कैलाशचन्द्र शास्त्री के मत का ही समर्थन किया हैं।[23] मुनि कल्याणविजय ने यह निष्कर्ष निकाला है कि जैन ग्रन्थोक्त कल्कि पुष्यमित्र ही है।[24]

15. तिलोयपण्णत्ति 4/1496, 1499, 1503–1510.
16. गोम्मटसार (कर्मकाण्ड) गाथा संख्या 968–69.
17. द्रव्यसंग्रह, प्रो. घोषाल, सेंट्रल जैन पब्लिशिंग हाउस, आरा, भूमिका, पृ. 35–36.
18. जैन सिद्धान्त भास्कर, भाग 6, किरण 4, पृ. 261.
19. जैन शिलालेख संग्रह, भाग 1, भूमिका, पृ. 31.
20. मैसूर आर्किओलाजिकल रिपोर्ट, 1923.
21. जैन एण्टीक्वरी, जिल्द 5, नं. 6, पृ. 107–114.
22. जैन साहित्य का इतिहास, प्रथम भाग, पृ. 393–395.
23. गोम्मटेश्वर महाभिषेक स्मरणिका, पृ. 262.
24. दिव्यध्वनि, वर्ष 3, अंक 7, पृ. 27.

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प्रायः सभी विद्वानों का मतैक्य यही है कि बाहुबलि प्रतिमा की प्रतिष्ठापना गंगनरेश राचमल्ल के मन्त्री चामुण्डराज ने करवाई। शक संवत् ९५० का लेख भी यही सिद्ध करता है।[25] कन्नड कवि बोप्पण ने भी इसी प्रकार का उल्लेख किया है।[26] इस दृष्टि से यदि हम देखें तो यह विषय चिन्तनीय हो जाता है कि ९७८ इ. में समाप्त चामुण्डराजकृत चामुण्डराय-पुराण मिलता है। इसमें चामुण्डराज के समस्त कार्यों का वर्णन मिलता है कि प्रतिमा प्रतिष्ठापना का वर्णन नहीं मिलता। इससे यह अनुमान लगाया जा सकता है कि ९७८ इ. तक चामुण्डराज ने प्रतिमा की स्थापना नहीं करवाई थी।

इस प्रकार समस्त विवरण के पश्चात् जब हम उपर्युक्त तथ्यों में सत्यता का अन्वेषण करते हैं तो प्रतिमास्थापना की तिथि ९८१ ई. ही उपयुक्त दिखलाई पडती है। क्योंकि पुराण तो सर्वथा भविष्य का वर्णन करने में ही प्रवृत्त दिखलाई पडते हैं। इस प्रकार भविष्य-वाणी को कदापि सत्यता की कसौटी पर खरा नहीं उतारा जा सकता। इस प्रकार निष्कर्ष रूप में यही कहा जा सकता है कि बाहुबलि चरित्रोक्त संवत्सर, दिन आदि के आधार पर कल्कि संवत् का प्रारम्भ ३८१ ई. में तथा प्रतिमा स्थापना की तिथि १० मार्च ९८१ ई. ही तर्कसंगत है।

इस प्रकार उपर्युक्त वर्णन को देखते हुए निष्कर्ष रूप में यह कहा जा सकता है कि पत्रोक्त कल्कि राजा पाटलिपुत्र का राजा चतुर्मुख ही है। यह सम्भवतः अपने स्वभाव अत्याचारी होने के कारण ही कल्कि नाम से प्रसिद्ध हुआ। यहाँ ३८१ ई. में राजा बना और अपने नाम से एक संवत् की स्थापना की जो 'कल्किसंवत्' नाम से प्रसिद्ध हुआ। इसी कल्कि-संवत् ६०८ में गंगनरेश राचमल्ल के मन्त्री चामुण्डराज द्वारा भगवान् बाहुबलि की ५७ फूट ऊँची प्रतिमा की प्रतिष्ठापना कराई गई। यथापि कल्किसंवत् के प्रारंभ के सम्बन्ध में मत ७२ इ. से लेकर १४८१ इ. तक के दीर्घ अन्तराल में भूल रहे हैं किन्तु फिर भी मात्र बाहुबलि-चरित्र में वर्णित बाहुबलिप्रतिमा के स्थापना के समय पर ही विश्वास करते हुए बाहुबलि-चरित्र में वर्णित संवत्सर, लग्न, योग और नक्षत्रादि के आधार पर १८ मार्च ८८१ इ. ही प्रतिमा स्थापना की तिथि उचित है।

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25. जैन शिलालेख संग्रह, भाग 1, ले. 75.
26. जैन शिलालेख संग्रह, भाग 1, ले. 85.

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नैयायिकवैशेषिकजैनतार्किकाणां तर्के विप्रतिपत्तिः

लेखक : गणेशीलाल सुथार

भारतीयदर्शनसम्प्रदायेषु तर्कस्वरूपमधिकृत्य प्रातिस्विकानि मतानि वर्तन्ते। तत्र तर्क इति संज्ञाऽभेदमात्रम्, न तु स्वरूपाभेदः। जरन्नैयायिकेन जयन्तभट्टेन न्यायमञ्जर्यां तर्कस्वरूपविषयं मतभेदमधिकृत्य स्फुटं विवेचनमकारि। तद्यथा— "तर्कशब्दं केचिदनुमाने प्रयुञ्जते, तथा स्मृतिकारा पठन्ति—

'आर्षं धर्मोपदेशं च वेदशास्त्राविरोधिना।
यस्तर्केणानुसन्धत्ते स धर्मं वेद नेतरः' ॥"[1]

पूर्वमीमांसादर्शनेऽपि ऊहो न्यायदर्शनसम्मतादूहस्वरूपतर्कोद्भिन्नः। अत एव जयन्तभट्टेन निर्दिष्टम्— "इह तु प्रमाणव्यतिरिक्त ऊह उपपादितः, श्रोत्रियास्तु तदनभिज्ञतया न्याये न्यायफले वा ऊहशब्दमुपचरितवन्त इत्यलं शास्त्रान्तरोद्धारगहनाभिः कथाभिः।

तदेष मीमांसककल्प्यमानो नोहः प्रमाणव्यतिरेकमेति।
प्रमाणसन्देहदशान्तरालवर्ती तु तर्कः कथितोऽत्र शास्त्रे ॥

इति।"[2] वार्त्तिककृता उद्द्योतकराचार्येणाऽपि तर्कस्य सौत्रलक्षणव्याख्याप्रसङ्गे तर्कस्वरूपविषया विप्रतिपत्तयः प्रतिपादिताः।[3] वस्तुतस्तर्कस्वरूपतत्प्रामाण्याप्रामाण्यविषये दार्शनिकानां महती विप्रतिपत्तिर्विजृम्भते। अत एव अध्येतॄणां कृते विषयोऽयं गुरुप्रतिपत्तिको भवति। शास्त्राध्ययने च स्खलनं संभवत्येव। सुष्ठूक्तम्— 'को न विमुह्यति शास्त्रसमुद्रे?'

इदानीन्तावदिह प्रकृतमनुसरन् तर्कविषयाणि नैयायिकवैशेषिकजैनतार्किकमतानि स्वकीयामल्पविषयां मतिमनुसृत्य तर्कयामि। न्यायसूत्रस्य प्रथमाध्यायस्थप्रथमाह्निके न्यायोत्तराङ्गलक्षणप्रकरणे महर्षिगौतमेन 'अविज्ञाततत्त्वेऽर्थे कारणोपपत्तितस्तत्त्वज्ञानार्थमूहस्तर्कः'[4] इत्येवं तर्कलक्षणं सूत्रितम्। न्यायदर्शने उद्दिष्टेषु लक्षितेषु परीक्षितेषु च षोडशपदार्थेष्वन्यतमोऽयं पदार्थान्तरपृथक्त्वेन स्वीकृतस्तर्काख्यः पदार्थः। न्यायदर्शने विशिष्ट ऊहस्तर्क उच्यत इति तर्कस्य सौत्रलक्षणेन प्रतीयते। अविज्ञायमानतत्त्वे अविज्ञाततत्त्वे वाऽर्थे (सामान्यतो ज्ञाते धर्मिणि) प्रथमं प्रमातुर्जिज्ञासा जायते— 'जानीयेममर्थम्' इत्याकारा। ततो जिज्ञासिते धर्मिणि संशयो भवति— 'किमयं स्थाणुर्वा पुरुषो वेति']। ततो विमृश्यमानयोः स्थाणुत्वपुरुषत्वरूपधर्मयोरन्यतरं कारणोपपत्तितोऽर्थात् प्रमाणसम्भवेन अनुजानाति। 'एवमेतत् स्यात् नान्यतरत्' इत्याकारकः

1. न्यायमञ्जर्यांश्चौखम्बाप्रकाशिताया द्वितीयभागे १४६ पृष्ठे।
2. तत्रैव १४८ पृष्ठे।
3. न्यायदर्शनस्य (प्रो. अनन्तलालठक्कुरसम्पादितस्य) प्रथमाध्यायात्मकप्रथमभागे ५८३-८४ पृष्ठयोः।
4. न्यायसूत्रे १.१.४०.

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प्रमाणानुग्राहक ऊहो भवति, स एव तर्क इत्युच्यते[5]। संशयज्ञाने उल्लिख्यमानपक्षद्वयस्यान्यतरपक्षस्य उत्थापनानुकूलकारणावलोकनं तत्त्वस्योत्थापकं भवति, तच्च संशये जिज्ञासायां वा न संभवति। अतो जिज्ञासासंशयौ न तर्कस्वरूपं प्राप्नुतः।[6]

अविज्ञाततत्त्वेऽर्थे इव विज्ञाततत्त्वेऽर्थेऽप्यूहो भवति। विज्ञाततत्त्वे य ऊहो भवति स विज्ञातमूहते अर्थात् स पूर्वानुभूतपरिच्छेदात्मा भवति। स तर्को नोच्यते। यः पुनः अविज्ञाततत्त्वेऽर्थे ऊहो भवति, स तर्क इत्यवदातीचकारोद्द्योतकराचार्यः।[7] अस्मिन् विषये वाचस्पतिमिश्रस्य स्पष्टीकरणमप्यवधेयमस्ति।[8] तदनुसारेण यद्यपि संशयस्य पश्चादेव जिज्ञासा भवति, तथापि जिज्ञासायाः परस्तादपि संशय एवात्र तर्कस्थले विवक्षितः, तस्यैव तर्कप्रवृत्त्यङ्गत्वात्। तद्यथा—पूर्वं संशये पक्षद्वयमुल्लिख्यते, तत्पश्चात् प्रवर्तमानेन तर्केण द्वयोः पक्षयोरेकतरपक्षनिषेधेनैकतरः प्रमाणविषयतया अभ्यनुज्ञायत इत्येवं तर्कप्रवृत्तिं प्रति संशयस्य अङ्गता उपकारकता वा स्फुटीभवति तत्त्वतः।

तर्कस्य सौत्रलक्षणं व्याचक्षाणेन जयन्तभट्टेन सम्यगुपस्थापितं तर्कस्वरूपम्। तद्यथा—"अविज्ञाततत्त्वे सामान्यतो ज्ञाते धर्मिणि एकपक्षानुकूलकारणदर्शनात् तस्मिन् सम्भावनाप्रत्ययो भवितव्यतावभासस्तदितरपक्षशैथिल्यापादने तद्ग्राहकप्रमाणमनुगृह्य तान् सुखं प्रवर्तयन् तत्त्वज्ञानार्थमूहस्तर्क इति। यथा वाह्यकेलीप्रदेशादौ ऊर्ध्वत्वविशिष्टधर्मिदर्शनात् पुरुषेणानेन भवितव्यमिति प्रत्ययः"[9] संशयनिर्णयाभ्यामस्य अभेद इति मन्वानान् दार्शनिकान् भेदं प्रत्याययन् जयन्त इत्थं जगाद— "न खलु स्वमतिपरिकल्पितविकल्पवितानेन प्रत्यात्मवेदनीयाः प्रतीतयो वरीतुं शक्याः, तथा हि— स्थाणुर्वा पुरुषो वेति प्रतीतिरेका, पुरुष एवायमित्यन्या, पुरुषेणानेन भवितव्यमिति मध्यवर्तिनी तृतीया संभावनाप्रतीतिः स्वहृदयसाक्षिकैव,

साम्येन हि समुल्लेखः संशये पक्षयोर्द्वयोः।
निर्णये त्वितरः पक्षः स्पृश्यते न मनागपि॥
तर्कस्त्वेकतरं पक्षं विभात्युत्थापयन्निव।"[10]

जरन्नैयायिकजयन्तपरवर्ती क्रान्तिकारी नैयायिको भासर्वज्ञाचार्योऽपि जयन्तमनुसरन्निव 'न्यायसारे'[10a] ऊहापरपर्यायस्य तर्कस्य स्वरूपं निरूपयितुमेवमभाषिष्ट — "वाह्यालिप्रदेशे पुरुषेणानेन भवितव्यमित्यूहः"।[11] अपि च, न्यायसारस्य स्वोपज्ञव्याख्याने 'न्यायभूषणे' 'कश्चायमूह' इत्येवमूहस्वरूपविषयामाकाङ्क्षां समुत्थापयन्नवोचदेवम्— "संशयनिर्णयान्तरालभावी भवितव्यात्मकः प्रत्ययः। तद्यथा— वाह्यालीति"।[12]

5. न्यायभाष्ये १.१.४०.
6. न्यायमञ्जर्याम् १४४ पृष्ठे।
7. न्यायदर्शनस्य प्रथमाध्यायात्मकप्रथमभागे ५८२–५८३ पृष्ठयोः।
8. तत्रैव ५८४–८५ पृष्ठयोः।
9. न्यायमञ्जर्याम् १४५ पृष्ठे।
10. न्यायमञ्जर्याम् १४५ पृष्ठे।
10a. द्रष्टव्यो मन्निबद्धः "भासर्वज्ञ के न्यायसार का समालोचनात्मक अध्ययन" इत्यभिधः शोधप्रबन्धः।
11. न्यायसारसहितन्यायभूषणस्य वाराणसीतः प्रकाशितस्य २० पृष्ठे।
12. तत्रैव।

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न्यायदर्शने तर्कः किंस्वरूप इति विचारमार्गप्रहितेन चेतसा चिन्तिते एतदायाति यद् वात्स्यायनोद्द्योतकराचार्यजयन्तभट्टभासर्वज्ञप्रभृतयो नैयायिकाः कारणोपपत्त्या भवितव्यतात्मक-प्रतीतिरूपां (presumptive evidence) स्वपक्षसम्भावनामेव ऊहापरपर्यायं तर्कं इति कल्पमायासुः। परन्तु परवर्तिन्यायवैशेषिकप्रकरणेषु तर्कः प्रायेण प्रसङ्गस्वरूपत्वेनैव कल्पितः[13]। परपक्षानिष्टापादनरूपम् अनिष्टप्रसञ्जनमेव प्रसङ्गोऽभिधीयते। स एव तर्कः। तत्र तर्कस्य भवितव्यतात्मकप्रत्ययस्वरूपत्वं न लभ्यते। तर्कस्य सौत्रलक्षणे अनिष्टप्रसञ्जनस्वरूपतां सर्वप्रथमं कोऽवधारयामास इत्याकाङ्क्षायां सत्यामेतदेव कारणोपपत्त्याऽभ्यनुज्ञातुं शक्यते यद्वाचस्पतिमिश्र-महाभागेन तात्पर्यटीकायां तर्कलक्षणसूत्रमनिष्टप्रसङ्गपरतया व्याख्यायि[14]। स तत्र प्रसङ्गशब्दं तर्कस्यापरपर्यायत्वेन प्रयुङ्क्ते[15]। तद्यथा—'तर्केण हि प्रसङ्गापरनाम्ना' (reductio ad absurdum)। प्रसङ्गस्वरूपत्वं व्याचक्षाणः सोऽभाषिष्ट— "एतदुक्तं भवति, यस्मिन् विषये प्रमाणं प्रवर्तितुमुद्यतं तद्विपर्ययाशङ्कायां न तावत् प्रमाणं प्रवर्तते, न यावदनिष्टया आपत्त्या विपर्ययाशङ्का अपनीयते। तदपनय एव च स्वविषये प्रमाणसंभव इति च उपपत्तिरिति व्याख्यायते। तया प्रमाणस्योपपत्त्या इतिकर्तव्यतया प्रमाणविषयमभ्यनुजानत्या विशोधिते विषये प्रमाणमप्रत्यूहं प्रवर्तते"।[16]

तात्पर्यपरिशुद्धौ तर्कस्वरूपविषयं वाचस्पतिमिश्रस्य मतमेवदुदयनाचार्योऽपि उररीचकार।[17] स्वमतेऽपि च तर्कस्य अनिष्टप्रसङ्गस्वरूपतामभ्युपागमत्। तद्यथा— "स्वरूपमनिष्टप्रसङ्गः" (न्या. ता. परिशुद्धिः, १.१.४०)। उदयनाचार्येण तर्कस्य पञ्च विधा अप्यभिहिताः— "स चात्माश्रयेतरेतराश्रयचक्रकानवस्थाप्रमाणबाधितार्थप्रसङ्गभेदेन पञ्चविधः" (न्या. ता. परिशुद्धिः, १.१.४०)। महामहोपाध्यायफणिभूषणमहोदयमतानुसारेण यद्यपि तर्कस्वरूपस्य वैशद्येन प्रकाशनार्थम् उदयनाचार्येण विधा एता उल्लिखिताः, तथापि वस्तुवृत्त्या अनिष्टप्रसङ्ग एव तर्कस्य वास्तवं स्वरूपमिति।[18] वाचस्पतिपरवर्तिभिः प्रायेण सर्वैरपि तार्किकैः अनिष्टप्रसञ्जनमेव तर्कस्य स्वरूपमभ्युपगतम्।

सोऽयमेवं व्यापाररूपस्तर्को न्यायदर्शने प्रमाणान्तरं नोच्यते, अनिश्चायकत्वात्। अयं प्रमाणविषयविवेचनेन प्रमाणविषयपरिशोधनेन वा इदं युक्तमिदमयुक्तमिति युक्तायुक्तविचारेण वा प्रमाणानामनुग्राहको भवति, न तु प्रमाणान्तरम्। प्रसङ्गरूपोऽयं परतन्त्रः, स्वयमसाधनत्वात्। अयुक्तप्रतिषेधेन युक्ताभ्यनुज्ञानं तर्क इति। सर्वैरपि नैयायिकैरयमप्रमाणत्वेन कल्पितः। तत्त्वचिन्तामणिकारो गङ्गेशोपाध्यायोऽपि 'तर्कस्याप्रमाणत्वादि'ति[19] जगाद।

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13. तर्कोऽनिष्टप्रसङ्गः।— तर्कभाषायाः पुण्यपत्तनप्रकाशितायाः १०० पृष्ठे।
व्याप्यारोपेण व्यापकारोपस्तर्कः।— मुम्बईसंस्कृतग्रन्थमालायां प्रकाशितस्य तर्कसङ्ग्रहस्य ५६ पृष्ठे।
14. न्यायवार्तिकतात्पर्यटीकायां १.१.४०।
15. तत्रैव।
16. तत्रैव।
17. *Nyāya Philosophy* (part I : first Addhyāya), Indian Studies, Calcutta, 1967, pp. 126–27.
19. तत्त्वचिन्तामणेर्व्याप्तिग्रहोपायसिद्धान्तनिरूपणात्।

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इदानीन्तावद् वैशैषिकदर्शनानुसारेण तर्कस्वरूपं विचार्यते। कापोतीवृत्तिमता महर्षि-कणादेन वैशैषिकसूत्रे तर्को न कण्ठतो विद्याभेदेषु परिगणितः, न च अविद्याभेदेष्वप्युक्तः। प्रशस्त-मतिना प्रशस्तपादाचार्येणाऽपि पदार्थधर्मसङ्ग्रहे तर्कस्वरूपं न क्वचिच्चर्चितम्। प्रशस्तपादभाष्यस्य पुरातनतमटीकायां व्योमशिवाचार्येण बुद्धिनिरूपणे अविद्याभेदनिरूपणात् प्रागेव ऊहज्ञानरूपेऽस्मिन् तर्के शङ्काः समुत्थाप्य समाधायि।[20] तन्मते 'पुरुषेणानेन भवितव्यमिति' सम्भावनाप्रत्ययस्त-स्मिँस्तदिति प्रत्ययरूपत्वात् निश्चय एव। यद्यूहज्ञानं ज्ञानान्तरमिति स्वीक्रियेत, तर्हि तद् अव्यभिचार्यर्थविज्ञानत्वात् प्रमाणरूपं भविष्यति। प्रमाणरूपतायां च तत्फलस्य उपपत्त्यर्थं प्रमाणान्तरमभिधेयम्। अन्यथा प्रमाणसामान्यलक्षणं व्यभिचारि स्यात्। यदीन्द्रियार्थसन्निकर्षाद्येव ऊहोत्पत्तौ प्रमाणम्, तर्हि ऊहज्ञानं प्रत्यक्षादिफलमेव इति न ज्ञानान्तरमूहज्ञानमिति व्योम-शिवाचार्यमतम्।[21]

सत्यप्यूहसद्भावे समानतन्त्रे न्यायनये प्रसिद्धतया प्राप्तत्वात् स (ऊहः) नोक्त इति केषाञ्चिद् वैशैषिकाणां मतम्।[21a] व्योमशिवाचार्येण सम्भावनाप्रतीत्यात्मकं तर्कज्ञानन्तु प्रत्यक्षादि-फले एवान्तर्भावितम्। तत्स्थितिकाले समानतन्त्रे न्यायतन्त्रे अनिष्टप्रसङ्गरूपत्वेन तर्कस्य चर्चा न प्रववृते, अत एव व्योमवत्यां तदनभिधानशङ्का न समुन्मिषति।

न्यायसूत्रस्थतर्कलक्षणसूत्रस्य द्विविधतर्कस्वरूपपरां व्याख्यां विचार्य कन्दलीकारादिभि-र्वैशेषिकैरपि द्विविधस्तर्कश्चर्चितः[22]। अत एव खण्डनखण्डखाद्यस्य विद्यासागरीटीकायां निर्दिष्ट-मेतत्—"यदाह वैशेषिकः द्विविधस्तर्कः सम्भावनात्मकः प्रमित्युपादानोपयोगीति, प्रसङ्गरूपो विपक्षविरोधी प्रतिबन्धकापनयनार्थः।... द्विविधेऽपि तर्केऽनुगतं तर्कलक्षणं वाच्यं, त्वया तु प्रसङ्गस्य लक्षणं क्रियते, तत्सम्भावनायां न वर्तते इत्यर्थः"[23]। "तस्मादनवधारणात्मकत्वाद् एकतरपक्षसम्भावनात् प्रतिपक्षक्षेपी प्रसङ्गोऽपि सन्देहभेद एव तर्कसंज्ञया चाभिधीयते"[24] इति ब्रुवाणेन कोङ्कणदेशाधिपेन अपरार्कदेवेनाऽपि तर्कस्य यथोक्तं द्वैरूप्यं समर्थितमिति मन्ये।

कन्दलीकारोऽपि व्योमशिवाचार्यमनुसरन् सम्भावनाप्रत्ययस्वरूपं तर्कज्ञानं तत्त्वज्ञानमेवेति स्थापयामास।[25] प्रसङ्गरूपं तर्कमधिकृत्य "कस्तत्र विपरीतात् प्रमाणात् तदुपदर्शकाच्च वचनादन्य-स्तर्कः"[26] इति पर्यनुयुङ्क्ते कन्दलीकारः श्रीधराचार्यः समानतन्त्रीयान् नैयायिकान्। विपक्षाभावे सति समुपजायमानं स्वपक्षसम्भावनारूपं तर्कज्ञानं तन्मतेन विपक्षाभावलिङ्गकमनुमानमेव।[27]

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20. प्रशस्तपादभाष्यस्य (सूक्तिसेतुव्योमवतीटीकोपेतस्य) चौखम्बासंस्कृतग्रन्थमालायां प्रकाशितस्य ५३३–३४ पृष्ठयोः।

21. तत्रैव।

21a. तत्रैव।

22. प्रशस्तपादभाष्यस्य (न्यायकन्दलीसंवलितस्य) गङ्गानाथझाग्रन्थमालायां वाराणसीतः प्रकाशितस्य ४१५–१८ पृष्ठेषु।

23. खण्डनखण्डखाद्यस्य (विद्यासागरीसमेतस्य) षड्दर्शनप्रकाशनग्रन्थमालायां वाराणसीतः प्रकाशितस्य ७५२–५३ पृष्ठयोः।

24. न्यायमुक्तावलीसंवलितन्यायसारस्य मद्रासतः प्रकाशितस्य प्रथमभागे २१० पृष्ठे।

25. प्रशस्तपादभाषस्य (न्यायकन्दलीसहितस्य) ४१७–१८ पृष्ठयोः।

26. तस्यैव ४१७ पृष्ठे।

27. तत्रैव।

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यदीदमूहज्ञानं सम्भावनामात्रम्, तर्हि एतादृशमूहज्ञानं कन्दलीकारमतेन अनर्थकमेवास्ति। तद्धि कामर्थक्रियां कर्तुं प्रभवति?

न्यायशास्त्रं व्याचक्षाण उदयनाचार्यः प्रसङ्गरूपं तर्कं समर्थयामास, अत एव वैशेषिक-ग्रन्थ-(पदार्थधर्मसङ्ग्रह)व्याख्यायां किरणावल्यां तर्कं न पर्यहार्षीत् न च तस्य न्यायाभिमतां प्रमाणानुग्राहकतामप्रमाणस्वरूपतां च प्रत्यवतस्थे।[28] न्यायलीलावतीकारेणाऽपि "एकधर्माभ्युपगमे द्वितीयस्य नियतप्राप्तिरूप" इति[29] तर्कलक्षणं प्रतिपादयता तर्कस्यानिष्टप्रसङ्गस्वरूपतैव अभ्यधायि।

इदानीं तावत् क्रमप्राप्तं जैनतार्किकाणां तर्कविषयं मतं तर्क्यते। तत्त्वार्थसूत्रे तर्कसंज्ञया सूत्रितः कोऽपि पदार्थो न लभ्यते। तस्य प्रथमाध्याये मतिज्ञानस्य भेदेष्वन्यतमा ईहाऽपि[30] परिगणिता। अवग्रहानन्तरमुत्पद्यमानस्य संशयस्य ईहोत्तरभाविनश्च अवायस्य (ईहितविशेषनिर्णयस्य) मध्यवर्तिन्या ईहायाः[31] न्यायदर्शनाभिमतभवितव्यतात्मकप्रत्ययरूपतर्केण साम्यमाभाति। किञ्च, तत्त्वार्थाधिगमभाष्ये ऊहातर्कशब्दौ ईहायाः पर्यायशब्दरूपेण प्रयुक्तौ प्राप्येते[32]। पर्यायशब्दप्रयोगेणानेनाऽपि ईहा न्यायदर्शनसम्मततर्कस्य सन्निकृष्यते। इदानीं जैनप्रमाणशास्त्रप्रतिष्ठापकस्य अकलङ्कदेवस्य तर्कविषयं मतं चर्च्यते। प्रो. महेन्द्रकुमारजैनमतानुसारेण जैनदार्शनिकपरम्परायामकलङ्कदेव एव तर्कस्वरूपं तद्विषयञ्च सर्वप्रथमं स्थिरीचकार।[33] "संभवप्रत्ययस्तर्कः प्रत्यक्षानुपलम्भतः" (प्रमाणसङ्ग्रहे द्वादशश्लोकः) इत्येवं तल्लक्षितस्तर्कोऽपि न्यायदर्शनाभिमतसंभावनाप्रत्ययस्वरूपतर्केण किंचित् साम्यमावहति। जैनदर्शनाभिमता ईहा स्वरूपतो विषयतश्च न्यायनयाभिमतसंभावना प्रत्ययरूपतर्केण तुलामारोहन्त्यपि नाप्रमाणम्,[34] स्वविषयनिर्णयरूपत्वात्। परीक्षामुखसूत्रे माणिक्यनन्दिना परोक्षप्रमाणभेदरूपेणोद्दिष्ट ऊहरूपस्तर्कः "उपलम्भानुपलम्भनिमित्तं व्याप्तिज्ञानमूहः"[35] इत्येवं लक्षितः प्रतिभावता च प्रभाचन्द्रेण एतल्लक्षणं व्याख्यायि[36]।

कलिकालसर्वज्ञ इत्युपाध्युपहितः हेमचन्द्राचार्यः प्रमाणमीमांसायां "उपलम्भानुपलम्भनिमित्तं व्याप्तिज्ञानमूहस्तर्कः" (प्र. मी., १.२.५) इत्येवं तर्कापरपर्यायस्य ऊहस्य लक्षणं सूत्रयामास। स सांव्यवहारिकप्रत्यक्षप्रमाणभेदरूपाया ईहायाः परोक्षप्रमाणभेदरूपादूहाद् भेदमपि प्रतिपादयामास।[37] व्याप्तिग्राहको निर्णयविशेषः जैनतर्कशास्त्रे ऊह इत्युच्यते। न्यायविशारदत्वविरूढभाजा यशस्विना यशोविजयेनाऽपि "सकलदेशकालावच्छेदेन साध्यसाधनभावादिविषय

28. किरणावलीसंवलितप्रशस्तपादभाष्यस्य (वटोदरप्रकाशितस्य) ९७२-७३ पृष्ठयोः।
29. न्यायलीलावत्याम् ६८ पृष्ठे।
30. तत्त्वार्थसूत्रे १.१५।
31. प्रमाणमीमांसायां (स्वोपज्ञवृत्तिसहितायाम्) डा. सत्कारिशर्म्मप्रकाशितायां १.१.२७।
32. ईहा ऊहा तर्कः परीक्षा विचारणा जिज्ञासा इत्यनर्थान्तरम्। —तत्त्वार्थाधिगमभाष्ये १.१५।
33. जैन, महेन्द्रकुमार (डा.): जैनदर्शन, काशी (द्वितीय संस्करण), पृष्ठ ३०४।
34. प्रमाणमीमांसायाः २५ पृष्ठे।
35. परीक्षामुखसूत्रे ३.११।
36. परीक्षामुखसूत्रस्य (प्रमेयकमलमार्त्तण्डसहितस्य) डा. महेन्द्रकुमारजैनसम्पादितस्य ३४८ पृष्ठे।
37. प्रमाणमीमांसायाः २४-२५ पृष्ठयोः।

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ऊहस्तर्कः "[38] इत्येवमूहो लक्षितः। तर्कं निदर्शयन्नवोचदेवम्—"यावान् कश्चिद् धूमः स सर्वो वह्नौ सत्येव भवति, वह्निं विना न भवति" इति।[39]

नैयायिकजैनतार्किकाणां व्याप्तिग्रहणविधिमधिकृत्य विप्रतिपत्तिर्विजृम्भते। नैयायिकमतानुसारेण तर्कसहकृतेन उपाध्यनुपलम्भसनाथेन प्रत्यक्षेणैव व्याप्तिर्गृह्यते। तथा चोक्तं केशवमिश्रेण—"न चेह धूमाग्निसाहचर्ये कश्चिदुपाधिरस्ति। यद्यभविष्यत् तदाऽद्रक्ष्यत्। ततो दर्शनाभावान्नास्तीति तर्कसहकारिणा अनुपलम्भसनाथेन प्रत्यक्षेणैव उपाध्यभावोऽवधार्यते। तथा च सति उपाध्यभावग्रहणजनितसंस्कारसहकृतेन भूयोदर्शनजनितसंस्कारकृतेन साहचर्यग्राहिणा प्रत्यक्षेणैव धूमाग्न्योर्व्याप्तिरवधार्यते"।[40] जैनतार्किकमतानुसारेण तर्केणैव सर्वोपसंहारवती व्याप्तिर्गृह्यते। "न हि प्रत्यक्षं यावान् कश्चिदपि धूमः सः देशान्तरे कालान्तरे वा पावकस्यैव कार्यं नार्थान्तरस्य इति इयतो व्यापारान् कर्तुं समर्थं" भवतीति उवाच हेमचन्द्राचार्यः[41]। व्याप्तिग्राहकरूपस्तर्कः स्वपरव्यवसायित्वात् स्वतः प्रमाणमिति जिनशासनरता आतिष्ठन्ते। धर्मभूषणोऽपि अज्ञाननिवर्तकत्वान् तर्कस्य प्रामाण्यमभ्युपागमत्। हेमचन्द्राचार्येण नैयायिकाभिमततर्कस्याप्रमाणरूपत्वं प्रखरतरतर्कबलेन निराकर्तुं प्रयत्नोऽकारि। तद्यथा— "यौगास्तु तर्कसहितात् प्रत्यक्षादेव व्याप्तिग्रह इत्याहुः। तेषामपि यदि न केवलात् प्रत्यक्षाद् व्याप्तिग्रहः, किन्तु तर्कसहकृतात् तर्हि तर्कादेव व्याप्तिग्रहोऽस्तु। किमस्य तपस्विनो (तर्कस्य) यशोमार्जनेन प्रत्यक्षस्य वा तर्कप्रसादलब्धव्याप्तिग्रहापलापकृतघ्नतारोपेण?... ... व्याप्तिलक्षणेन विषयेण विषयवत्त्वमपि न नास्ति। तस्मात् प्रमाणान्तरागृहीतव्याप्तिग्रहणप्रवणः प्रमाणान्तरमूहः"।[42] तार्किकमूर्धन्याः डॉ. सत्कारिशर्म्ममहाभागाः "The Buddhist Philosophy of Universal Flux" इत्याख्ये स्वकीये गवेषणात्मकग्रन्थे हेमचन्द्रकृतप्रत्यवस्थानमनूद्य उपसंहारतो न्यायमतं सुतीक्ष्णं प्रत्यवतिष्ठन्त— "The Naiyāyika only puts the cart before the horse, when he seeks to throw तर्क into the background, supposing it to subserve as vassal the interest of the false master, perception. But the truth is in the contrary version."[43]

अन्ततश्चैतदेव निगमयितुं शक्यते यत्सूत्रकारेण महर्षिगोतमेन चत्वार्येव प्रमाणानि सूत्रितानि, तर्कश्च पृथक्पदार्थत्वेन सूत्रितः। अतः सूत्रकारनियोगभयात्[44] सूत्रकारसरण्यनुसरणे बद्धादराः सूत्रकारक्षुण्णवर्त्मनोऽनुयायिनो नैयायिकाः प्रमाणानुग्राहकं तर्कं प्रमाणरूपेण न कल्पयामासुः। सम्भावनात्मकप्रत्ययरूपस्तर्कः प्रमाणं न भवेदिति तु तर्केणोपपद्यते, यतो नैयायिकमतानुसारेण स द्वयोः पक्षयोरेकतरं प्रमाणसम्भवेन 'अमुकेन भवितव्यमिति' अनुजानाति, न तु

38. Bhargava, Dayananda (Dr.) [editor], *Jainatarkabhāṣā of Yaśovijaya*, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1973, p. 10.
39. *Ibid.*
40. गजेन्द्रगडकरकरमरकरसम्पादितायास्तर्कभाषायाः २२–२३ पृष्ठयोः।
41. प्रमाणमीमांसायाः ४१ पृष्ठे।
42. तस्या एव ४२ पृष्ठे।
43. Mookerjee, Satkari (Dr.): *The Buddhist Philosophy of Universal Flux*, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1975, p. 398.
44. न खलु वै सूत्रकारनियोगभयात् पदार्थाः स्वधर्मं हातुमर्हन्ति।—न्यायभूषणस्य ९८ पृष्ठे।

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'एवमेवैतदिति' अवधारयति निश्चाययति वा। सम्भावनात्मकं तर्कज्ञानं संशयनिर्णयमध्यवर्ति भवतीत्यनुभवसिद्धम्। तथा चोक्तं जयन्तभट्टेन— "पुरुषेणानेन भवितव्यमिति मध्यवर्तिनी तृतीया संभावनाप्रतीतिः स्वहृदयसाक्षिकैव"।[45] तृतीया प्रतीतिरियं निर्णयस्य सन्निकृष्यते। अतो भासर्वज्ञादिभिर्नैयायिकैरूहरूपस्य तर्कस्य योऽयं संशयेऽन्तर्भावः प्रदर्शितः,[46] स नोचितः प्रतिभाति, संशये कारणोपपत्तेरभावात्। अपि च, उभयकोटिसमसंशयप्रभवायाः समजिज्ञासाया अर्थादनियतजिज्ञासायाः विच्छेदेन नियतजिज्ञासाजनकः संशयव्युदासरूपोऽयं तर्कः कथं संशयेऽन्तर्भवितुमर्हति? श्रीधरव्योमशिवाभ्युपगतं संभावनात्मकतर्कज्ञानस्य तत्त्वज्ञानस्वरूपत्वमपि न रमणीयम्, तस्य संशयनिर्णयान्तरालिकत्वादेवमेवेदमित्यवधारणाभावाच्च।

यत्तु उदयनाऽन्नंभट्टजगदीशतर्कालङ्कारादयस्तार्किकाः प्रसङ्गात्मानं तर्कं विपर्ययेऽन्तर्भावयामासुः,[47] तदपि प्रेक्षावतां चित्तमनुरञ्जयितुं न क्षमते। तद्यथा— विपर्यये आरोपः स्वाभाविक आविद्यको वा भवति। धूमेन वह्निप्रतिपादनस्थले "धूमोऽस्तु वह्निर्मास्तु" इति विप्रतिपन्नस्य विपर्ययाशङ्कायां समुन्मिषितायां वादिना "यद्ययमनग्निः स्यात्तर्हि अधूमोऽपि स्यात्" इत्येवं व्यतिरेकप्रधानेन प्रसङ्गात्मना तर्केण बुद्धिपूर्वकमारोप्यते। आहार्येण (कृत्रिमेण) अग्न्यभावारोपेण धूमाभाव आरोप्यते। न ह्यत्र रज्जौ सर्पभ्रमणारोप इव आविद्यकः समारोपः। अत एव तर्कस्य विपर्ययभेदरूपेण परिगणनार्थमुदयनाचार्योपात्तः 'आरोपितहेतुसमुत्थत्वादि'ति[48] हेतुरपि प्रत्याख्यातो द्रष्टव्यः। यथा अयथार्थालोचनाद्धूलिपटले धूम इति मिथ्याध्यवसायानन्तरमारोपितहेतोः धूमवत्त्वात् 'पर्वतो वह्निमानि'ति विपर्ययज्ञानं भवति, न तथा तर्कं आरोपितहेतुसमुत्थः। धूमाभावस्तत्र वस्तुतः नास्त्येव। प्रतिपादयितृविप्रतिपन्नयोर्मध्ये नैकतरेणाऽपि धूमाभावरूपमिथ्यैककोटिस्तत्राध्यवसीयते। न चाऽपि तर्कस्य अन्नंभट्टाभिमता अयथार्थानुभवभेदेषु परिगणना[49] रमणीया, तर्कस्य तत्कृतविपर्ययान्तर्भावस्य निरस्तत्वादिति। तर्कस्य अयथार्थानुभवत्वं प्रतिक्षिपद्भ्यां विद्वद्धौरेयाभ्यां गजेन्द्रगडकरकरमरकरमहाभागाभ्यां तर्कभाषाटिप्पणेषु सुष्ठूक्तम्— It must be confessed that the reasons advanced for regarding तर्क as a division of अयथार्थानुभव do not appear to us to be convincing. For neither the वह्न्यभाव nor the धूमाभाव which we hypothesize or force on the opponent can by any strech of imagination be regarded as अनुभव. वह्न्यभाव and धूमाभाव are अयथार्थ, we admit. But that does not make तर्क, which only deals with them in a hypothetical manner, assume the character of अयथार्थानुभव."[50] व्याप्यारोपेण व्यापकारोपरूपस्य तर्कस्य

45. न्यायमञ्जर्याम् १४५ पृष्ठे।
46. न्यायभूषणे १९–२१ पृष्ठेषु।
47. तत्सत्यमेवैतद् विपर्ययभेदत्वात् पृथक् नोपदिष्टः। —किरणावलीसहिते प्रशस्तपादभाष्ये १७५ पृष्ठे। यद्यपि तर्को विपर्ययेऽन्तर्भवति तथापि प्रमाणानुग्राहकत्वाद्भेदेन कीर्तनम्। —तर्कसंग्रहस्य ५७ पृष्ठे। अत्र, 'यदि अयं निर्वह्निः स्यात्तदा निर्धूमः स्यात्' इति तर्को विपर्ययमध्ये वोध्यः। —तर्कामृतस्य मुम्बय्यां प्रकाशितस्य १५ पृष्ठे।
48. किरणावलीसमेते प्रशस्तपादभाष्ये १७१ पृष्ठे।
49. अयथार्थानुभवस्त्रिविधः संशयविपर्ययतर्कभेदात्। —तर्कसंग्रहस्य ५६ पृष्ठे।
50. Gajendragadkar, A. B. and Karmarkar, R. D. (Ed.): *Tarkabhāṣā of Keśavamiśra* (with English translation and notes), Poona, 1934, p. 225.

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विपर्यये परिगणना न समीचीनताकोटिमाटीकते। तदेवं प्रसङ्गरूपस्य तर्कस्य विपर्ययत्वं दूरापास्तमेव। कन्दलीकारस्तु प्रसङ्गात्मानं तर्कं प्रमाणमेवाऽभ्युपागमत्।[51] अस्मन्मते तु जयन्तभट्टमतमेव समीचीनमाभाति। यथा संभावनात्मकं तर्कज्ञानं तृतीया प्रतीतिस्तथैव प्रसङ्गात्मा तर्कोऽपि न संशयविपर्ययस्वरूपो न च प्रमाणरूपः। उभावपि तर्कौ तृतीयप्रतीतिरूपत्वं न व्यभिचरतः। प्रमाणानुग्राहकत्वमुभयोरपि समानमिति।

नैयायिकजैनतार्किकाणामूहस्वरूपविषये सैद्धान्तिको मतभेदः स्फुटं प्रतीयत एव। जैनन्याये व्याप्तिज्ञानरूप ऊहः प्रमाणस्वरूप एवास्ति, अतस्तेन व्याप्तिग्रहणं[52] समीचीनम्। अकलङ्कोत्तरवर्तिभिर्जैनतार्किकैस्तर्कस्य सम्भावनात्मकप्रत्ययरूपत्वं तु नाभ्युपगतम्। न चेहाया अपि ते न्यायाभिमतसम्भावनात्मकप्रत्ययरूपतर्केण अभेदमभ्युपागमन्। प्रसङ्गात्मनस्तर्कस्याप्रमाणत्वं तैर्निराकारि। तन्निराकरणाय प्रयतमाना अपि ते स्वसम्मततर्केण न्यायाभिमततर्कस्य सर्वथाऽभेदं प्रतिपादयितुं नाशकन्। तद्यथा— "व्याप्तिग्रहरूपस्य तर्कस्य स्वपरव्यवसायित्वेन स्वतः प्रमाणत्वात्, पराभिमततर्कस्यापि क्वचिदेतद्विचाराङ्गतया, विपर्ययपर्यवसायिन आहार्यशङ्काविघटकतया, स्वातन्त्र्येण शङ्कामात्रविघटकतया वोपयोगात्"।[53] इति वदता यशस्विना यशोविजयेन स्वाभिमततर्कस्य प्रमाणत्वमभ्युपगम्यापि न्यायाभिमततर्कस्य प्रमाणानुग्राहकत्वमेव समर्थितमिति मन्ये। वस्तुतो न्यायपक्षे दोषं विवक्षतापि तेन साधु भाषितम्। न च व्याप्तिग्राहकप्रत्यक्षप्रमाणसहकारित्वात् तर्क एव प्राधान्येन व्याप्तिग्रहोपायरूपेण स्वीकरणीय इति हेमचन्द्राचार्यकथनमपि न्यायमतं दूषयितुमलम्, यतो नैयायिकैर्व्याप्तिग्रहोपायभूतप्रत्यक्षस्य सर्वत्राव्यभिचारेण तर्कसाहाय्यं नापेक्ष्यते। किन्तु यत्र भूयोदर्शनाद् व्यभिचारशङ्का नापैति, तत्र विपक्षे बाधकः प्रसङ्गात्मा तर्कोऽपेक्ष्यते। तथा चोक्तं श्रीविश्वनाथपञ्चाननेन—

हेतुर्व्याप्तिग्रहे तर्कः क्वचिच्छङ्कानिवर्तकः॥[54]

तदेवं न्यायशास्त्रे प्रमाणानुग्राहकतर्कस्य क्वचिदेव व्याप्तिग्रहोपायरूपत्वं तदपि च गौणमेव। किञ्च, जैनतर्कशास्त्रेऽपि तर्कस्य परोक्षप्रमाणत्वमेवाभ्युपगतम्। अतः प्रमाणान्तरापेक्षस्य परोक्षप्रमाणस्याविशदत्वात् तर्कस्यापि प्रमाणान्तरनिरपेक्षप्रमाणत्वं तु नास्ति।

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51. न्यायकन्दलीसंवलितप्रशस्तपादभाष्यस्य ४१७ पृष्ठे।
52. ऊहात् तन्निश्चयः। —प्रमाणमीमांसायां १.२.११।
53. जैनतर्कभाषायाः (प्रमाणपरिच्छेदे) ११ पृष्ठे।
54. विश्वनाथपञ्चाननविरचितकारिकावल्याः १३७ कारिका।

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Appendix A

MINUTES OF THE BUSINESS MEETINGS

1. THE OLD EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the All-India Oriental Conference was held in the University Guest House, University of Rajasthan, Jaipur, at 6 p. m. on October 28, 1982. The following members were present :

Gaurinath Sastri (in the Chair); P. N. Kawthekar, K. Krishnamoorthy, Pushpendra Kumar, Anantalal Thakur, Vidhata Mishra, K. K. Mishra, K. K. Chaturvedi, Ram Murti Sharma, S. D. Joshi, Mukhtar ud Din Ahmad, Brahma Mitra Awasthi, R. C. Dwivedi, Ram Gopal, Harnamsingh Shan, Sushama Kulashrestha, J. P. Sinha, and R. N. Dandekar.

The following business was transacted at the meeting :

(1) Condolence.

Resolution No. 1 : Resolved that the Executive Committee places on record its sense of deep sorrow at the sad death of Professor Nihar Ranjan Ray, Professor Suryakanta, and Professor R. S. Tripathi, who had been, at different times, members of the Executive Committee of the All-India Oriental Conference.

(2) Minutes of the business meetings held at Santiniketan on the occasion of the 30th Session of the All-India Oriental Conference.

Resolution No. 2 : Resolved that the minutes of the business meetings of the All-India Oriental Conference held at Santiniketan on the occassion of the 30th Session of the All-India Oriental Conference be confirmed.

(3) Audited Statements of Accounts for the years 1980 & 1981.

Resolution No. 3 : Resolved that the audited Statements of Accounts for the years 1980 and 1981 be adopted.

(4) Appointment of Auditors.

Resolution No. 4 : Resolved that M/S Patki and Soman, Poona, be appointed as auditors for the years 1983 and 1984 and that they be paid a remuneration of Rs. 100/- per year.

(5) Recording of the revised version of " Rules & Byelaws ".

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Resolution No. 5 : Resolved that the revised version of the "Rules and Byelaws" of the All-India Oriental Conference, as presented by the General Secretary, be approved and forwarded to the Council for sanction.

(6) Publication of the Conference Proceedings.

Resolution No. 6 : Resolved that the publication of the Volume of the Proceedings of the 30th Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, held at Santiniketan, be noted.

(7) Award of the various prizes.

Resolution No. 7 : Resolved that the General Secretary be authorised to decide the award of (1) Dr. V. Raghavan Prize, (2) The Muni Punyavijayaji Prize and, (3) Shri D. K. Jain O. R. Institute Prize, in the light of the reports of the referees and in consultation with the relevant Sectional Presidents.

(8) Arrangements for the award of the Dr. V. Raghavan Prize at the next session.

Resolution No. 8 : Resolved that Dr. V. Raghavan Prize for the next session be assigned to Philosophy and Religion Section.

(9) Letter dated August 7, 1982, from Professor C. Sivaramamurti regarding Endowment for Sambhavana.

The General Secretary placed before the Executive Committee the letter dated 7-8-1982 from Professor C. Sivaramamurti regarding his endowment for Sambhavana. After some discussion the following resolution was adopted :

Resolution No. 9 : Resolved that Professor Sivaramamurti be requested to agree to a prize being awarded out of the endowment to the author of the best paper presented at the Pandit Parisad.

(10) Letter from Prof. S. Rinpoche, Varanasi, regarding a new section dealing with 'Tibetology and Central Asian Studies'.

The General Secretary placed before the Executive Committee the letter dated 25-9-1982 from Prof. S. Rinpoche regarding the addition of a section dealing with "Tibetology and Central Asian Studies". After some discussion the following resolution was passed.

Resolution No. 10 : Resolved that, in view of organizational difficulties, no new section be added for the time being. It was, however, further resolved that "Tibetology" be specifically added to the present "Pali

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and Buddhism" section and that the "Pali and Buddhism" section be hereafter named "Pali and Buddhism (including Tibetology)".

(11) Co-optation on the Council of ten members recommended by the Local Committee.

Resolution No. 11 : Resolved that it be recommended to the Council that the following ten persons, whose names have been suggested by the Local Committee, be co-opted on the Council (as per Rule 10, b, i.) :

(1) L. L. Joshi	(2) Daya Krishna
(3) Amritjit Singh	(4) Ram Gopal
(5) M. C. Pathak	(6) P. L. Bhargav
(7) G. N. Sharma	(8) Pattabhiram Shastri
(9) Mandan Mishra	(10) Mohan Mukherjee.

(12) Appointment of additional Sectional Presidents.

Resolution No. 12 : Resolved that the following additional Sectional Presidents be appointed :

(1)	Vedic Section	: G. V. Devasthali
(2)	Classical Sanskrit Section	: V. Venkatachalam, P. N. Kawthekar, N. P. Unni
(3)	History	: K. D. Bajpai
(4)	Religion and Philosophy	: Gopikamohan Bhattacharya Anantlal Thakur

(13) Forms to be filled in by the members of the Council.

Resolution No. 13 : Resolved that members of the Council be required to fill in the attestation forms prepared by the office and to present them at the time of the meeting of the Council.

(14) Increase in Membership fees.

Resolution No. 14 : Resolved that it be recommended to the Council that the Membership fees of the All-India Oriental Conference be increased from November 1, 1982, as shown below :

Full Membership : from Rs. 30 to Rs. 50/—

Life-Membership : from Rs. 300/— to Rs. 500/—

(15) Preparation of the fourth volume of the Index of Papers.

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Resolution No. 15 : Resolved that Professor K. V. Sarma, Hoshiarpur, be requested to undertake the preparation of the fourth volume of the *Index of Papers*.

The meeting terminated with a vote of thanks to the Chair.

R. N. DANDEKAR
General Secretary

GAURINATH SASTRI
Chairman

2. THE COUNCIL

A meeting of the Council of the All-India Oriental Conference was held in the Humanities Block, University of Rajasthan, Jaipur, at 12 noon on October 30, 1982.

Professor Gaurinath Sastri was in the Chair.

(1) It was resolved that, as recommended by the Executive Committee, the following ten persons, whose names had been suggested by the Local Committee, be co-opted as members of the Council (as per Rule 10, b, i.) :

(1) L. L. Joshi
(2) Daya Krishna
(3) Amritjit Singh
(4) Ram Gopal
(5) M. C. Pathak
(6) P. L. Bhargav
(7) G. N. Sharma
(8) Pattabhiram Shastri
(9) Mandan Mishra
(10) Mohan Mukherjee.

(2) It was resolved that, as recommended by the Executive Committee, the Membership fees of the All-India Oriental Conference be increased, from November 1, 1982, as shown below :

Full Membership : from Rs. 30/— to Rs. 50/—

Life-Membership : from Rs. 300/— to Rs. 500/—

(3) It was resolved that, as recommended by the Executive Committee, "Tibetology" be specifically added to the present "Pali and Buddhism" section and that the present "Pali and Buddhism" section be hereafter named "Pali and Buddhism (including Tibetology)".

(4) It was resolved to sanction the revised version of the "Rules and Byelaws" as forwarded by the Executive Committee,

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(5) The Council then proceeded to elect eighteen members of the New Executive Committee. The Chairman nominated Professor V. R. Mehta and Professor N. K. Singh as scrutineers.

The meeting terminated with a vote of thanks to the chair.

R. N. DANDEKAR
General Secretary

The following was the result of the election to the New Executive Committee. (The number of votes secured is given against each name):

1.	Dandekar, R. N.	... 182
2.	Chaturvedi, K. K.	... 162
3.	Dwivedi, R. C.	... 140
4.	Mishra, Jayamant	... 114
5.	Kulashreshtha, Sushama	... 109
6.	Sharma, Pushpendra Kumar	... 104
7.	Mishra, K. K.	... 95
8.	Bhattacharya, Gopikamohan	... 93
9.	Venkatachalam V.	... 91
10.	Lalye, P. G.	... 88
11.	Jani, A. N.	... 87
12.	Agnihotri, P. D.	... 86
13.	Joshi, S. D.	... 83
14.	Krishnamoorthy, K.	... 79
15.	Devasthali, G. V.	... 77
16.	Balasubrahmanyam, M. D.	... 75
17.	Mishra, Vidhata	... 72
18.	Awasthi, Brahmamitra	... 69

R. N. DANDEKAR
General Secretary

GAURINATH SASTRI
Chairman

3. NEW EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

A meeting of the New Executive Committee of the All-India Oriental Conference was held in the Humanities Block, University of Rajasthan, Jaipur, at 10 a.m. on October 31, 1982.

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The following members were present :

P. D. Agnihotri, S. D. Joshi, K. Krishnamoorthy, A. N. Jani, P. G. Lalye, M. D. Balasubrahmanyam, G. V. Devasthali, K. K. Chaturvedi, K. K. Mishra, V. Venkatachalam, R. C. Dwivedi, S. R. Kulshreshtha, Gopikamohan Bhattacharya, Brahmamitra Awasthi, and R. N. Dandekar. Professor P. D. Agnihotri was voted to the chair.

The following business was transacted at the meeting :

(1) The following Office-bearers were unanimously elected :

General President	:	Professor T. M. P. Mahadevan, Madras,
Vice-President	:	Professor A. M. Ghatage, Poona,
General Secretary	:	Professor R. N. Dandekar, Poona,
Joint Secretary	:	Professor R. C. Dwivedi, Jaipur,
Treasurer	:	Professor S. D. Joshi, Poona.

(2) It was resolved to co-opt the following persons on the Executive Committee in the vacancies caused by the election of the Office-bearers :

Professor Rama Ranjan Mookerji, Burdwan
Professor V. I. Subramoniam, Thanjore
Professor Nisar Ahmed Farokhi, Delhi.

(The full Executive Committee will now be as follows :)

(1) Office Bearers :

1.	Genetal President	:	Prof. T. M. P. Mahadevan,
2.	Vice-President	:	Professor A. M. Ghatage,
3.	General Secretary	:	Professor R. N. Dandekar,
4.	Joint Secretary	:	Professor R. C. Dwivedi,
5.	Treasurer	:	Professor S. D. Joshi,
6.	Trustees	:	1. Professor Gaurinath Sastri, 2. Professor G. V. Devasthali, 3. Professor E. R. Sree Krishna Sarma

(2) Other Members of the Executive Committee :

1. Dr K. K. Chaturvedi,
2. Prof. Jayamant Mishra,
3. Dr (Miss) Sushama R. Kulashreshtha,
4. Dr Pushpendra Kumar Sharma,
5. Dr. K. K. Mishra,

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6. Dr Gopikamohan Bhattacharya,
7. Prof. V. Venkatachalam,
8. Prof. Pramod G. Lalye,
9. Prof. A. N. Jani,
10. Prof. P. D. Agnihotri,
11. Prof. K. Krishnamoorthy,
12. Prof. G. V. Devasthali,
13. Prof. M. D. Balasubrahmanyam,
14. Prof. Vidhata Mishra,
15. Prof. Brahma Mitra Awasthi,
16. Prof. V. I. Subramoniam,
17. Prof. Nisar Ahmad Farokhi, and
18. Prof. Rama Ranjan Mookerji

(3) The General Secretary reported that invitations to the All-India Oriental Conference for its next Session were received from :

(1) Gujarat University, Ahmedabad

(2) Kameshwar Ṣingh Darbhanga Sanskrit University, Darbhanga

(3) Panjab University, Chandigarh.

After due deliberation it was resolved to accept with thanks the invitation of the Panjab University, Chandigarh.

The General Secretary was authorised to fix up the dates, etc., of the Session in consultation with the authorities of the Panjab University, Chandigarh.

(4) It was resolved to award the three prizes as shown below :

(1) Dr V. Raghavan Prize : Dr S. S. Bahulkar, Poona, for "The Nakṣatrakalpa and the Śāntikalpa"

(2) Muni Punyavijayaji Prize : Shri Jagbir Kaushik, Delhi, for "गोम्मटेश्वर मूर्ति की स्थापना के सन्दर्भ में कल्कि संवत् की समस्या"

(3) Shri D. K. Jain O. R. Institute Prize : Dr Ganeshilal Suthar, Jodhpur, for "नैयायिक-वैशेषिक-जैन-तार्किकाणां तर्के विप्रतिपत्तिः"

(5) The General Secretary placed before the Executive Committee the letter received by him from Shri M. Narayana Reddy and others regarding the addition of a section dealing with Indian Folklore.

After due consideration, the Executive Committee resolved that, in view of organizational difficulties, no new sections be added for the time being.

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(6) The General Secretary placed before the Executive Committee the memorandum received by hlm from the delegates from Jammu and Kashmir regarding the position of Sanskrit in the school and college curricula. After due consideration, the Executive Committee adopted the following resolution :

Resolved that attention of the Centre, the States, the Univesities, and other relevant authorities be drawn to the urgency and desirability of the study of Classics being suitably included in the curricula of schools and institutions of higher education.

(7) A joint meeting of the New Executive Committee and the past and present Presidents of the various sections was then held to elect Sectional Presidents for the 32nd Session. Professor P. N. Puspha and Dr S. R. Kulashreshtha were appointed scrutineers.

The following was the result of the election :

1. Vedic ... Agnihotri, P. D,
2. Iranian ... Kotwal, F. M.
3. Classical Sanskrit ... Chaturvedi, K. K.
4. Islamic Studies ... Ayyubi, N. Akmal
5. Arabic & Persian ... Ahmad, M. D.
6. Pali & Buddhism (including Tibetology) ... Mishra, K. K.
7. Prakrit & Jainism ... Mishra, Vidhata
8. History ... Pathak, V. S.
9. Archaeology ... Vakankar, V. S.
10. Indian Linguistics ... Shastri, Satyavrat
11. Dravidic Studies ... Lalye, P. G.
12. Philosophy & Religion ... Mishra, Jayamant
13. Technical Sciences and Fine Arts ... Jani, A. N.
14. South-East Asian Studies ... Gorekar, N. S.
15. West-Asian Studies ... Al-Hindi, A. L.

The meeting terminated with a vote of thanks to the Chair.

R. N. DANDEKAR
General Secretary

P. D. AGNIHOTRI
Chairman

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4. INAUGURAL SESSION

The Inaugural Session of the 31st All-India Oriental Conference was held in the Humanities Block, University of Rajasthan, Jaipur, at 9 a. m. on October 29, 1982.

(1) The Session opened with prayers and song of Welcome.

(2) The Chairman of the Receptian Committee, Shri Surendra Vyas, Ministsr of State for Public Relations and Education, Rajasthan, and the Vice-Chancellor of the Rajasthan University, Professor T. K. N. Unnithan, welcomed the members of the Conference.

(3) The Governor of Rajasthan, Air Chief Marshal (Retd.) O. P. Mehra formally inaugurated the Session.

(4) The General President, Professor Gaurinath Sastri, delivered the President's address.

(5) A resolution of condolence touching the sad deaths of the following scholars was passed, the whole gathering standing :

1) Prof. Miss I. B. Horner
2) Prof. Amalanand Ghosh
3) Prof. T. G. Mainkar
4) Prof. Anand Swarup Gupta
5) Dr. Sabin Dasgupta
6) Prof. R. C. Hazra
7) Prof. R. S. Tripathi
8) Fr. Camille Bulke
9) Prof. K. K. Pillay
10) Dr C. D. Deshmukh
11) Prof. Suryakant
12) Swami Karapatriji
13) Pandit Bechardas
14) Prof. Nihar Ranjan Ray
15) Prof. B. S. Upadhyaya
16) Prof. R. S. Panchmukhi
17) Prof. P. Pradhan
18) Pandit Anantasastri Ghanekar

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(6) The General Secretary announced that the prize instituted by the Indian Books Centre, Delhi, under the auspices of the All-India Oriental Conference, was awarded to Shri Adityanath Bhattacharya, Burdwan, for his book *Brahmavicāryatvamīmāṁsā*. The citation and the shawl were received at the hands of the General President by Prof. Anantlal Thakur on behalf of the awardee.

(7) The General Secretary and the Local Secretary made some announcements regarding the conduct of the session.

(8) Shri L. L. Joshi proposed a vote of thanks.

(9) The Inaugural Session terminated with the National Anthem.

5. CONCLUDING SESSION

The Concluding Session of the 31st All-India Oriental Conference was held in the Humanities Block, University of Rajasthan, Jaipur, at 2. 30 p. m. on October 31, 1982.

Professor Gaurinath Sastri presided.

(1) The Session opened with Prayers — in Sanskrit by Dr. Rama Kant Shukla, Delhi, and in Prakrit by Professor J. D. Dhanal, Kolhapur.

(2) The General Secretary announced the election of the new Office-Bearers and the New Executive Committee of the All-India Oriental Conference. He also announced the election of the Sectional Presidents for the 32nd session of the All-India Oriental Conference. He further announced that the 32nd Session of the All-India Oriental Conference would be held at Chandigarh under the auspices of the Panjab University some time in the last quarter of 1984.

(3) The General Secretary announced the award of the three prizes :

(1) Dr. V. Raghavan Prize : Dr. S. S. Bahulkar, Poona, for "The Nakṣatrakalpa and the Śāntikalpa"

(2) Muni Punyavijayaji Prize : Shri Jagbir Kaushik, Delhi, for "गोम्मटेश्वर मूर्ति की स्थापना के सन्दर्भ में कल्कि संवत् की समस्या।"

(3) Shri D. K. Jain O. R. Institute Prize : Dr. Ganeshilal Suthar, Jodhpur, for "नैयायिका-वैशेषिक-जैन-तार्किकाणां तर्के विप्रतिपत्तिः।"

(4) The General President made his concluding remarks.

(5) The Vice-Chancellor, Rajasthan University, also spoke on the occasion.

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(6) On behalf of the members of the All-India Oriental Conference the following persons spoke :

(1) Professor P. N. Kawathekar

(2) Professor K. Krishnamoorthy

(3) Professor P. D. Agnihotri

(4) Professor N. Samtani.

(7) Professor R. C. Dwivedi, Local Secretary, spoke on behalf of the Local Committee.

(8) The Concluding Session terminated with *saṁ gacchadhvam* ...

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Appendix B :

Receipts & Payments Accounts

RECEIPTS		Rs. Ps.	Rs. Ps.
To BALANCE AT COMMENCEMENT			
Cash on Hand ...	...	162-64	
In C/A with State Bank of India, Deccan Gymkhana, Poona-411004	...	585-48	
In S/B A/C with Central Bank of India, Shivajinagar, Poona-411005	...	26,475-48	
In Fixed Deposit Account with Central Bank of India, Shivajinagar, Poona-411 005 (Dr. V. Raghavan Prize)	...	2,000-00	
In Fixed Deposit Account (Long Term Deposit) with Central Bank of India, Shivajinagar, Poona-411 005	...	12,000-00	41,223-60
To INTEREST			
i) On S/B Account	...	1,471-44	
ii) On L/T Deposit (Dr. V. Raghavan Prize)	...	200-00	
iii) On L/T Deposit (Rs. 12,000-00)	...	1,201-11	2,872-55
To MEMBERSHIP FEES			
i) Life-Membership	...		2,680-00
		Total C. F.	46,776-15

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STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS

for the year ended 31st December, 1980

PAYMENTS		Rs. Ps.	Rs. Ps.
BY POSTS & TELEGRAMS AT POONA & OUTSIDE	...		953-90
,, PRINTING EXPENSES			
i) Poona Session Volume	...		2,467-00
,, REMUNERATION TO ACCOUNTANT	...		75-00
,, REMUNERATION TO CLERKS	...		840-00
,, PEON'S PAY	...		165-00
,, STATIONERY	...		422-45
,, MISCELLANEOUS	...		271-40
,, AMOUNT SPENT FOR THE PANDIT PARISAD SANTINIKETAN	...		14,328-00
,, PRIZES FOR THE BEST PAPERS SUBMITTED AND READ IN THE VARIOUS SECTIONS			
(i) Muni Punyavijayaji Prize	...	300-00	
(ii) D. K. Jain Oriental Research Institute Prize	...	300-00	600-00
,, MEMBERSHIP FEES FOR INTERNATIONAL UNION FOR ORIENTAL AND ASIAN STUDIES FOR THE YEARS : 1979 & 1980	...		800-64
,, AUDITOR'S HONORARIUM FOR THE YEARS 1978 & 1979	...		200-00
,, TRAVELLING ALLOWANCE	...		1,341-00
		Total C. F.	22,464-39

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Appendix B :

Receipts & Payments Accounts

RECEIPTS		Rs. Ps.	Rs. Ps.
	B.F.		46,776-15
To 2/3rd of F from Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, from sale of AIOC Volumes for the year 1979-80	...		3,723-53
,, Amount received from L. D. Institute, Ahmedabad for Muni Punyavijayaji Prize	...	300-00	
,, Amount received from D. K. Jain Oriental Research Institute, Arrah for D. K. Jain O. R. Institute Prize	...	300-00	600-00
,, Grant Received from the Government of India, New Delhi, for Paṇḍit Parisad, Santiniketan	...		25,000-00
,, Donation received from Shri Vijayadeva Yogendra, Australia	...		300-00
		Total Rs.	76,399-68

AUDITOR'S REPORT

Examined and found correct as per books of accounts produced to us and information given to us during the course of our audit.

Poona-411 030
26th July 1982

PATKI & SOMAN
Chartered Accountants

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Statement of Accounts

for the year ended 31st December 1980 (contd.)

PAYMENTS		Rs. Ps.	Rs. Ps.
	B.F.		22,464-39
BY BALANCE AT CLOSE			
Cash on Hand	...	64-89	
In C/A with State Bank of India, Deccan Gymkhana, Poona-411 004	...	585-48	
In S/B A/C with Central Bank of India, Shivajinagar, Poona-411 005	...	39,284-92	
In Fixed Deposit Account with Central Bank of India, Shivajinagar, Poona-411 005 (Dr. V. Raghavan Prize)	...	2,000-00	
In Fixed Deposit Account (Long Term Deposit) with Central Bank of India, Shivajinagar, Poona-411 005	...	12,000-00	53,935-29
		Total Rs.	76,399-68

Poona-411 004

R. N. DANDEKAR
General Secretary

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Appendix B :

Receipts & Payments Accounts

RECEIPTS		Rs. Ps.	Rs. Ps.
TO BALANCE AT COMMENCEMENT			
Cash on Hand	...	64-89	
In C/A with State Bank of India, Deccan Gymkhana, Poona-411 004	...	585-48	
In S/B A/C with Central Bank of India, Shivajinagar, Poona-411 005	...	39,284-92	
In Fixed Deposit with Central Bank of India, Shivajinagar, Poona-411 005 (Dr. V. Raghavan Prize)	...	2,000-00	
In Fixed Deposit Account (Long Term Deposit) with Central Bank of India, Shivajinagar, Poona-411 005 (Rs. 12,000-00)	...	12,000-00	53,935-29
„ **INTEREST**			
i) On S/B Account	...	1,878-47	
ii) On Dr. V. Raghavan Prize (L/T Deposit)	...	200-00	
iii) On L/T Deposit (Rs. 12,000-00)	...	1,200-00	3,278-47
		Total C. F.	57,213-76

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Statement of Accounts

for year ended 31st December 1981

PAYMENTS	Rs. Ps.	Rs. Ps.
By POSTS & TELGRAMS AT POONA & OUTSIDE		482-60
,, PRINTING EXPENSES		
(i) Poona Session Volume	13,967-25	
(ii) Santiniketan Session Volume for Paper	12,240-00	26,207-25
,, REMUNERATION TO ACCOUNTANT		75-00
,, REMUNERATION TO CLERK		840-00
,, PEON'S PAY		165-00
,, STATIONERY		510-55
,, MISCELLANEOUS		175-40
,, UNSPENT BALANCE FROM PANDIT PARISHAD GRANT, RETURNED TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA (EDUCATION DEPARTMENT), NEW DELHI		10,672-00
,, PRIZES FOR THE BEST PAPERS SUBMITTED AND READ IN THE VARIOUS SECTIONS		
(i) Dr. V. Raghavan Prize		300-00
,, MEMBERSHIP FEES FOR INTERNATIONAL UNION FOR ORIENTAL AND ASIAN STUDIES FOR THE YEARS : 1981 and 1982		925-93
	Total C. F.	40,353-73

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

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Appendix B :

Receipts and Payments accounts

RECEIPT	Rs. Ps.	Rs. Ps.
B. F.		57,213–76
To MEMBERSHIP FEES		
(i) Life-Membership		752–00
„ SHARE IN MEMBERSHIP FEES FROM LOCAL SECRETARY, 30TH SESSION SANTINIKETAN		
(i) Life-Membership	2,696–87	
(ii) Full-Membership	22,120–00	24,816–87
„ 2/3RD OF F FROM BHANDARKAR ORIENTAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE, FROM SALE of AIOC VOLUMES FOR THE YEAR 1980–81		2,853–00
TOTAL Rs.		85,635–63

AUDITOR'S REPORT

Examined and found correct as per books of accounts produced to us and information given to us during the course of our audit.

Poona 411 030
26th July 1982

PATKI & SOMAN
Chartered Accountants

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

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Statement of Accounts

for the year ended 31st December 1981 (continued)

PAYMENTS	Rs. Ps.	Rs. Ps.
B. F.		40,353-73
By BALANCE AT CLOSE		
Cash on Hand	273-09	
In C/A with State Bank of India, Deccan Gymkhana Branch, Poona-411 004	587-48	
In S/B A/C with Central Bank of India, Shivajinagar, Poona-411 005	30,421-33	
In Fixed Deposit Account with Central Bank of India, Shivajinagar, Poona-411 005 (Dr. V. Raghavan Prize)	2,000-00	
In Fixed Deposit Account (Long Term Deposit) with Central Bank of India, Shivajinagar, Poona-411 005	12,000-00	45,281-90
	Total Rs.	85,635-63

Poona - 411 004

R. N. DANDEKAR
General Secretary

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